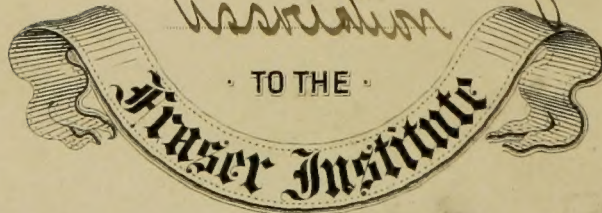


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HISTORY OF FRANCE

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE PRESENT

TO THE SIXTEENTH

WITH

NOTES, MAPS, AND EXPLANATIONS

BY

JOHN GURFORD, ESQ.

PRINTED BY

LONDON:

PRINTED BY AND IN A LOWEN, NEW LANE,
AND SOLD BY J. PARSONS, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1793



Pt OF ENGLAND

THE NETHERLANDS

PART OF GERMANY

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

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ISLE OF FRANCE

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ITALY

BISCAY

GUILLIENNE

AUVERGNE

DAUPHINE

GASCOGNE

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PROVENCE

BEARN

FOIX

ROUSSILLON

PROVENCE

PROVENCE

MAP OF FRANCE

Before the Revolution

PART OF SPAIN

Scale of English Miles 6 1/2 to a Degree

Long: East from London

London Published as the Act directs Oct. 27. 1793. by C. Loomes & N. Dury Lane

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Volume IV

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1793

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TO THE ACCESSION OF
LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

WITH
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1733

HENRY THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE GREAT.

A. D. 1589.] By the assassination of the Third Henry, the sceptre of France was transferred from the race of Valois to the house of Bourbon, and placed in the hands of Henry the Fourth. No monarch, on his accession to the throne, had ever greater difficulties to encounter than Henry; and no monarch, perhaps, was ever endowed with a greater portion of that vigour, and of those talents, which are essentially requisite for surmounting such difficulties. His army, though numerous, consisting chiefly of Catholics, was neither attached to his person, nor anxious for his interest; his capital was in the hands of a daring and desperate faction, who would willingly have consigned him to the same fate to which the hand of an assassin had devoted his predecessor; and many of the most rich and fertile provinces in his dominions acknowledged the authority of the rebellious League.

Henry was first saluted as king by the Scotch guards¹; their example was followed by colonel Sanci, and a part of the Swiss under his command; and the flame of loyalty extended to many of the principal Catholics, such as, the marshals de Biron and D'Aumont, Bellegarde, D'O, Châteauneuf, D'Entragues, Dampierre, and the brave Crillon. But, on the other hand, numbers of the nobility evinced their disaffection to a Protestant prince, and expressed their resolution to make his conversion the price of their obedience. Their intentions being communicated to Henry, that monarch replied, that though he were not bigotted to the faith he professed, his renunciation must be the effect of reflection and not of constraint. Some of the nobles were contented with

¹ Mémoires de Sully, liv. iii.

this answer, and determined to remain with the king, at least for a time; but the duke D'Epemon, and many others retired from his service, and took with them all the troops that were under their immediate command. Henry immediately applied to all the foreign powers from whom he had any reason to expect assistance, and he sent either letters or messengers to England, Germany, Flanders, Switzerland, and Venice, apprizing those states of the death of his predecessor, and his own accession to the throne.

No sooner was the news of the late king's death conveyed to Paris, than the Leaguers exhibited the most indecent and extravagant symptoms of joy. By these rebellious fanatics the crime of Clement was considered as an act of pious heroism; and the assassin was dignified with the appellation of martyr. The blasphemous wretches even dared to assert that his hand was guided by *Heaven*; and the people, in the height of their frenzy, wished to immortalize the deed, by erecting a statue to the regicide².

At a loss how to act, the Leaguers earnestly solicited the duke of Mayenne to accept the title of king; but though the prospect flattered his ambition, the duke was compelled to decline the dangerous pre-eminence, from a conviction that the foreign princes, who now countenanced and protected the League, would regard his elevation with a jealous eye, and probably refuse to acknowledge a sovereign who was not descended from the blood-royal of France. But while he rejected the title, he aspired to the power of a king, and, therefore, prevailed on the people to salute the cardinal of Bourbon as their monarch, in the persuasion that under that prelate he should enjoy a portion of authority, which his dignity of lieutenant-general of the crown and kingdom of France would render so powerful, as to be superior to controul.

Unable, with his diminished forces, to continue the siege of the capital, Henry drew off his troops, and having detached Sully to take possession of Meulan, he proceeded to Ecouy, with the intention of penetrating into Touraine; but the advice he received of the loyal disposition of the Normans, induced him to change his design, and to attempt the siege of Rouen. While he was preparing for this expedition, he reduced the towns of Gournay, Neuschâtel, Eu, Treport, and Darnetal, at which last place he received intelligence, that the duke of Mayenne was advancing towards him, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse. To oppose this formidable force, Henry had only three thousand six hundred men³; but though he knew that by risking an action he should subject himself to censure for his temerity, he was, at the same time, aware that, in the present state of his affairs, policy required he should not pay too strict an

² Vie de Crillon, tom. ii. p. 71.—Clement's mother went to Paris soon after the assassination of Henry, when the Council of Union presented her with a considerable sum of money, as a token of their gratitude for having given birth to "*The Deliverer of his Country*!" Idem, Ibid.

³ Sully.

attention to the common rules of prudence. Thus, having previously secured a place of retreat in the town of Dieppe, the governor whereof secretly favoured his cause, he resolved to make a stand near the town of Arques, about five miles from Dieppe. With this view he took possession of a strong post, and disposed of his little army to the best advantage. Confident of victory, the duke of Mayenne advanced, and, to his utter astonishment, found every inch of ground disputed with incredible valour. The immense superiority of his numbers, however, must, in the end, have prevailed; but for a rapid and well-directed discharge of cannon from the castle of Arques, which so galled his troops, that they were thrown into confusion, and, at length, compelled to retire, with the loss of near seven hundred men, leaving the king in possession of the field⁴.

After the battle of Arques, Henry advanced to Dieppe, where he received a reinforcement of four thousand troops from Elizabeth, and was soon after joined by a more considerable body of men, under the count of Soissons, the dukes of Orleans and Longueville, and the marshals D'Aumont and Biron. Thus strengthened, he again took the field, and directed his march to the capital. The suburbs of Saint James and Saint Germain were taken by assault, on the first of November; thirteen hundred of the Leaguers were put to the sword, and Paris must inevitably have been reduced to the necessity of acknowledging her lawful sovereign, but for the arrival of the duke of Mayenne, with an army superior to that of the royalists. Henry now raised the siege, and, after reducing the towns of Estampes, Janville and Vendôme, retired to the city of Tours. After a short stay at the capital of Touraine, he formed the siege of Mans, which surrendered on the first discharge of his artillery; and so successful was his progress in the provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, that all the towns they contained acknowledged his power, except the single fortress of Ferté-Bernard.

The duke of Mayenne, meanwhile, had formally proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon, under the appellation of Charles the Tenth⁵; in the name of this pageant of royalty, who was himself a prisoner to Henry, he dissolved the council of Union, and, with the assistance of a privy-council, nominated by himself and devoted to his will, assumed the supreme administration of affairs. Placing himself at the head of his army, he took the town of Pontoise, and then proceeded to form the siege of Meulan, which, through the vigilance and good conduct of Sully⁶, resisted his attacks until the arrival of the royalists, at whose approach the Leaguers retired. But one of their generals, the marquis D'Alegre, made a successful attempt on the city of Rouen, and Henry had the mortification to see the capital of a province he was so anxious to preserve, in the power of his enemies. Unable to undertake the recovery of this important place, he threw a garrison

⁴ It was on this occasion, that Henry wrote a laconic note to Crillon, couched in these terms: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon, for we have engaged the enemy at Arques, and you was not there." ⁵ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 290. ⁶ De Thou—Matthieu.

into Passy, under the command of Sully, and hastened, in person, to form the siege of Dreux. But he had scarcely opened his batteries, when the duke of Mayenne, having received a strong reinforcement from the prince of Parma, under the command of count Egmont, advanced to the relief of the town, and crossed the Seine at Mantes. The king, apprized of his approach, raised the siege, and took his post at Nonancour; where it was resolved, in a council of war, to give the enemy battle⁷. The duke of Mayenne had no intention of engaging, his design being only to throw succours into Dreux; but the king having left Nonancour to approach the banks of the Eure, near Ivry, in order to dispute the passage of that river with the enemy, should they attempt to pass it, the Leaguers mistook this motion for a flight, and the duke of Mayenne was prevailed on, by the inconsiderate councils of the count of Egmont, and the vain bravadoes of the Parisians, to follow and bring him to action.

On the morning of the fourteenth of March, 1590, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, opposite to the town of Ivry, in a large plain situated in the midst of a peninsula, formed by the rivers Aure, Iton, and Eure. The king, who, just before the battle was joined by Sully with three companies of horse-arquebusiers, had two thousand cavalry, and from six to seven thousand infantry; while the duke of Mayenne's army consisted of five thousand horse and eight thousand foot⁸. But the superiority, in point of numbers, on the part of the Leaguers, was counterbalanced by the skill and valour of the king's officers and troops. The count of Egmont, at the head of his own troops, reinforced by a squadron of German horse, attacked that division of the royalists, where the king fought in person, accompanied by his principal nobility, among whom Sully and the brave Crillon particularly distinguished themselves; the former, after receiving seven wounds and having two horses killed under him, was left senseless on the field⁹; the contest was long and obstinate; on the right and left, the royalists gave way; but the king, by his masterly conduct, and intrepid courage, ably seconded by the marshal D'Aumont and others of the nobility, rallied his scattered troops, and reanimated them to more vigorous and successful efforts: the count of Egmont was slain with the greater part of his detachment, and two thousand five hundred of the Leaguers also perished in the field. The greatest slaughter took place at the bridge of Ivry, which the duke of Mayenne had broken down, in order to secure his own retreat, at the expence of his followers. The Swiss, who, amidst the general confusion, alone preserved their ranks and reputation, consented to enter into the service of the king; who having forded the river at Anet, pursued the fugitives for some time, and then repaired to the castle of Rosny, about a league from Mantes, where he passed the night¹⁰.

The plain of Ivry was not the only place that was destined to witness the progress

⁷ Mezerai, tom. ix, p. 297.

⁸ Memoires de Sully, liv. iii. note.

⁹ Idem. Ibid.

¹⁰ Mezerai.

of Henry's arms ; on the very same day, Randan, who commanded the troops of the League in the province of Auvergne, was attacked, defeated, and slain, by the royalists at Issoire¹¹. The king was advised by la Noue, after the reduction of Mantes and Vernon, to improve his victory by repairing to the capital, where his friends, encouraged by his success, were impatient for his arrival ; but he was deterred from following this advice, as well by the solicitations of Biron and D'O, as by a mutiny of the Swiss for want of pay, which occasioned a delay of more than a fortnight. Dreux, however, surrendered to his arms, and, after an unsuccessful attack upon Sens, he secured the towns of Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and Saint-Denis, and, on the twenty-fifth day of April, invested the metropolis. Having taken all the necessary precautions for preventing supplies, or provisions, from entering the town, he divided his army into ten divisions, and, in one night, stormed the ten suburbs of the town at the same time, after which he converted the siege into a blockade.

About this time the cardinal of Bourbon, Henry's captive, and competitor for the crown, expired at the castle of Fontenay in Poitou. In his last moments, the aged prelate expressed his regard for his lawful sovereign, and his just sense of the interested views of those who had affected to elevate him to a throne : yet his name, for several years after his death, was used to sanction the designs of the League, and to nourish the flame of rebellion.

The army of the League having always been superior, in number, to that of the king, the Parisians had thought themselves secure from attack, and had therefore made no provision for sustaining a siege. But the distress to which they were reduced by this ill-timed confidence, by no means diminished the implacable hatred they bore to their sovereign. In the absence of the duke of Mayenne, who went to solicit assistance from the prince of Parma, the duke of Nemours was appointed governor of the capital, and by his conduct and valour he justified the choice of the inhabitants. A regiment of ecclesiastics, headed by the pope's legate, contributed their efforts to the defence of the metropolis ; but neither the most signal exertions of courage and skill, nor the desperate efforts of fanaticism, could have rescued this proud city from the fate which threatened it, but for the humanity of that sovereign whom it continued thus obstinately to resist. The rapid progress of famine and pestilence induced the governor to dismiss all useless mouths ; the aged and infirm were ordered to leave the town, and had Henry refused a passage through his lines to these unhappy wretches, whom his officers advised him to drive back with the sword, it is more than probable his capital must have surrendered ; but his affection for his people prevailed over the suggestions of policy, and this mild:

¹¹ Cayet, p. 329—De Thou.

and merciful monarch not only suffered them to pass, but connived at the introduction of provisions for the use of the friends they left behind¹².

But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, the Parisians were reduced to the last extremity: in the short space of a month no less than thirty thousand had perished by famine; mothers are said to have prolonged a guilty life by feeding on the flesh of their dead children; a paste, made of the pounded bones of those who had died of hunger, was, at the suggestion of the Spanish ambassador, employed by many as food¹³, but it only tended to shorten the lives it was meant to prolong¹⁴. The cardinal de Gondi, bishop of Paris, the archbishop of Lyons, and some others, moved with compassion for the sufferings of their country, and dreading the fatal effects of a general assault, persuaded the inhabitants, notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Nemours, to let them wait on the king, and offer to surrender the city, on condition that he should become a Catholic. To this proposition, Henry replied—"I will not dissemble, but on the contrary disclose my sentiments to you without reserve. I am willing to grant you peace; I am anxious to procure it myself; I would consent to lose one finger in order to come to action; but I would willingly sacrifice two to obtain a general peace. I love my good city of Paris; I am jealous of her; I am desirous of doing her service, and would even grant her more favours than she demands of me; but I wish to grant them of my own free will, and not to be compelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Mayenne." Had Henry attempted at this time to reduce Paris by storm, there can be little doubt but he would have succeeded; but his humanity led him to reject the entreaties of his soldiers, who strenuously urged him to the adoption of this measure; for he was aware that such of them as were Hugonots would gladly embrace the opportunity to revenge the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting to death the Parisians who had taken so active a part on that occasion. In consequence of such forbearance, the prince of Parma, with an army of fifteen thousand men, had time to form a junction with the Leaguers, and the approach of their united forces, revived the drooping spirits of the Parisians.

The king now found it necessary to raise the siege of the capital; and as the prince of Parma was in the vicinity of Meaux, he drew off his troops, and posted himself between that city and Paris, making his light-horse advance as far as Claye, where the two camps lay so contiguous to each other, that several smart skirmishes ensued. The post which Henry had taken possession of was most advantageously situated for preventing the approach of the enemy to the capital, but, at the instigation of the mareschal de Birron, and in direct contradiction to his own judgment, he quitted it for that of Chelles, where he pitched his camp on the rising ground, which on one side was encompassed

¹² Sully, liv. 3.

¹³ Idem, Ibid.

¹⁴ Memoires de Villeroy, p. 358.

by a deep valley and a morass, where the cavalry could not possibly act. The prince of Parma no sooner perceived this injudicious movement, than he encamped on an eminence immediately opposite to the king, but out of the reach of his artillery. It was neither his intention nor his interest to hazard an action, but this would not easily have been avoided had Henry remained at his former post; the king, indeed, became sensible of his error, when, after remaining two or three days in his present position, he saw Lagny taken before his eyes, without being able to prevent its reduction.

Finding all his hopes of preventing the prince of Parma from throwing succours into the capital frustrated by the vigilance of that general, he retreated to the banks of the Oise, and stationed his troops at Creil, a town situated on that river, where he continued to harass the enemy. During his stay at these quarters he made no other attempts than such as were requisite to prevent his army from being enervated by sloth; while the prince of Parma, to shew that he was master of the field, formed the siege of Corbeil, which he took, after a vigorous resistance. The prince, to found the inclinations of the Catholic leaders towards the king of Spain, proposed to garrison the town with his Walloon, or Italian troops; but this offer was rejected with indignation by the duke of Mayenne and his confederates, and the manner of their refusal clearly discovered their jealousy and suspicion of Philip. The prince, confirmed in his opinion that the moment was not yet arrived of avowing the ambitious designs of his master, and influenced still more by the inclemency of the season, the sickly state of his troops, and the want of money and provisions, determined, notwithstanding the importunities of the Catholic chiefs, to return to the Low Countries, and leave the contending parties to exhaust their strength in mutual animosity, in the hope that their weakness hereafter would deliver them an easy prey to Spain.

Lest the Catholics might be overpowered in his absence, by the superior genius of the king of France, the prince left for their support a body of six thousand men, and, with the rest of his troops, began his march towards the Netherlands; but he was sensible that so able a commander as Henry would not fail to observe his retreat with a vigilant eye. That he might accomplish without loss this arduous enterprize, he drew up his army in four divisions, and always marched in order of battle; the country before him was, every morning, diligently reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his army each night was secured by strong intrenchments.

The prince was not mistaken, for Henry was no sooner apprized of the route he intended to take, than he collected a choice body of troops, and, notwithstanding all the precautions of his adversary, he harassed, by such incessant and vigorous attacks, the forces of Spain, that they were frequently reduced to the most dangerous situation. In the passage of the river Aire, the royalists particularly distinguished themselves; and the baron de Biron, son to the marechal, engaged himself so far among the Spanish

battalions, that, but for the active gallantry of his sovereign, who flew to his assistance with such of the nobility as were immediately about his person, his life must have paid the forfeit of his temerity ¹⁵. The length of the march, the badness of the roads, and the advanced season of the year, all contributed to second the attempts of Henry, and to encrease the distress of the enemy; but the superior skill and prudence of the prince of Parma surmounted every obstacle, and without any considerable loss he triumphantly conducted his troops into the province of Hainault. Yet Henry, by his conduct on this occasion, gave fresh courage to his partisans: several towns submitted to his arms, and many of the Catholic nobility espoused his cause; among others were the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him ¹⁶.

During this interval, pope Sixtus the Fifth expired, at a time when he had determined to break with the Spaniards, and to assert, by arms, the claims of the court of Rome to the kingdom of Naples. He was succeeded by Urban the Seventh, who lived but a month after his elevation to the apostolical chair, which, at his decease, was filled by Gregory the Fourteenth, by birth a Milanese, and an implacable enemy to Henry. He instantly declared that monarch a heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and involved them in the censures of the church, unless they quitted the impious party they had espoused.

A. D. 1591.] At the commencement of this year, Henry having received a supply of ammunition and money from England, was enabled to maintain his superiority in the field. After several unsuccessful attempts to take Paris by surprize, he formed, in the month of February, the siege of Chartres, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the eighteenth of April. The duke of Mayenne, unable to prevent the reduction of that town, sought to draw off the king's attention to another quarter, by investing Château-Thierry, which he took in a very short time. During the siege of Chartres, Francis de Coligni, son to the celebrated admiral, displayed qualities which even promised to surpass those of his father; and his death, which happened soon after, was universally deplored by the Calvinists, who were permitted to behold his virtues, and to lament their loss. From the acquisition of Chartres the king directed his attack to Noyon, which was bravely defended by Rieux, who, from a private soldier, had, merely from his merit, been raised to the rank of a general officer: But the perseverance of Henry overcame every obstacle; all attempts to introduce succours to the town were frustrated by

¹⁵ Mezerai.

¹⁶ It was, during this expedition, that the king, passing by Cœuvres, first saw the celebrated Gabrielle d'Etrées, who was daughter to Anthony d'Etrées, marquis of Cœuvres, and knight of the order of St. Michael. She acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of Henry, that her influence became boundless. It is said that she had much less sense than beauty; and that her mind was a stranger to ambition; but the lessons she received from her parents awakened her vanity, and taught her to employ her charms for promoting the fortune and aggrandizement of her house.—*Vie du brave Crillon*, tom. ii. p. 160.

the vigilance of the royalists; and it was at length compelled to surrender, even in the sight of the duke of Mayenne.

About this time, an assembly of the chiefs of the League was holden at the city of Rheims, in order to discuss the propriety of opening negotiations for a peace, or to provide the means of carrying on the war. By putting an end to hostilities all the ambitious designs of the Leaguers must have been frustrated, and they were aware of the difficulty of continuing them without a king, and of maintaining a king without the sanction and support of the Spanish monarch. To obtain these the president Janin was deputed to Philip, who, after several interviews with that prince and his ministers, at length discovered his real intentions, which were—To assemble the states-general, in order to give the crown to that prince who should espouse his daughter Isabella, as a princess who was nearly allied to the blood-royal of France; in consideration whereof, Philip engaged to send into France a force sufficiently powerful to effect the expulsion of the king of Navarre; and to allow the duke of Mayenne a monthly stipend of ten thousand crowns¹⁷.

Philip founded his hopes of success on the influence of his money, on the affection of the council of sixteen (who had again assumed the government of the capital) and on the cabals of the mendicant friars and other monks, who formed a very powerful party, and who were, at that time, wholly devoted to Spain; by these means he flattered himself he should win over to his interest the inhabitants of the principal towns. The pope's views were nearly the same, and he resolved to employ both his spiritual and temporal arms for enforcing them. In the month of April he published his sentence of excommunication against the king and his adherents, in all the towns which acknowledged the authority of the League; while he raised an army of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, the command whereof he gave to his nephew, on whom he conferred the duchy of Montemarcano.

But the only effect which the pope's bulls had in the kingdom, was to provoke the publication of edicts calculated to strengthen the opposite party, and of decrees of the different parliaments tending to encrease the prevailing spirit of animosity. A part of the parliament of Tours, sitting at Châlons, pronounced, on the sixth of June, a sentence, which revoked all the bulls as being null, abusive, scandalous, full of impostures, contrary to the holy decrees, canons, and councils, and to the rights of the Gallican church; ordering them to be torn and burnt by the hands of the executioner; offering a reward of ten thousand livres to any person who should apprehend the pope's legate; and forbidding all his majesty's subjects to afford him refuge or protection¹⁸! The king himself, by the advice of his council assembled at Mantes, published a declaration on the

¹⁷ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 341, 342.

¹⁸ Idem.

seventeenth of July, by which he ordered all the parliaments to proceed without delay against the legate, in order to bring him to justice; and exhorted the prelates to assemble for the purpose of preventing any interruption of ecclesiastical discipline, and of taking such precautions that the people should not be deprived of their pastors.

On the other hand Henry deemed it prudent, notwithstanding the opposition of the young cardinal of Bourbon, to issue a declaration in favour of the Hugonots; revoking all the edicts which had been published against them, and the decisions founded thereon; and restoring to their full force and vigour all the edicts of pacification—but only provisionally, and till such time as he should find the means of promoting an union of all his subjects by the establishment of a solid peace. By the insertion of this last clause he facilitated the confirmation of this declaration by the parliament of Tours, who, with regard to the pope's bulls, were still more explicit and decisive than their brethren at Châlons. They declared Gregory to be an enemy to the peace and reunion of the church; an enemy to the king and state; an associate in the Spanish conspiracy; an accomplice in rebellion; and an instigator of the murder of Henry the Third²⁹. In contradiction to these proceedings, the rebel parliament of Paris declared this decree null and of no effect, issued by men destitute of power, schismatics and heretics, enemies of God, and destroyers of his church.

Meanwhile, the escape of the young duke of Guise from the castle of Tours, in which he had been confined ever since his father's death, increased the number of Henry's enemies; this event occasioned great rejoicings among the Leaguers, and the pope publicly returned thanks to God for the duke's liberation from captivity. But the jealousy of the duke of Mayenne removed the fears of the one party, and destroyed the hopes of the other: apprehensive that his nephew might succeed to the place which his father had enjoyed in the affections of the people, he was led to consider him less as a powerful friend than as a formidable rival; he sent, however, La Feuillade to congratulate him on his escape, and to carry him some money. The king found a greater subject for regret in the loss of the brave La Noue, who was killed, about this time, at the siege of Lamballe. He died universally regretted. His son inherited all his good qualities: he had been four years a prisoner in the Netherlands, and having, at length, obtained his liberty, he was hastening to join his father, when he was apprized of his death.

Both the king and the duke of Mayenne now prepared for the reception of the foreign troops which had been promised them by their respective allies. In September, the duke went to Verdun to meet the reinforcement sent by the pope to the assistance of

²⁹ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 346.

the League; he found the men in a terrible plight: all the infantry were disabled by a dysentery and the cavalry extremely harassed, and most of them dismounted. The German auxiliaries, destined for the service of the king, arrived about the same time, and were in the best possible condition: they consisted of eleven thousand foot, and five hundred Rheiters²⁰, levied by the viscount Turenne, at the expence of the queen of England, and the free cities of Germany. The king went to meet them at the head of one thousand horse, and, after reviewing them on Michaelmas-day, in the plain of Vandy, he led them into the vicinity of Verdun, where the dukes of Lorraine, Mayenne, and Montemarçiano were stationed, that those noblemen might be apprized of the junction.

Meeting with no resistance, Henry resolved to form the siege of Rouen, and having received an additional reinforcement of four thousand English, under the command of the earl of Essex, the marechal de Biron invested that city, on the eleventh of November, with an army of nearly thirty thousand horse and foot. The garrison of Rouen was commanded by Andrew Brancas de Villars, an officer of approved courage and talents, on whom the duke of Mayenne had conferred the government of Normandy, together with the high office of admiral. As he had expected that the town would be besieged, he had taken care to strengthen the fortifications, and to provide it with ample stores of provision and ammunition: the garrison, too, was composed of the best troops in the service of the League.

The king joined the army on the twenty-fourth of November, and having established his quarters at the village of Darnetal, he caused the trenches to be opened against the fort of Saint Catharine, and, at the same time, summoned the town to surrender; but the citizens replied, that they never would acknowledge a heretic for their sovereign, and attempted to justify their revolt by the stale pretext of zeal for the Catholic religion. The attacks were carried on with vigour, and, in the various skirmishes that took place, victory alternately declared for either side. The king always appeared at the post of danger; at the head of three hundred gentlemen, he attacked an outwork which Villars had thrown up near the fort of Saint Catharine, and, notwithstanding a most vigorous resistance, and the extreme inclemency of the weather, he carried it at midnight, sword in hand.

The duke of Mayenne, meanwhile, was reduced to the greatest distress: having no force sufficiently strong to oppose the powerful army of the royalists, he saw the important city of Rouen exposed to the most imminent danger, and dreaded lest its reduction might be attended with the loss of the capital itself. Such of his associates as were best

²⁰ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 357.

able to afford him assistance were employed in schemes for promoting the gratification of their own interest. The duke of Nemours, with a part of the troops of the League, was endeavouring to erect a sovereignty for himself in the Lionnois, while the duke of Guise sought to become the head of the party, in imitation of his father; and already had the young nobility attached themselves to him, and the council of sixteen acknowledged him for their leader. Indeed, the despotic authority assumed by this council, threatened wholly to annihilate the power of the duke of Mayenne: disgusted with the parliament for refusing to sanction their violent proceedings, they seized and put to death the president Brisson; Larcher, one of the judges of the parliament, and Tardif; one of the magistrates of the Châtelet²¹. The duke was, for some time, at a loss how to act, but, at length, he repaired to the capital, and finding his party still sufficiently strong to support the decisive measures he meant to adopt, he seized, in the night of the third of December, four of the council, whom he immediately caused to be executed. After this exertion of authority, he wrote letters to all the governors of the provinces, in the interest of the League, in order to justify his own conduct, and to render the opposite faction detestable; and farther to attach them to him, he exacted from them an oath, never to forsake him; never to encourage the election of a king without his consent; to approve all the treaties he should sign with all persons whatever; and to maintain no private intercourse or correspondence with the Spaniards. At the same time, the parliament being without presidents, the duke created four, who were entirely devoted to his interest²².

A. D. 1592.] During these transactions the king continued to push with vigour the siege of Rouen, in the defence of which city Villars displayed the most consummate skill, and the most active courage: his sallies were frequent and well-conducted; on the twenty-third of January, while the royalists were engaged in attacking a ravelin before the fort of Saint Catharine, which was defended with the utmost bravery, he placed himself at the head of three hundred horse, and advanced towards Darnetal, at the same time that a detachment of eighteen hundred arquebusiers forded the river Robec. These last had orders to attack the English, posted at the wood of Turinge, while Villars directed his efforts against the regiment of French guards, on the advanced parties whereof he fell so unexpectedly, that they were immediately routed, and put to flight. Crillon, however, hearing the noise, speedily collected a small body of troops, and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, kept them so long at bay, that the king had time to descend the hill, pass the river, and hasten to his assistance²³; he was followed by Biron and Montmorenci, at the head of the light horse; but Villars, reinforced by his arquebusiers and some other troops, maintained his post with so much resolution, that the battle became serious. The spirited exertions of the French guards,

²¹ Mezerai.²² Idem.²³ D'Aubigné, tom. iii. liv. 3. c. 14.—Vie du Brave Crillon, tom. ii. p. 104, 105.

however,

however, at length proved successful ; Villars and his detachment were defeated, and compelled to retire into the city with precipitation.

The duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger to which Rouen was exposed, solicited the assistance of the king of Spain, who ordered the prince of Parma to march to the assistance of the Leaguers, with an army consisting of ten thousand foot and three thousand horse, attended by forty pieces of cannon; these being joined by the troops of the duke of Mayenne, constituted an army of one-and-thirty thousand men. The duke of Parma, on his entrance into the territories of France, required that the town of La Fere upon Oyse, should be surrendered to him, and he there left a garrison of four hundred men to guard his artillery. Diego D'Ibarra, duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, opened the intentions of his master, by making a formal demand of the crown of France for the infanta, whom Philip promised to marry to a French prince. Several conferences were holden on this subject at La Fere, between the ministers of Spain and those of the duke of Mayenne. The former offered to grant the latter their own terms, but nothing was at present concluded on²⁴.

Henry was no sooner apprized of the approach of the Spaniards, than he put himself at the head of seven thousand horse, and directed his course to the banks of the Somme. A part of this detachment fell in with a body of the enemy's horse, near Folleville, whom they immediately attacked, but were repulsed, with the loss of Lavardin, and several of their men ; the king, however, flew to their assistance, and, in his turn, compelled the enemy to retire. He soon after attacked, with only two thousand two hundred horse, the van-guard of the Spanish army, under the duke of Guise, at the town of Bures, in the Beauvoisis. This bold attempt was attended with complete success; a great part of the enemy were slain, and the rest put to flight. But, near the town of Aumale, Henry's courage got the better of his prudence, and engaged him in an action which had nearly cost him his life. With only a hundred horse, he hovered round and insulted the whole Spanish army: attacked by a large detachment of cavalry, he long sustained the unequal combat ; his troop was soon reduced to forty men, and after displaying the most signal exertions of valour, he resolved to effect a retreat: nothing could exceed the danger of this attempt, as the king had a bridge to pass, and that bridge was at a considerable distance ; but his conduct and valour were admirably calculated for extricating him from similar difficulties: he placed himself in the rear of his troop ; gained the bridge ; was the last that passed it ; and sustained the shock of the enemy till his officers and men had reached the opposite side. Though he had received a pistol-shot in the reins, he still continued fighting, till he gained the foot of a hill, where he had

²⁴Mezerai, tom ix. p. 370.

posted four hundred arquebusiers, whose unexpected appearance rendered the prince of Parma suspicious of an ambuscade, and induced him to call off his troops²⁵.

While the king was engaged in this expedition, the governor of Rouen (on the twenty-sixth of February) made a vigorous sally on the besiegers: penetrating to the royal quarters at Darnetal, Villars put all the German infantry to the sword, carried off six pieces of cannon, with all the powder; then, pursuing his advantage, attacked the trenches, killed or put to flight all who defended them, and did not re-enter the city till he had completely demolished the greater part of the works of the besiegers. The king, who imputed this disaster to the culpable neglect of the marechal de Biron, immediately hastened to Rouen; and, finding it necessary to raise the siege, he drew off his troops, and advanced to meet the prince of Parma; the two armies came in sight of each other, within a day's march of the town, when Henry challenged the prince to action: that able general, with seeming joy, accepted the defiance; but, by a judicious disposal of his troops, he eluded the vigilance of his adversary, and completed his grand object by the relief of Rouen²⁶.

Finding it impossible to attack the prince of Parma under the walls of the city, Henry now dismissed his troops, but he took care so to dispose of them that they could all be reassembled on the shortest notice. Meanwhile the prince having sufficiently refreshed his soldiers, proceeded, with a part of his army, to form the siege of Pontc-Audemer and Caudebec, which made but little resistance; the king having purposely favoured their reduction in order to throw the enemy off their guard. Caudebec is situated in the peninsula of Caux, bounded by the Seine on the west; and the sea and the river D'Eu, on the north and east; and Henry no sooner found that the prince of Parma had committed his forces within the narrow limits of this peninsula, than he prepared to execute the plan he had formed on the dismissal of his troops. In the short space of a week, he assembled an army of twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with which he speedily advanced to Varicarville and Fontaine-le-Bourg. Having secured all the passes between Rouen and Caudebec, and cut off the communication between the garrison of Pontc-Audemer and the main body of the enemy's army, he attacked, on the twenty-eighth of April, the van-guard of the Leaguers, under the command of the duke of Guise. The duke's squadrons, taken by surprise, were broken at the first onset, and that general fled with precipitation, after losing a great number of men, leaving his baggage in the hands of the victor.

The prince of Parma, astonished at this sudden attack, endeavoured to secure his other quarters from insult, by stationing the duke of Guise at Yvetot, and by throwing up

²⁵ Memoires de Sully, liv. iv:

²⁶ Idem, ibid.

fortifications around his camp; and as the limits of his camp were too confined to contain the whole of his troops, he posted three thousand men in an adjoining wood, which he surrounded with intrenchments, and established a line of communication between that and the camp. These precautions, however, proved insufficient to restrain the military ardour of Henry, who sent a body of eight thousand infantry, composed of an equal number of English, Dutch and Germans, and supported by six hundred horse, to attack the wood, which they carried, after an obstinate conflict of three hours, in which the Leaguers lost eight hundred men. This success encouraged the king to make a similar attempt upon Ivetot, where he was equally successful; the prince of Parma, indeed, hastened to the relief of the duke of Guise, and vigorously sustained the efforts of the royalists, till his troops had gained the fortified camp: he lost, however, seven or eight hundred men, and was himself dangerously wounded in the arm.

The day closed before the action was finished; the king, instead of giving himself up to repose after the extraordinary fatigue he had experienced, passed the night in preparations for improving the advantage he had obtained over the enemy. He resolved on the following morning to storm their camp, and with this view he caused six pieces of cannon to be drawn out during the night, and pointed against the fortifications: he visited every post in person, delivered his instructions to the officers, and made every disposition for commencing the attack at dawn of day. But great was his surprize when, as he advanced for this purpose, he found the camp deserted, and the enemy gone²⁷.

The vigilance, foresight, and good conduct of the prince of Parma, on this occasion, cannot be too much admired; though the extreme confidence of the Leaguers seemed to preclude the necessity of extraordinary precautions, yet this able general, knowing what a vigorous and active foe he had to contend with, had secretly collected a great number of boats, which he stationed near Caudebec, for the purpose of securing his retreat, in case he should be pushed to extremities. To this wise and salutary measure was he indebted for the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his military fame. With these boats he formed a bridge in the night, and notwithstanding the confusion which prevailed in his camp, his whole army, artillery, and baggage passed over in safety to the opposite side before the break of day²⁸.

Henry was not more mortified than astonished at this event. He immediately summoned a council of war, in which he proposed to proceed to Pont-de-l'Arche, and after crossing the Seine, pursue the enemy without delay. But this project, though indisputably the best that could be adopted in his situation, was so strenuously opposed by his officers, that he was compelled to give up his design. The prince of Parma, therefore,

²⁷ Mémoires de Sully, liv. iv.

²⁸ Idem, ibid.

was suffered to effect his retreat without molestation, and he returned to Flanders, dissatisfied with the issue of the campaign, and highly discontented with the League.

The exhausted state of the king's finances now compelled him to disband the majority of his army: near the city of Craon, on the frontiers of Anjou, the prince of Conti was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, a zealous Leaguer of the house of Lorraine: Eprenai was, indeed, retaken by the royalists, but the acquisition was attended with the death of the mareschal de Biron, whose career of military glory was terminated by a cannon-ball. On the other hand, in Dauphiné, Lesdiguières, who had firmly attached himself to the fortunes of Henry, vanquished the duke of Savoy, and pursued him to the very gates of Turin; and the duke of Joyeuse, who commanded in Languedoc, an army of seven thousand men, in the service of the League, having laid siege to Ville-mur, was repulsed by the royalists, under Themines, and miserably perished, with three thousand four hundred of his followers, in the waters of the Tarn.

The Leaguers were induced by these disasters again to solicit the assistance of Spain, and the prince of Parma once more received orders from Philip to march to their assistance. But the constitution of that able commander was already fatally impaired by the fatigues of fourteen successive campaigns: the wound which he had received during the last had never properly healed; and while he applied, with his wonted assiduity, to hasten the necessary preparations for his expedition, his death deprived the Spanish monarch of a subject, to whose sagacity and penetration he was indebted for the recovery of great part of the Netherlands, and delivered the king of France from a rival whose splendid military talents had so often baffled his best concerted enterprizes. On his decease, the government of the Low Countries was entrusted to count Peter Ernest of Mansveldt, whose son Charles led a Spanish army of seven thousand veteran soldiers to the support of the League, and, after reducing Noyon, in conjunction with the duke of Mayenne, returned to Flanders.

After the campaign was closed, Henry repaired to Mante, where he had ample leisure to reflect on his situation: He found his kingdom convulsed by the jarring and irreconcilable interests of contending factions: the princes and nobility of the different parties hated each other, and were only united by their common rage against their sovereign: mutiny and disobedience pervaded the troops: his foreign allies were spiritless and inactive; his friends indifferent or treacherous; and his enemies inveterate in their resentment, and vigilant in their intrigues. For the application of a remedy to these numerous evils, the king had recourse to his favourite, Rosny, afterwards better known by the title of duke of Sully, who, though a staunch Protestant himself, advised his sovereign to conform to the established faith of the realm, as his conversion appeared to him to be the only possible means of calming the dreadful commotions that convulsed the state.

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The arguments employed by Sully, on this occasion, at once display the strength of his mind, and the liberality of his principles²⁹.

A. D. 1593.] While the king was employed in deliberating on the proposals of Sully, the states-general of the kingdom assembled at Paris. The project of assembling the states had been originally conceived by the prince of Parma, who intended they should meet at Rheims, where he might influence their decisions by the presence of a powerful army, and, after compelling them to elect such a prince as might be most agreeable to the king of Spain, immediately proceed to the ceremony of the coronation. But this deep-laid plan being frustrated by the death of the prince, the duke of Mayenne prevailed on the pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries to consent that they should be assembled at the capital. As the avowed object of their meeting was the election of a sovereign, the Spaniards, finding the Leaguers averse from the domination of a foreign prince, proposed that the cardinal of Bourbon should marry the infanta, (Philip's second daughter) and be declared king. This proposal experienced a very powerful opposition, for there was scarcely a single leader of the party, of any distinction, but aspired to that honour himself. Hence arose a thousand intrigues, the object of which was the gratification of private ambition at the expence of the public welfare; but the parliament, foreseeing the fatal consequences of such proceedings, issued, on the twenty-eighth of June³⁰, an edict to prevent the crown from being carried out of the royal-family. This wise determination to guard against the infringement of a law so fundamental as that which secured the hereditary right of succession, though censured by the few whose interested views it tended to thwart, was highly approved by all real friends to their country.

This edict was soon followed by a proposal for a conference with the king, which, notwithstanding the opposition it experienced from the dukes of Mayenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, was adopted by the states. A conference was accordingly holden at Surêne, in the months of April and May, but the influence which had in vain been employed for the purpose of preventing it, was now successfully exerted for rendering it ineffectual. Some other conferences were afterwards holden between the Catholic and Protestant clergy, solely on religious matters, at which the king constantly attended. But this did not prevent Henry from making preparations for opening the campaign by some action of importance. In the month of April he left Mante, and having passed the river Eure at Serisy, invested the town of Dreux, which soon surrendered to his arms; but the citadel was not taken without much labour and some loss.

When there was every reason to believe that Henry had made up his mind to a change of religion, the chiefs of the League, who were actuated by a restless spirit of

²⁹ *Mémoires de Sully*, liv. v.

³⁰ *Mémoires de Villeroy*, tom. ii. p. 58.

ambition, held a secret assembly, at which were present the ministers of the pope and the king of Spain, when the legate made them all swear upon the cross, the evangelists, and even upon the host, to maintain the League, until a prince, approved by the king of Spain, should be placed on the throne of France; and never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for their sovereign, even though he should abjure the Protestant faith. The oath, signed by the whole assembly, was forwarded to the pope³¹.

But the Leaguers had, by this time, lost much of their power, and the people waited with impatience for the king's abjuration of his errors: that long-expected ceremony was performed at Saint Denis, on the twentieth of July; Henry attended the celebration of mass, read aloud his confession of the Catholic faith, and having declared his determination constantly to maintain and defend it, received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges³². Sully was of opinion, that though motives of a political nature had first influenced the adoption of this necessary measure, the conversion of Henry was finally the result of conviction, and, consequently, sincere.

Nothing could more strongly display the factious spirit of the Leaguers, than their refusal to submit to their sovereign, now that the cause, on which they had openly founded their revolt, was removed. Clement the Eighth, who had lately succeeded to the pontificate, favoured the views of the rebellious nobles, and refused to admit the ambassadors of Henry, or to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him. The duke of Mayenne and the Spanish ministers continued their intrigues. They represented the conversion of Henry, to the people, merely as a political device to evade the election of a Catholic prince; and they persuaded a number of their adherents to swear that they would not acknowledge Henry for their king, unless his conversion was ratified by the pope; while, at the same time, they employed their influence to confirm the inflexible disposition of the sovereign pontiff. Philip, the more firmly to attach the duke of Mayenne to his interest, ordered his ministers to acquaint that powerful leader that he was determined to bestow the hand of his daughter Isabella on his son.

But while Philip and the chiefs of the League endeavoured to fortify themselves against the increasing influence of the king of France, a design was formed against the life of that prince by an obscure enthusiast, named Peter Barrière³³. This young man, who was a native of Orleans, had, for some time, followed the occupation of a waterman on the river Loire, but had since served as a soldier in the army of the League. Having communicated his intentions to several of the most bigoted ecclesiastics, who had espoused that party, their exhortations were employed to confirm his resolution: at

³¹ Sully.³² Cayet—Matthieu—Sully.³³ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 425.

length, however, he revealed them to a Dominican friar at Lyons, who, stricken with horror at the crime, contrived to transmit to the king, with the picture of the assassin, an account of the atrocious deed that he meditated. From the resemblance of the portrait, Barriere was discovered, and apprehended at Meulan; though his firmness resisted all attempts to extort a confession of guilt by the means of the rack, yet, after his condemnation, the persuasions of his confessors prevailed, and he made an ample acknowledgment. He was sentenced to lose his right hand, to have his flesh torn with red-hot pincers, to be broken alive on the wheel, and then to be committed to the flames.

Had the resources of the League been equal to their enmity, Henry might still have had reason to consider them as formidable adversaries; but aware of the diminution of their power, they solicited and obtained a truce for three months, which was afterwards prolonged for a farther term of six months, and the sweets of tranquillity, which the people had tasted during this interval rendered them still more averse from again plunging into the calamities of war. The historians of the League dwell, with tedious precision, on the various skirmishes, intrigues and cabals, that still continued to distract the different provinces; but a kingdom involved in anarchy presents at best but a disgusting scene to the reader, and his patience should no longer be fatigued than necessity requires, by the relation of those leading events which tend to preserve the thread of history, and to shew the fatal effects of such confusion. Lesdiguières again defeated the duke of Savoy, and also dispersed an army of three thousand Spaniards on the frontiers; and checked in Provence the progress of the duke D'Epéron. But Languedoc alone, amidst the general distraction, was exempted from the miseries which had afflicted the rest of the kingdom; and the prudence of the marshal Montmorenci, which had secured the peace of that province, was rewarded by the king with the constable's sword.

A. D. 1594.] Notwithstanding the active intrigues of the courts of Spain and Rome, the great majority of the people loudly expressed their satisfaction at their sovereign's conversion to the established faith. Lewis de l'Hôpital, marquis of Vitry, had, on the death of Henry the Third, withdrawn himself from the present king, and was entrusted by the League with the city of Meaux. He had frequently, but in vain, importuned the duke of Mayenne to conclude an accommodation that might terminate the calamities of his country; but no sooner did Henry abjure the Protestant religion, than he determined to follow the dictates of his conscience, and to return to his allegiance. He commanded the garrison to evacuate the town, and, on delivering the keys to the magistrates, he said, "I scorn to steal a place, or to make my fortune at the expense of another. I am going to pay my duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you please." The inhabitants expressed their approbation of this conduct by repeated acclamations, and the air resounded with "Long live Henry the Fourth!" The generous flame of loyalty, being once kindled, spread, with wonderful

derful rapidity to the most distant parts of the kingdom; and the example of the citizens of Meaux was followed by those of Pontoise, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons, which shook off the yoke of the League, and acknowledged the authority of their lawful sovereign.

Henry determined to embrace the moment of returning prosperity to celebrate his coronation; and as Rheims was still in the hands of the enemy, the church of the Virgin at Chartres was fixed upon for that important ceremony. It was performed, on the twenty-seventh of February³⁴, by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of Chartres, and was attended by the prince of Conti, and the dukes of Montpensier, Luxembourg, Retz, and Ventadour. It was scarcely accomplished, before a new event engrossed the attention of Henry, and, while it dissipated the visionary projects of his adversaries, seemed firmly to fix the crown on his head.

The duke of Mayenne, having recently seen the city of Laon open her gates to the royalists, while the greater part of Picardy acknowledged the authority of the king; knowing, too, that the duke of Guise, with many of the chief officers of the League, were disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, determined to comply with the suggestions of such of his friends as advised him to secure one whole province in his favour, and there erect a kind of independent principality. After depriving the count of Belin, whose inclinations he believed to be secretly favourable to the royal party, of the government of Paris, and appointing the count of Brissac, a zealous republican, to succeed him, he fixed upon Burgundy as the place of his retreat, and the seat of his independence. To that province he accordingly marched with his forces, after placing strong garrisons in Dourlens, La Fère, and Soissons.

But Brissac, finding the strength of his party nearly exhausted, became anxious for his own interest and safety, and to secure these he immediately entered into a negotiation with the king, and agreed on advantageous conditions to admit the royal forces into the city of Paris. While the Spaniards were amused by the arts of Brissac, two of the gates were opened to the king's army, in the night of the twenty-first of March, who instantly took possession of the squares and principal streets. The next morning Henry himself entered his capital and was received by the Parisians with loud acclamations. The troops maintained the most exact discipline, and, amidst the revolution, the city throughout bore the appearance of peace and security. The Spaniards alone, about four thousand in number, and commanded by the duke of Feria, still occupied the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin, with the Bastile and the Temple: these they diligently fortified, and declared their resolution of defending them, if attacked, to

³⁴ Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 436.

the last extremity ; but from this desperate design they were deterred by Henry, who permitted them to march out with all the honours of war.

The clemency displayed by Henry, at this critical conjuncture, effectually secured the affections of his subjects. With a soul superior to resentment, he revolted at the idea of inflicting punishment where he met with submission ; and he received his most inveterate foes with a degree of goodness and condescension that for ever attached them to his interest. Even the duchess of Montpensier, who had distinguished herself by the most indecent and public invectives, was admitted to his presence, and, by his familiar conversation, he endeavoured to banish that confusion which she could not entirely conceal ; Brissac was rewarded with a considerable sum of money, and the rank of marechal of France ; L'Huillier, mayor of Paris, who had displayed zeal equally fervent and more disinterested, was promoted to the office of president of the chamber of accounts ; while a general amnesty dispelled the fears, and restored tranquillity to the anxious multitude.

Villars, who had so eminently distinguished his skill and courage, in the defence of Rouen, soon after opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth. His return to his allegiance was recompensed with the dignity of admiral, and the government of the place he had surrendered. Cambray, which had been wrested from the Spaniards by the duke of Anjou, and by that prince had been bequeathed to Catharine of Medicis, was ruled with independent authority by Balagny, a French officer, whom the queen-mother had entrusted with the defence of it. But the decline of the League, and the consequent augmentation of the royal power, convincing Balagny that he could no longer hope to preserve his independence, he consented to acknowledge the authority of Henry, on condition that, under him, he should be permitted to enjoy the sovereignty, with the title of prince of Cambray.

The duke of Mayenne, unable to maintain the unequal contest, once more applied for assistance to Spain ; and though Philip could no longer flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the crown of France, his implacable enmity to Henry increased in proportion to the injuries he had heaped on that prince ; and his dread lest, when firmly established on the throne, he should revive the pretensions of his house to the kingdom of Navarre, determined him still to keep alive the flames of civil war. He accordingly detached Charles, count of Mansveldt, with an army of twelve thousand men, to invade the province of Picardy ; and that nobleman having formed the siege of la Capelle compelled the garrison to surrender before Henry could march to its assistance. But this disaster was amply overbalanced by the returning loyalty of the duke of Guise, whose mother had long been engaged in settling the terms of his reconciliation with the king : every previous arrangement being at length completed, that prince surrendered the towns

towns of Vitri, Rocroi and Rheims, and, repairing to Paris, was received with distinction by Henry, who immediately conferred on him the government of Provence³⁵.

Henry now, finding himself firmly seated on the throne, lent a favourable ear to the interested suggestions of the duke of Bouillon, who urged him to an immediate declaration of war against Spain. This advice corresponded but too well with the just resentment which the king experienced at the repeated injuries and insults he had sustained from the tyrant Philip, and which induced him, on this occasion, to reject the more prudent counsel of his favourite Sully, who represented the unsettled state of the kingdom as an invincible reason for engaging in hostilities, with a prince so powerful as the king of Spain. But before he came to a final resolution, his enemies made a fresh attempt upon his life. As the king, in the apartment of his fair mistress, at the Hotel D'Estrées³⁶, (on the twenty sixth of December), was stooping to embrace Montigny, he received a stroke from a knife, that cut his lip and broke one of his teeth: his friends were thrown into the utmost consternation, fearing, from the quantity of blood which issued, that the wound was mortal; but Henry speedily dispelled their alarm, by his calmness and composure. The assassin, who was immediately discovered and seized, proved to be John Chatel, a scholar in the college of the Jesuits, to the influence of whose doctrines he ascribed the atrocious attempt. When Henry heard this, he remarked, with great good-humour, that he had been often told the Jesuits did not like him; and he was now convinced of it. Chatel was consigned to the same punishment which had been inflicted on Barriere. Father John Guignard, who was discovered to be the author of several seditious writings, and particularly of one in which he maintained the right of the subject to take away the life of the prince, was also executed; and the whole order of Jesuits was commanded, under pain of death, to quit the territories of France³⁷.

A. D. 1595.] This attempt confirmed the king in his resolution to proceed to an immediate declaration of war against Spain, and with this view he entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Netherlands, who, by the treaty of Utrecht, had laid the foundation of a free republic, under the title of *the United Provinces*. The first acts of hostilities were favourable to Henry; the garrison of Soissons, a city wholly devoted to the League, was defeated in the month of February, in the plains of Villers-Coterets, by a party of the royalists. The constable Montmorenci traversed Dauphiné, the Lionnois and Bresse, with a small but well-disciplined force, expelled the troops of the dukes of Savoy and Nemours, and reduced the towns of Vienne and Montluel. The duke of Bouillon, meanwhile, entered the duchy of Lux-

³⁵ Mémoires de Sully, liv. vii.

³⁶ Mémoires de Sully, liv. vii. note.—Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 462.

³⁷ Idem, Ibid.

embourg, and, with the assistance of count Philip of Nassau, defeated a strong body of Spanish horse, under count Mansveldt.

In Picardy, however, the arms of France were less successful. The count of Fuentes, who had been appointed by Philip governor of the Netherlands, penetrated into that province, and, through the misunderstanding which prevailed between the French generals, speedily reduced the towns of Catelet and Capelle. The governor of Ham, then in possession of the Spaniards, had resolved to deliver up that city to Henry, but the garrison opposed the surrender, and an obstinate conflict took place between them and the French, under the duke of Longueville, which terminated, however, in favour of the latter, who put all the garrison to the sword and secured the town. The count of Fuentes, meanwhile, had formed the siege of Dourlens, which the duke of Bouillon determined to relieve; but he unexpectedly fell in with the whole Spanish army, about a league from the town, and was forced to engage on the most unequal terms, the enemy having three times as many troops as himself. The admiral Villars signalized his courage, on this occasion, in a most extraordinary manner; he attacked and cut in pieces a squadron of six hundred horse, and had he been ably seconded by Bouillon, if he had not obtained a victory, he might, at least, have secured a retreat; but that general fled at the first onset, leaving the gallant Villars exposed to the undivided attacks of the enemy, who now poured down upon him in such numbers, that his whole troop was overpowered, taken or killed, and himself, after being thrown to the ground and disarmed, massacred in cold blood. The loss of this brave officer was deeply lamented as well by the king, as by the whole kingdom; and the Spaniards, intoxicated with success, though unattended by glory, renewed their attacks upon Dourlens, and rejecting the offers of the inhabitants to surrender, took the city by storm, and put every soul it contained to the sword. Three thousand men are said to have perished on this occasion ³⁸.

The king, meanwhile, had entered Burgundy to reinforce the marshal de Biron, who was engaged in the siege of the castle of Dijon; but on his arrival at that place he received intelligence that the Spaniards, commanded by the constable Velasco, joined by the duke of Mayenne, had passed the Saône and were advancing toward the capital of Burgundy, in their way to Flanders. Aware that his utmost exertions would prove inadequate to the reduction of the castle of Dijon, before the arrival of the enemy, he resolved, if possible, to obstruct their march; having ordered the remainder of his troops to join him at Lux, and La Fontaine-Francoise, on the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, he advanced with a body of three hundred horse, and passing the river Yonne, near Saint-Seine, he dispatched the marquis de Mirabeau with sixty arquebu-

³⁸ Mémoires de Sully, liv. vii.

siers, to reconnoitre the Spanish army. This officer being attacked by the enemy's advanced guard, Biron was sent to his assistance, and though the Spaniards had six hundred horse, whereas the French had but two, the conflict was sustained with much spirit and vigour for some time; but superiority of numbers at length prevailing, the latter were compelled to fly, and such was the terror into which they were thrown, that it communicated to a body of a hundred horse sent by the king to support them. Henry now perceiving that every thing depended on his own personal exertions, advanced towards the fugitives, without giving himself time to put on his helmet, and having, with great difficulty, succeeded in his attempts to rally them, he divided his squadron, which consisted of three hundred men, into two parts, one of which he headed himself, and the other he entrusted to La Tremouille. Resolved to set his men an example of intrepidity, he threw himself bare-headed into the midst of the enemy, now increased to eight hundred, and by his courageous efforts, compelled them, in a short time, to give way: and De Biron arriving with a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty horse, they were completely routed, and fell back with precipitation, on the main body of the duke of Mayenne's army. But the king's ardour had prevented him from observing that a wood, which lay on either side of him, was lined with Spanish troops; the consequence of this was a renewal of the attack, which gave the duke of Mayenne time to advance, and exposed Henry to the most imminent danger; all that man could do he did; he disposed his small corps to the best advantage, and, by performing prodigies of valour himself, animated his men to uncommon exertions of courage: the enemy were lost in amazement at this unusual sight; and the king judiciously profited by a moment of inactivity to effect a safe and glorious retreat.

The king being joined by the remainder of his horse, which increased his party to eight hundred men, continued to harass the Spaniards on their march, who hastened to repass the Sâone, over a bridge they had erected near the town of Gray. Burgundy, by this means was left wholly at Henry's discretion, and in the course of a few days he reduced the whole province to submission, with the single exception of Seure (now Bellegarde), a small town on the Sâone: he likewise seized several places in Franche-Comté, but these he was induced to relinquish, at the solicitation of the Swiss³⁹.

The success which had attended the count of Fuentes in Picardy, only served to instigate him to the acquisition of farther glory. He now determined to signalize his arms by the siege of Cambray, in strengthening the fortifications of which city Balagny had spared neither pains nor expence. The garrison amounted to three thousand foot and six hundred horse, and the town was amply supplied with provisions and military stores: the principal officers of Fuentes represented to him the danger of

³⁹ Mémoires de Sully, liv. vii.

wasting his forces in so arduous an enterprize, but he refused to listen to their remonstrances, and began his operations without delay. They were carried on with a degree of skill and vigour, which even vanquished the resistance of de Vic, whom Henry had sent with a reinforcement to the assistance of the besieged. The inhabitants, disgusted with the extortion and insolence of Balagny, co-operated with the arms of the Spaniards, and opened their gates to the assailants; the garrison retired into the castle, but being soon compelled to surrender, from the want of provisions, Cambrai was again restored to the dominions of Spain. About this time the sovereign pontiff, finding all his efforts for injuring Henry in the opinion of his subjects ineffectual, and seeing him firmly established on his throne, absolved him in form from the censures which had been pronounced against him by his predecessors.

A. D. 1596.] The duke of Mayenne had long been disgusted with the Spaniards, and his inclinations had led him to court a reconciliation with his sovereign, but a secret vow not to acknowledge Henry till absolved by the pope from the censures of the church had hitherto restrained him from complying with the dictates of loyalty. That obstacle being now removed, the accommodation, equally wished for by both parties, was speedily effected; the terms granted to the duke, though not so advantageous as those which he had formerly rejected, were still highly favourable. By an edict granted at Folembray, in the month of January, the king formally restored him to all the possessions of his house; promised to pay attention to the demands of the dukes of Mercœur and Aumale; resigned to him, as cautionary towns, Chalons upon Saône, Seure, and Soissons, with the government of Châlons for himself, and that of Burgundy for his eldest son; and undertook to pay all the debts which he and his friends had contracted, both as individuals and as chiefs of the party⁴⁰. These conditions being settled, the duke repaired to Monceaux, where he experienced a most gracious reception from the king, to whom he vowed a fidelity which he ever after inviolably preserved.

The duke of Guise displayed by his achievements in Provence the sincerity of his submission; he surprized Marseilles; restrained the incursions of the duke D'Épernon, and reduced that haughty chieftain to implore the clemency of his sovereign. Henry himself, after his return from Franche-Comté, had entered Picardy and invested La Fère; the strength of the fortifications, and the number of the garrison, had determined him to relinquish his hopes of reducing it by assault, and to depend on the more slow but certain effects of famine. The Spaniards, commanded by the archduke Albert, who had succeeded the count of Fuentes in the government of the Low Countries, abandoned the impracticable design of preserving La Fère, and formed the resolution of besieging some other frontier town which might compensate for the loss of that place. Roné, a native of

⁴⁰ Mezerai, tom. x, p. 20.

France, and a zealous officer of the League, whose solicitations for the rank of marshal had been rejected by Henry, represented the defenceless state of Calais, and urged the archduke to attempt its reduction. Albert closed with the proposal, and entrusted the conduct of the enterprize to Roné himself, whose bold and active genius, joined to his military skill, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

In order to deceive Henry, the archduke still affected to project the relief of La Fère, and began his march towards that place, while de Roné suddenly turned to Calais with a select body of troops, and possessed himself, after a faint resistance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the superior numbers of the Spaniards soon penetrated into the suburbs, and secured the town, and the castle alone continued to resist their arms. To reinforce the garrison of that fortress, Matelet, governor of Foix⁴¹, had opened a passage for himself and three hundred companions through the enemy's lines. But even this additional force proved insufficient to withstand the vigorous attacks of the Spaniards; and Henry had the mortification to behold the colours of Spain flying on the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he had advanced from La Fère at the head of his cavalry to the support of the besieged.

The king immediately returned to press the siege of La Fère, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, and leaving a sufficient garrison to defend them, led his troops against the town of Ardres. From the strength of that place, there were reasonable grounds for supposing that it would resist the arms of the Spaniards till La Fère had surrendered; and the vigorous sallies made by the garrison at first seemed to justify this supposition. But no sooner had the troops of Spain possessed themselves of the suburbs, than the count of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, basely yielding to his fears, proposed to his officers to capitulate. Though the proposal was rejected with disdain by a majority of the council of war, to which it was referred, yet the count, availing himself of his superior authority, offered to open the gates, on condition that the garrison should march out with the honours of war: the offer was readily accepted by Albert, and the capitulation was signed the day preceding that on which the town of La Fère, after a siege of six months, surrendered to the arms of Henry.

Anxious to repair the disgrace he had sustained by the loss of Calais and Ardres, Henry, having strengthened his army by considerable reinforcements, advanced with the view of bringing Albert to action. But that prudent general, having accomplished his object, and secured, by strong garrisons, the towns he had reduced, retired from the territories of France into the province of Artois; and the king, after taking the castle of Imber-

⁴¹ Sully.

court by assault, and making an ineffectual attempt on Arras⁴², returned to his capital, and left marshal Biron, with a body of six thousand troops, to guard the frontiers of Picardy.

That enterprising officer did not long confine his operations to the cautious system which had been prescribed to him. He made incursions into the province of Artois, retaliated on that country the injuries of France, and extended his depredations along the southern frontier of the Netherlands. The archduke had no sooner reduced the town of Hulst, in the siege whereof he had been for some time engaged, than he detached the marquis of Varambon, with a considerable body of forces, to check the destructive progress of the French. Biron, apprized of his motions, advanced with rapidity to meet the marquis: by the superiority of his military skill, he completely vanquished his antagonist; the Spaniards, deluded into an ambuscade, were routed with considerable slaughter, and Varambon himself was taken prisoner. The duke of Arichot, who was appointed to succeed him, and to restore the honour of the Spanish arms, though he avoided the fate of his predecessor, was reduced to remain a spectator of the destruction of the country, which Biron's cavalry still continued to insult and ravage, till the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

The satisfaction which Henry derived from the success of his generals, was allayed by the factious and aspiring spirit of his nobles. The duke of Montpensier, from his known facility of disposition, was considered by the nobility of France as a proper representative to carry their injurious proposals to the throne. The duke, in an audience he sought and obtained from Henry, expatiated with much energy on the dangerous state of the kingdom, and the difficulties that still obstructed the re-establishment of the public tranquillity; the only measure, he said, for completing this desirable purpose, was to resign to the different governors the hereditary right to the provinces over which they presided, and only to exact from them homage and allegiance. The zeal and gratitude of these dependent princes would, he insisted, for ever attach them to his service, and the troops they would constantly maintain for his support would enable him to triumph over his foreign enemies. The king remained some moments in silent indignation; but no sooner had the emotions of anger and astonishment subsided, than he declared his resolution rather to submit to the most adverse fortune, than consent to a proposal

⁴² Such was the shameful profligacy of those ministers to whom Henry had entrusted the management of the revenue, that he was frequently reduced to the greatest distress. Just before his attempt on Arras, he wrote the following note to his favourite Sully—"I am very near the enemy, and have scarcely a horse to carry me into battle, nor a complete suit of armour to put on; my shirts are all ragged, my doublets out at the elbows, my kettle is seldom on the fire; and these two last days I have been obliged to shift for a dinner, my purveyors having informed me that they have no longer wherewithal to supply my table." Yet his ministers, at the same time, enjoyed all the luxuries which the age could afford. *Memoires de Sully*, liv. viii.

that would fix only an empty sceptre in his hand, and reduce him to the shadow of royalty. His remonstrances awakened the duke of Montpensier to a just sense of his temerity; he implored the forgiveness of his sovereign, and, by his future fidelity, disconcerted the designs of those who had allured him to act a part so unworthy a prince of the blood ⁴³.

The king having convened an assembly of the notables, they accordingly met, at the abbey of Saint Ouen, at Rouen, on the fourth of November; when Henry addressed them in a speech, as remarkable for its frankness and prudence, as for the becoming dignity with which it was uttered. He told them, that he meant to leave them at full liberty to propose, without fear, whatever they might think conducive to the public good; that he would not attempt to impose any restrictions on their proceedings, though, he trusted, they would not make an ill use of this freedom by any effort to diminish the sovereign authority, in which consisted the principal strength of the kingdom: he exhorted them to act with firmness and unanimity, to afford relief to the people, to enable the treasury to discharge the debts of the last reign; to display their justice in the reduction of exorbitant salaries, without seeking to diminish such as were necessary; and to provide, for the future, a fund, exempt from all incumbrances, sufficient for the support of the army. He observed, that so the measures proposed appeared to be dictated by justice and public spirit, he should be as willing to sanction and confirm them as if they had been of his own contrivance; that they should not find him pleading his age, his experience, or personal qualities, as exemptions from any just regulations, though princes too often preferred pleas that were much less defensible; but that he would shew, by his example, that it was no less the duty of kings to enforce edicts, than of subjects to obey them.

“ If”—said Henry—“ I were desirous to pass for a skilful orator, I should have introduced into my speech more fine words than good will; but my ambition aims at something higher than the art of speaking well; I aspire to the glorious title of Deliverer and Restorer of France; I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you to shew an implicit submission to my will and pleasure; I have assembled you for the purpose of receiving your advice, and with the intention to pursue it; in short, to put myself into your hands as my guardians ⁴⁴.”

The measures adopted by this assembly, for rendering the revenue equal to the expenditure, were such as betrayed their ignorance and presumption. They greatly exaggerated the actual receipts, and, after imposing a tax of five per cent. on all objects of merchandize and provisions, (corn alone excepted) the produce of which they considerably over-rated, they established a new council, under the singular denomination of *The Council*

⁴³ Sully.

⁴⁴ Prefixe, part ii.—Sully, liv. viii. Note.

of Reason, the members whereof were chosen by themselves. They decreed that one half of the revenue should be retained by this council, for the discharge of arrears, pensions, salaries, and other public debts and engagements; and for erecting and repairing fortifications, roads, and all public works. A similar council to this, though with power less extensive, subsisted at this very time, and had proved its total incompetency to the effecting any of those purposes for which it was originally instituted; this example, however, had no effect on the assembly, who persisted in urging the adoption of their own plan; but a few months sufficed to shew their ignorance; for the members of the council finding themselves wholly inadequate to the task they had been chosen to perform, pressed the king to accept their resignation with greater earnestness than they had at first solicited their appointments; and things returning into their old channel, the king appointed Sully to superintend the finances, in the discharge of which arduous office that able minister displayed a degree of skill, perseverance, and integrity, that has seldom been equalled, and never exceeded.

A. D. 1597.] Joyeuse, who had quitted the habit of a monk to resume that of a soldier, now forsook the falling fortunes of the League, and opened the gates of Thoulouse to the royalists. The duke of Nemours had also determined to return to his allegiance, when death interrupted his negotiations; his brother, however, concluded the treaty which he had begun, and reconciled himself to the crown; but while the authority of the king thus daily appeared to acquire additional strength, an event occurred which damped the ardour of his newly-acquired friends, and revived the hopes of his enemies.

Amiens had lately submitted to the king of France, and the citizens, together with a confirmation of their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from the admission of a garrison of regular troops. But though fifteen thousand of the inhabitants were enrolled for the purpose of defending the city, yet so negligent were they in the discharge of this important duty, that the walls were left almost unprotected, and the gates almost wholly unguarded. Their negligence had not escaped the knowledge of Porto-Carero, governor of Dourlens, a brave and enterprising officer, who, encouraged by the vicinity of his situation, formed a plan for taking Amiens by surprize. He marched from Dourlens with three thousand men, and, concealed by the darkness of the night, reached, at dawn of day, on the eleventh of March, a hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capital of Picardy. Thirty of his soldiers, disguised as peasants carrying goods to market, with arms beneath their frocks, were sent forward as soon as the gates of the city were opened, and having purposely overturned a cart, loaded with filberts, on the drawbridge, contrived to amuse the guards, till their comrades arrived to their assistance, when they massacred the astonished centinels, and, after a slight resistance, made themselves masters of the town ⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. 2. p. 232.

The loss of a city so important, as well from its strength as from its vicinity to Paris, threw Henry into the utmost consternation. Calais, one of his principal sea-ports, was already in possession of the enemy, and Philip, by his present conquest, was enabled to extend his depredations to the very gates of the metropolis. The only consolation which Henry received under this misfortune, was from the zeal and fidelity of Sully, who, by exertions of vigour and perseverance adapted to the emergency of the case, enabled him to take the field with expedition, and to pursue the most effectual measures for the recovery of the town he had lost. The marshal Biron was first sent, with a detachment of four thousand men, to restrain the excursions of the garrison, and keep the enemy in awe⁴⁶; and the king himself, when a sufficient force was collected for forming the siege, repaired to the camp in person, about the beginning of May, attended by his whole court.

During the siege many of the Protestant nobility, deeming the opportunity favourable for securing any terms they might chuse to impose on their sovereign, entered into a conspiracy, at the instigation and under the direction of La Trémouille, the object of which was to enforce a compliance with their proposals, and, in case of resistance, to turn their arms against the king. But timely precautions being taken, the plan fell to the ground⁴⁷. The zeal of the duke of Mayenne, on the contrary, was eminently displayed in seconding the efforts of a monarch whom he had so long opposed; and Henry, having received a reinforcement of four thousand English troops, was enabled to push the siege with vigour. The garrison, however, defended the place with uncommon perseverance, nor was their confidence diminished by the death of their leader, who fell in a desperate sally, the defence being conducted with the same skill and spirit by his successor, the marquis of Montenegro.

Philip, alarmed at the progress of the besiegers, at length ordered the archduke to march to the relief of Amiens, with an army of twenty-five thousand men: on the fifteenth of September, the Spaniards appeared in sight of the French camp; when the marshal de Biron, transported by his usual ardour, and regardless of the superiority of the enemy's numbers, advised the king to accept their offer of battle; but this advice was successfully opposed by the more prudent remonstrances of the duke of Mayenne, who reminded Henry, that he came not there to fight, but to take Amiens. The French accordingly kept within their intrenchments, and the archduke, having in vain endeavoured to provoke them to battle, retired to Arras, leaving Amiens to its fate, which surrendered to the king, about the end of September.

After the reduction of Amiens, Henry extended his incursions into the province of

⁴⁶ Mezerai, tom. x. p. 47.

⁴⁷ Mémoires de Sully, liv. ix.

Artois, and then turned his arms against Dourlens, which he invested on the ninth of October. But that city having been provided with every thing necessary to its defence, the French troops, who were already exhausted by the fatigues they had sustained at Amiens, could make no impression on the place: the works were retarded by a series of unfavourable weather; and the roads, naturally heavy, were, by incessant rains, rendered wholly impassable to the artillery; so that the king, convinced of his error, abandoned the hopeless enterprize, and after disbanding the greater part of his forces, and leaving his cavalry for the defence of the frontier, returned to Paris.

A. D. 1598.] Brittany was almost the only part of France, in which a spirit of sedition was still encouraged. The duke of Mercœur, by whose counsels and direction the discontented party were entirely influenced, had openly professed a respect for the throne, while all his efforts were exerted for the support of rebellion. The king, however, had not been deceived by his professions, though his attention had hitherto been forcibly directed to other quarters; but he was no sooner released from the dread of an invasion by the retreat of the Spaniards, than he determined to punish this haughty subject. Having assembled his forces early in the spring, he advanced as far as Angers, where he was met by the duchess of Mercœur, who, having found means to interest in the favour of her husband the fair Gabrielle D'Éstrées, soon appeased the king's indignation, and procured a pardon for her husband. The duchess offered to bestow the hand of her daughter, the heiress of her father's extensive possessions, on Cæsar, the son of Gabrielle by Henry; and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated, with princely magnificence, at Angers, though the bride was but six, and the bridegroom only four years old ⁴³.

The Hugonots, disgusted with Henry on account of his conversion to the established faith, still continued their factious cabals, and endeavoured to excite a revolt in the kingdom. On the arrival of the English and Dutch ambassadors at Nantes, whither Henry had repaired after he had left Angers, they paid their court to them with unceasing perseverance; and as they knew that the principal object of their mission was to prevent the conclusion of a peace with Spain, they flattered themselves they should have little difficulty in persuading them to enter into their views. The ambassadors, however, paid no attention to their remonstrances, but confined themselves merely to the point they were ordered to enforce. The English ambassador, who was son to secretary Cecil, offered, in the name of his mistress, to send to Henry's assistance a body of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be maintained at her own expence; and count Nassau, the Dutch envoy, offered, in the name of the state, four thousand foot and a large train of artillery, besides a farther supply in case Henry would make an effort to recover the cities of Ca-

⁴³ Prefixe

lais and Ardres. The two ambassadors were instructed, if Henry should be disposed to close with their proposals, immediately to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, between France, England, and the Low Countries, against Spain, and to stipulate that neither of the three powers should listen to any proposals, either for a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the express consent of the other two.

But though these proposals were highly gratifying to the martial spirit of the king, and held out to him the pleasing prospect of inflicting a just punishment on his greatest enemy, he fortunately did not suffer such considerations to stand in competition with the welfare of the state, and the happiness of his subjects. He told the ambassadors, that though he could not accept the offers of their sovereigns, he retained a proper sense of their kindness, and would, in no instance, deviate from that friendship which had so long subsisted between them and himself: that though the situation of his affairs were such as to render necessary the conclusion of a peace with Spain, nothing should prevent him from maintaining the same intercourse with them as before, nor from supplying them with money, whenever they might have occasion for it, provided the sums he advanced might be considered as payments of debts, that the Spaniards might thence derive no possible pretext for a renewal of hostilities.

He afterwards explained to them, with the utmost candour, the motives which superinduced his determination to put an end to the war. His kingdom, he observed, was not, like England and Holland, secured by nature from hostile attacks, but was, on the contrary, open on all sides to the enemy; his castles were unfortified, and destitute of ammunition; his marine was weak; his provinces were laid waste, and many of them almost depopulated. He then expatiated on the numerous disorders and abuses which, amidst the confusion of foreign wars and domestic commotions, had crept into the government, favouring that licentiousness which is destructive of all subordination; his power, he represented, as weak and unstable; and the royal authority, as well as the most sacred laws of the state were, he said, alike disregarded. The inference he drew from these observations, was the necessity of an immediate peace, which alone, he maintained, could avert the ruin of the state. Henry did not forget to strengthen his remarks by a comparison between his own situation and that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, in which their safety was involved, without being exposed to those dangers which France must inevitably incur; and he reasoned on this point with so much clearness and precision, and displayed so intimate a knowledge of the state of those countries, that the ambassadors themselves, while they admired the depth of his penetration, and the strength of his judgment, could not but acknowledge the force of his arguments ⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Mémoires de Sully, liv. ix.

The Protestants, discouraged by the conduct of the ambassadors, on whose protection and interference they had placed the firmest reliance, now gave up all idea of hostile measures, and only thought of procuring reasonable conditions for themselves. Fortunately for them they had to deal with a prince who never forgot an obligation, and in whose mind the dictates of reason, almost invariably, rose superior to the suggestions of resentment. After much deliberation, an edict, known in history by the appellation of the edict of Nantes, was drawn up, and signed on the thirteenth of April, by which the rights of the Catholics and Protestants were clearly ascertained and established on a solid basis. By this edict, the privileges granted by all former edicts to the Calvinists were confirmed; and they were admitted to a free exercise of their religion, (except in some particular towns, with regard to which Henry had excluded himself from allowing that privilege, by private treaties with the different chiefs of the League) and to the enjoyment of places of trust, as well in the courts of justice, as under government.

After passing some time in Brittany, during which he effectually conciliated the affections of the inhabitants by his mildness, candour, affability and condescension, Henry returned through Touraine to his capital, and in every town through which he passed he received the most unequivocal demonstrations of loyalty and attachment from all classes of people⁵⁰. From Paris he hastened to Amiens, for the convenience of corresponding with his plenipotentiaries, who had opened a negociation with the Spaniards at Vervins, a town in Picardy. By the treaty of peace, which was signed on the second of May, 1598, Henry consented to relinquish his claims on the city of Cambray, in return for which the king of Spain agreed to restore Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, which he had acquired at the expence of so much blood and treasure⁵¹.

By the peace of Vervins tranquillity was restored to the kingdom, and Henry had leisure to attend to a subject which was ever nearest to his heart, the relief and happiness of his subjects. Under the vigorous and upright administration of Sully, who, though ostensibly acting but as superintendant of the finances, officiated, nevertheless, as prime minister, the dreadful abuses which prevailed in the collection and distribution of the revenue, were effectually remedied. Some idea of the extent of these abuses may be formed, when we consider that the king's revenue only amounted to thirty million of

⁵⁰ The magistrates of the different towns deputed one of their body to harangue their sovereign; and many of the orators, imagining, probably, that the strength of their loyalty would be measured by the length of their speeches, spoke so long that Henry's patience was quite exhausted. One of them, in the course of his speech, incessantly made use of the expressions—"O most benign! O most great! O most merciful king!"—on which Henry interrupted him, saying—"Pray don't forget to add, O most weary!" Another having begun his, thus, "Sire, Agefilas, king of Lacedemon"—the king could not forbear exclaiming—"Ventre Saint Gris! Agefilas, king of Lacedemon, had dined before he listened to long speeches, and so will I." *Journal de L'Etoile—Mémoires de Sully, &c.*

⁵¹ Sully, liv. ix.—Mezerai, tom. x. p. 73.

livres, whereas taxes were levied on the people to the amount of one hundred and fifty million ⁵².

But that happiness which Henry was anxious to impart to others, was too frequently a stranger to his own bosom. Previous to the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, Charles the Ninth had, from political motives, bestowed on this prince the hand of his daughter Margaret, a princess of great personal beauty, but so strongly addicted to amorous gratifications, that, at the early age of twelve, she is said to have sacrificed her honour to her passions. Marriages, in which inclination are rendered subservient to policy, are seldom productive of felicity or comfort; Margaret, whose time was almost equally divided between religious duties and sensual enjoyments, though an object of admiration to a gay and gallant court, could make no impression on the heart of her husband, on whom, indeed, she had bestowed her hand with extreme reluctance. Yet was that heart most feelingly alive to the tender passions: the promiscuous amours of his youth Henry had long forsaken for the commanding charms of the fair Gabrielle, to whom he paid an undivided homage, and on whom he had successively bestowed the titles of marchioness of Monceaux, and duchess of Beaufort. Two sons and a daughter were the fruit of their illicit commerce; and Henry, desirous of securing to his offspring the peaceable succession of the crown, had even entertained thoughts of procuring from the pope the legitimization of his natural children, and of dividing his throne with the mistress of his affections.

A. D. 1599.] Margaret, who had, for several years, resided at the castle of Usson, in Auvergne, had already consented to the dissolution of a marriage, the effect of constraint; and the Roman Pontiff readily listened to a measure calculated to promote the future tranquillity of France; yet both Margaret and Clement expressed the most pointed disapprobation, when informed that Henry intended to raise the duchess of Beaufort to that dignity, which her rival was called on to resign. The passion of the king would, probably, have triumphed over all opposition, and have placed the crown on the head of his mistress, had not his fame been preserved from this degrading instance of weakness, by an event as decisive, as it was unexpected. Henry went to celebrate the festival of Easter at his palace of Fontainebleau, and, at the instigation of his confessor ⁵³, he ordered the duchess of Beaufort to leave him for a few days, and to pass the holidays at Paris. The duchess received this command with tears; and though their separation was only meant to be short, it was with difficulty they could prevail on themselves to submit to it. To the friendly care of Sebastian Zamet, a native of Lucca, who had been naturalized and resided at Paris, a man of immense fortune and most pleasant manners, to whose house he frequently repaired to partake of the convivial enjoyments.

⁵² Mémoires de Sully, liv. x.

⁵³ Mezerai.

of the table, Henry recommended his beautiful mistress. Zamet received his guest with all the assiduity of a courtier solicitous to please, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to render the absence of her lover less irksome. On Maundy Thursday, the duchess, after partaking of a dinner composed of all the delicacies in season, in the preparation whereof her taste had been peculiarly consulted, expressed an inclination to hear the evening-service at the church of Saint Anthony, where she was seized with fainting-fits, that rendered it necessary to carry her back immediately to Zamet's. As soon as she arrived, she went into the garden, and was seized with an apoplexy, which nearly deprived her of life. When somewhat recovered, being strongly prepossessed with the idea that she had been poisoned, she insisted on being conveyed to the house of her aunt in the cloisters of Saint-Germain; but she was no sooner put to bed than the most violent convulsions came on, which distorted her features in a manner too shocking for description; and, after suffering the most excruciating pains, she expired, on the Sunday morning, in the bloom of youth and beauty. Henry, on receiving the news of her death, abandoned himself to all the transports of sorrow; and, indeed, the excellence of her character⁵⁴ seemed to justify the excess of his grief. But the lenient hand of time, and the eager remonstrances of his friend and favourite Sully, at length aroused him from his lethargy, and recalled him to the duties of his station.

During these transactions, the registration of the edict of Nantes, by the parliament of Paris, had suffered great difficulties; the Catholic clergy maintained that the privileges it insured to the Calvinists, would give them a decided superiority over the members of the established church, and even render them independent on the king. By Henry's orders the edict was submitted to a fresh investigation; such of the observations of the clergy as appeared to be founded in reason were duly attended to; and, after the matter had been discussed by the Hugonots themselves, certain modifications and restrictions were adopted, which, without destroying the spirit of the edict, rendered it less objectionable to the Catholics. It was then registered on the twenty-fifth of February.

On the death of the duchess of Beaufort, Margaret had professed an entire obedience to the will of her royal consort, only stipulating for herself a decent subsistence, and the payment of her debts; and Clement had, accordingly, pronounced her marriage, as the effect of constraint, as well as on account of the consanguinity of the parties, who were related in the third degree, illegal and void. But the king was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a second union, by a passion for Henrietta de Balzac, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, by the celebrated Mary Touchet, mistress to Charles the Ninth. His affection for this lady was not less violent than sudden; and

⁵⁴ Matthieu—D'Aubigné.

she took care to profit by it; for, though she had already forfeited her pretensions to chastity, she refused to comply with the king's desires, until she had extorted from him a present of one hundred thousand crowns, and a written promise that he would marry her in case she should produce him a son, ere the expiration of the year ⁵⁵. To this artful and interested beauty, whom he soon after created marchioness of Verneuil, Henry now transferred that affection which he had so lately vowed to the duchess of Beaufort; yet the moments allotted to pleasure diminished not his application to business, and the intrigues of the duke of Savoy made him quit the embraces of a mistress to attend to the cares of a throne.

The duke of Savoy, emboldened by the distracted state of France under the reign of the Third Henry, had, notwithstanding his obligations to that monarch, embraced the moment of civil commotion to possess himself of the marquissate of Saluces, which belonged to the crown of France. By the treaty of Vervins, he had agreed to submit his pretensions to the arbitration of the sovereign Pontiff; but had constantly endeavoured to avert a decision, which, he knew, must despoil him of the territory he had thus daringly usurped. Confiding in the arts of negociation, and in his own skill and address, he adopted the resolution of repairing to Paris, and treating with Henry in person. By the courtesy of his manners, and the splendour of his gifts, he soon attached to his interest the principal favourites of Henry. The Marchioness of Verneuil espoused his pretensions with warmth; but Henry refused to sacrifice to his passion the dignity of his crown, and in this virtuous resolution he was inflexibly confirmed by the remonstrances of Sully, whom no temptation could ever seduce from the strict line of his duty.

A. D. 1600.] The duke of Savoy, after having in vain lavished a vast sum of money in bribes, could only obtain a delay of three months, which time he employed in preparing to resist the attack which he knew would be made on his territories. At the expiration of the time, the king, with an army of seven thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, attended by a formidable train of artillery, supplied by the good management of Sully, who had lately been promoted to the post of grand-master of the ordnance, repaired to the frontiers of Savoy. The military operations were carried on with vigour and effect. The town of Bourg in Bresse was reduced by the marshal, now duke, of Biron; Montmelian and Chamberry were taken by Sully; while Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-Jean de Morienne, and Saint-Michael, opened their gates to the king. Still four important fortresses, of such strength as to be deemed impregnable, remained to be subdued, viz. the castles of Bourg, Montmelian, Charbonnières, and Fort-Saint-Catharine. This task was entrusted to Sully, who could alike distinguish himself in the field and the cabinet; and, after sustaining

⁵⁵ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xi.

incredible fatigue, and being continually thwarted in his operations by the treachery of the duke of Biron, and the envy of some other generals, his courage, perseverance, and address surmounted every difficulty; the four fortresses were compelled to surrender. Fort St. Catharine was, at the particular request of the citizens of Geneva, totally demolished.

The ministers of Henry, alarmed at the violence of his passion for the marchioness of Verneuil, had, with difficulty, extorted from him a permission to negotiate a marriage for him with an Italian princess. Mary of Medicis, daughter to Francis, grand duke of Tuscany, by the archduchess, Jane of Austria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand, being deemed a proper consort for their sovereign, the ministers accelerated the completion of the treaty, and Sully was appointed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Henry was so stricken with the news, that he remained silent, in violent agitation, for a considerable time; at length he exclaimed, "Well, well, be it so, there is no remedy. If I must marry for the good of my kingdom, I must."—The ill-success of his first marriage had rendered him averse from a second; and the dangers of war appeared less formidable to Henry than those of matrimony. The treaty was concluded in 1599, but the marriage was not consummated till the following year. The princess left Florence on the seventeenth of October, and, taking shipping at Leghorn, proceeded, under an escort of seventeen galleys, to Toulon, whence she proceeded, through Marseilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived on the ninth of November, when the marriage ceremony was performed without any pomp¹⁶.

The marriage of Henry was followed by a treaty with the duke of Savoy, who finding himself disappointed of that assistance which he had hoped to derive from the friendship of Spain, and equally deprived of the aid he had expected from the factious nobles of France, with whom he had entered into secret engagements, had recourse to the mediation of the pope, through whose influence an accommodation was, at length, effected. By this treaty the duke of Savoy, in return for the marquisate of Saluces, which he was permitted to retain, ceded to the king the fortresses of Cental, Monts, and Roquesparviere, the whole of the country of Bresse, and all the territories belonging to the house of Savoy on either banks of the Rhone, as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and some other passes necessary to secure to the duke an entrance into Franche-Comté; though he was restrained from transporting any troops over the river without the express permission of Henry, to whom he also engaged to pay one hundred thousand crowns for the privilege of passing over the bridge of Grezin: it was farther stipulated, that the duke should resign to the king the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwick of Getz, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all those places that properly be-

¹⁶ Sully—De Thou—Matthieu.

longed to the province of Dauphiné, on this side the Alps: the duke likewise renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Aus, Chouisy, Valley, Pont D'Arley, Seiffel, Chana, and Pierre Châtel, and consented to the demolition of the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin.

A. D. 1601.] The restoration of tranquillity afforded leisure and opportunity to cultivate and improve the pleasing and salutary arts of peace; through the vigilance and inflexible integrity of Sully, regularity, order, and honesty were introduced into the finances; the encouragement of the old manufactures, and the establishment of new ones, were attended to; commerce was protected and extended; and agriculture restored. But the attention of Henry was not confined to the internal economy of the state; he viewed with a jealous eye the hostile disposition of Spain, and assisted with his advice the revolted subjects of the Netherlands. The war which was carried on in those parts supplied him with a pretext for visiting Calais, which he the more eagerly seized, as he knew it would excite the apprehensions of the Spanish court. The conduct of the Spaniards, indeed, would have justified the adoption of more decisive measures than the king was disposed to pursue: after many fruitless attempts to break off the alliance that subsisted between France and the Swiss Cantons, and to prevent the interference of the pope in the dispute with regard to the marquisate of Saluces, from the conviction that it must prove unfavourable to the duke of Savoy, they had sent troops to the assistance of that prince during the last campaign, under the command of the count de Fuentes. Anxious to excite an insurrection in France, they had encouraged the treacherous designs of the discontented nobles, and had entered into particular engagements with the dukes of Biron and Bouillon; the count of Auvergne, and the prince of Joinville; and the king had recently received intelligence of their insidious intrigues with the inhabitants of Metz, Marseilles and Bayonne.

To encrease the displeasure of Henry, news was about this time received from Spain, that the French ambassador at Madrid had been publicly insulted, and some French gentlemen of distinction, who, in a fray with some Spaniards, in which the latter were the aggressors, had killed two of their adversaries, had been forcibly taken from his house and thrown into prison. Henry, on the receipt of this information, swore, in a most violent rage, “that if he could but once see his affairs reduced to order, and obtain a sufficient supply of money, he would commence such a furious war against the Spaniards, that they should repent their conduct, in having compelled him to take up arms⁵⁷.”

The archduke, alarmed at the preparations making by Henry for his intended journey to Calais, and impressed with the idea that the French monarch would revenge the

⁵⁷ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xi.

insult his ambassadors had sustained at Madrid by obstructing the siege of Ostend, which the Spaniards had lately begun, sent an ambassador to him, under the pretence of complimenting him on the queen's pregnancy, in order, if possible, to discover his real intentions. The king, without affording him any satisfaction on the point he was sent to investigate, seized the opportunity to prefer his own complaints against Spain; assuring the ambassador, at the same time, that he would not be the first to commence hostilities, provided his master did not compel him to come to a rupture, by continuing to pursue the same treacherous conduct which he had hitherto observed.

The queen of England, apprized of Henry's arrival at Calais, repaired to Dover, in the hope of having a personal interview with her ally: the king too was equally anxious to have a conference with that princess, but some obstacles occurred, which have never been explained, to prevent the gratification of their mutual wishes. Lord Sidney, however, was sent to Calais with letters for Henry, in which Elizabeth tells "her dear
" and well-beloved brother, that her concern at not being able to see him, was greatly
" increased by the consideration that she had something to communicate to him, which
" she did not dare to confide to any other person, or even commit to paper; and yet, she
" said, she was on the point of returning to London."

The king's curiosity being strongly excited by this mysterious passage of the queen's letter, he sent for Sully, whose ingenuity was unsuccessfully exerted in search of an explanation. But as the secret she had to communicate appeared, both to the minister and his sovereign, to be important, Sully was secretly dispatched to England; and, that no one might guess the motive of his journey, it was given out that the sole object of his voyage was the gratification of his curiosity in viewing a country he had never yet visited. The queen received him with every mark of respect. She held a long conversation with him on the situation of affairs in Europe, on which she expatiated with such perspicuity, such promptness, and discernment, that Sully was lost in astonishment. He was now convinced, that she herself was the source whence the energy of her government was derived; and he plainly perceived, that she had a perfect knowledge of the political interests of the different European powers, of their respective strength, their relative situation, and internal resources; from whence, and from deep experience, she was enabled to judge of their means of attack and defence.

Sully was equally surprized to find, that though she had never conferred with Henry on the interests of Europe, they had both entertained the same ideas, and laid the same plan. They had both conceived the design of forming a new political system, and of establishing a balance of power, in order to check the aggrandizement of the house of Austria. This was only to be effected by giving birth to new states, whose wealth and power might be founded on the ruins of that which they intended to humble. Elizabeth proposed to unite the forces of France with those of England, for the purpose of

establishing, on a solid foundation, the independence of the united provinces of the Netherlands; but, while they humbled the house of Austria, she meant that the powers employed in the undertaking should proportion their desires to their circumstances, and not seek to extend their own influence, so far as to excite the jealousy of the neighbouring princes; that in despoiling Spain of the Low-Countries, they should not think of securing to themselves any part of a territory, the possession of which, by encreasing their power, might render them just objects of apprehension to the other potentates of Europe. “For”—said she—“if the king my brother should display a wish to become proprietor, or only liege-lord, of the United-Provinces, I do not conceal from you, that I should conceive a well-founded jealousy of him: on the other hand, I should not be offended were he to entertain the same fears with regard to me.” The chief object of her conference with Sully, and of the grand project she had conceived, was to restore Germany to the same state of liberty it had formerly enjoyed with regard to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of the king of the Romans; to render the United-Provinces independent on Spain, and to form them into a powerful republic, by the annexation, if necessary, of some of the dismembered provinces of Germany; to make the same arrangements in Switzerland, by adding to it certain frontier-countries, particularly Franche-Compté and Alsace; and, finally, to reduce all religions to those which appeared the most generally adopted in Europe, the Catholic, the Protestant, and Calvinistic.

Henry had conceived the same plan, and had never communicated his thoughts on the subject to any other than Sully. That minister, hearing the queen developé this project with equal eloquence and sagacity, did not hesitate to explain to her the ideas of his sovereign, and to profess his own admiration of herself. But as she had frankly opened all her plans to him, he thought it necessary, in return, to explain, without reserve, the state of the French finances, and the impossibility of Henry’s engaging, at that time, in schemes so extensive, which would require such vast supplies of men and money. He acknowledged, that his sovereign was endeavouring to collect all the necessary forces for that purpose, but that a delay of some years was indispensably requisite; the house of Austria being, as yet, too powerful to fall beneath the efforts of a league into which France could not enter, and too rich not to overturn the feeble endeavours which that kingdom might make, at the present period, though supported by England and the United Provinces. He observed, that it would be useless and imprudent to carry on a war merely defensive against an enemy thus powerful; and that, during the delay necessary for restoring to their proper strength the military and naval forces of France, her finances, her government, and commerce, they might endeavour to engage in the league such of the sovereign princes of Germany as were most exposed to the tyranny of Spain. Sully concluded by telling the queen, that Henry would be greatly rejoiced, if the reasons he had urged met with her approbation; and he might be permitted to hope that,

from

from their alliance, a source of mutual advantage and immortal honour might be derived.

Henry, as soon as he had provided for the safety of his frontier towns, returned to Fontainebleau, where the queen, on the seventeenth of September, was delivered of a son; to the inexpressible joy of her consort, as well as of the whole nation, who began to tremble for the fatal effects of a disputed succession.

A. D. 1602.] But the satisfaction which Henry experienced on the birth of a dauphin was, unhappily, allayed by the seditious practices of his discontented nobles; the chief of whom were the dukes of Bouillon, Epernon, and Biron⁵⁸. The last, whose splendid achievements eclipsed the military fame of his father, and who openly boasted that to him was Henry indebted for his crown, had long been endeavouring to overthrow the fabric his valour had contributed to raise. Bred in camps, and neglectful of all acquisitions but those which tend to form the soldier and the general, his abstemiousness, vigilance, and industry, in professional pursuits, were counterbalanced by his ignorance, envy, vanity and arrogance: his extravagance was boundless, and such his propensity to gaming, that, in the course of a single year, he is said to have lost the immense sum of five hundred thousand crowns. He had entered into a secret engagement with the duke of Savoy and the king of Spain; the first of which princes had engaged to give him one of his daughters in marriage, while the last had promised to invest him with the duchy of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the county of Charolois⁵⁹. The king, apprized of his treachery, had taken an opportunity, during his stay at Lyons, to reproach him with his disloyal proceedings: Biron acknowledged the justice of the accusations; professed the sincerest repentance for his past conduct, and made the strongest protestations of future fidelity.

Henry, mindful of the duke's former services, promised to forget his past offences, endeavoured to rouse his gratitude by a large pecuniary donation, and aware that his restless mind could ill brook a life of indolence, he strove to give his activity a laudable direction, by appointing him ambassador, first, to the court of England, and afterwards to the Swiss Cantons. But Biron had no sooner returned from executing these commissions, than he resumed, with redoubled ardour, his ambitious projects. After renewing his former alliances, he united in his treasonable enterprize D'Entragues, father to the marchioness of Verneuil, and the count of Auvergne, grand prior of France, and natural son to Charles the Ninth⁶⁰. Biron, Bouillon, and Auvergne drew up a deed of association, signed by them all, and of which each kept a copy; in this deed, which on the trial of Biron was produced against him, they reciprocally pledged their faith and

⁵⁸ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xii.

⁵⁹ Vittorio Siri, vol. i. p. 103, 127.

⁶⁰ Sully.

honour to each other, to continue united for their common safety *against all persons whatever, without any exception*; to preserve an inviolable secrecy with regard to all their transactions; and to commit the deed of association to the flames in case either of the parties should be detected and apprehended. Though haughty and supercilious in his natural demeanour, Biron now affected the garb of courtesy; and exerted the most insidious arts in order to acquire the affection of the populace, and to secure the attachment of the soldiery. The tongue of sedition is never at a loss for subjects to captivate the ears of a mob, and all those topics which in all countries have been occasionally used for the purpose of exciting a revolt were now energetically urged and industriously circulated by this aspiring traitor; he particularly expatiated on the improper nomination to ecclesiastical dignities, at the influence of the king's mistress; on the public neglect of the reformed, by a prince who had abjured their faith, and who meditated their extirpation; and on the daily multiplication of imposts, by a sovereign whose chief study was to oppress his people. Fanned by the tainted breath of treason, the seditious flame soon spread itself over the provinces of Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Guienne, and Languedoc.

Henry, who had observed, with a vigilant eye, the conduct of Biron, was no stranger to his proceedings; but, impelled by his generous spirit to ascribe to restlessness and levity, what was really the result of the most dark and dangerous passions, he had incautiously neglected the repeated remonstrances of his faithful friend and minister, Sully, who strenuously urged him to the adoption of measures that might check in their infancy the daring designs of the factious and discontented. Biron, meanwhile, secure in the impunity he had been hitherto suffered to enjoy, already triumphed in the probable success of his schemes; but one fatal instance of misplaced confidence blasted all his hopes. La Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, distinguished by a daring disposition, prompt to form, and able to conduct the most deep and dangerous intrigues, had found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of Biron, and had been employed, both by him and the duke of Bouillon, in their most secret negotiations with Spain and Savoy; but he had lately regarded with jealousy the ascendancy which the baron de Lux had acquired over the mind of his patron⁶¹; and, instigated by his nephew, the vidame of Chartres, he repaired to Fontainebleau, and revealed to Henry the whole of a conspiracy, the wheels of which he was no longer permitted to direct.

The king read with astonishment the black list that was presented to him, which contained the names of many of the most illustrious nobles in France. Some of these had actually embarked in the treasonable projects of Biron; others, by their known discontent, had afforded strong grounds for belief that they would join the standard of revolt,

⁶¹ Prefixe.

as soon as it was erected; and the remainder were probably added by La Fin, either at the suggestions of malice or envy, or else with a view to magnify the importance of his perfidy. Yet the danger was great and urgent, and Henry determined to visit the different provinces of Poitiers, Guienne, and the Limousin, to awe, by his presence, the seditious spirit of the people, and to obtain more perfect information of the marshal's schemes. Each day convinced him that he stood on the brink of a precipice; and, after a short residence at Blois, he returned to Fontainebleau, determined, by some decisive blow, to crush the conspiracy, before it was strengthened by the troops and treasures of Spain and Savoy.

On his return from Switzerland, Biron had retired to his government of Burgundy, and diligently applied himself to strengthen and secure the most important cities in that province: confiding in the affections of the inhabitants, and in the fidelity of the officers whom he had appointed to the government of the fortified towns, he considered that country as a safe place of retreat, in case his designs were discovered before his confederates were prepared to support him. But of this resource he had been deprived by an artifice of Sully; under pretence of new casting the cannon throughout Burgundy, that minister, as grand-master of the ordnance, had obtained from the marshal all the artillery that belonged to his government; but no sooner were these transported beyond the jurisdiction of Biron, than Sully stopped the new pieces with which he had promised to replace them. The rage of Biron on this occasion broke forth in open menaces; and his suspicions of a discovery were soon after confirmed by intelligence of the private conference which La Fin had holden with the king; but he suffered himself again to be deceived by the protestations of that traitor, who swore that he had not betrayed him, and that Henry was not apprized of his designs. He was also conscious, that were his sovereign to march against him, and declare him a rebel, he was incapable of resisting his arms: thus actuated by the powerful motives of hope and fear, he obeyed the royal summons, and, accompanied by his associate, the count of Auvergne, repaired to the court at Fontainebleau.

Yet amidst the dangers that surrounded him, the clemency of his sovereign had provided him with a means of honourable safety. Henry had resolved, and the generous resolution had met the unanimous approbation of the council, to pardon Biron, and to consign to oblivion all his past offences, provided he would candidly explain the nature and tendency of his intrigues, that his sovereign might in future be exempt from those inquietudes, suspicions, and fears, which had of late disturbed his repose.

Thrice did Henry assay to make Biron sensible of his error, and to lead him to a frank confession of his guilt; as often did he exhort and conjure him, not, by a vain denial and useless reserve, to deprive himself of that pardon which he was so anxious to grant; assuring

assuring him, at the same time, that his eagerness to learn every circumstance from his own mouth, did not proceed from a desire to be informed of more than he already knew, but merely that he might have a specious pretext for the exertion of mercy. These efforts unfortunately proved fruitless and ineffectual; Biron obstinately persisted in denying what was already established beyond the reach of confutation; and, encouraged by the assurances of La Fin, he assumed the tone of insulted probity, and persevered in the strenuous assertions of his own innocence. Henry, at length, fatigued with unavailing exhortations, resolved to let justice take its course; marshal Biron and the count D'Auvergne were accordingly arrested as they withdrew from the palace, and were conveyed to the Bastile, the government of which had been recently conferred on Sully.

A commission was now directed to the parliament to investigate the conduct of these illustrious culprits; and the proofs against Biron were so clear and positive, that not a doubt could be entertained of his guilt. He was unanimously pronounced by his judges guilty of high-treason, and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. The entreaties of his friends prevailed on the king to change the place of execution; he was beheaded, on the last day of July, in the court of the Bastile; and, in his last moments, disgraced, by alternate sallies of rage, and agonies of terror, the character of Intrepid, which he had acquired amidst the dangers of war⁶².

The count of Auvergne had been involved in the same sentence with Biron; but Henry's regard for the brother of his mistress, and his respect for the last male descendant of the race of Valois, induced him not only to grant that nobleman his life, but at length to restore him to liberty, an indulgence which the count afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude. Of the other conspirators, the principal threw themselves at the feet of their sovereign, who not only freely pardoned their offences, but even screened their names from reproach; the baron de Fontenelles, whose treason was aggravated by the acts of cruelty he had committed in Brittany during the civil commotions, was the only person who was made to atone by his death for his daring machinations and numerous crimes; he was tried by the great council of state, and being found guilty, was publicly executed at the Place de Grève⁶³.

A. D. 1603] The spring of this year was marked by the death of Elizabeth, queen of England, whose remorse for the murder of the queen of Scots, had embittered the last moments of a life which had alternately afforded subjects for *admiration* and *abhorrence*. She left a character not less eminent for its talents than detestable for its vices. Henry, who had ever entertained the highest respect for the political abilities of this princess, and

⁶² Mezerai, tom. x. p. 208, 209.

⁶³ Idem, *ibid*.

who had concerted with her the depression of the house of Austria, deplored, with great sincerity, the death of his old ally. His close connection with England, and the strict coincidence of their political interests, rendered it of importance to him to acquire a thorough knowledge of the disposition of her successor; and Sully was dispatched with compliments of congratulation to James the First, who, by his accession to the throne, had united the dominions of England and Ireland to those of Scotland. The penetration of Sully soon discovered in James a feeble and temporizing disposition, wholly unfit for the completion of those grand projects which had been embraced by his predecessor. Sully proposed, in the name of his sovereign, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to attack the Austrian dominions on every side, and depress the increasing pride and exorbitant power of that ambitious family⁶⁴.

But finding the genius of the English monarch inadequate to such vast enterprizes, Sully was obliged to depart from these extensive views, and to concert with James the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. Even this object was attended with considerable difficulty, from the scruples which James entertained as to the encouragement of a people whom he considered as in a state of rebellion⁶⁵; but these were at length removed by the judicious remarks and remonstrances of the English ministers. He, therefore, agreed with Sully, secretly to support the states-general, in concert with Henry; lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to acknowledge the authority of their old master. By the treaty concluded on this occasion, it was stipulated, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions, and should secretly remit to that republic the sum of fourteen hundred thousand livres a year for the pay of these forces: that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France, but that the third of it should be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth: and if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other, Henry with an army of ten thousand men, and James with one of six⁶⁶.

A. D. 1604.] Henry, wearied by incessant importunities, at length consented to the restoration of the Jesuits, and to the demolition of the pillar which had been erected for the purpose of perpetuating the atrocious attempt of Châtel, and the dangerous principles of the order to which he belonged. The edict granted on this occasion was not registered by the parliament without considerable opposition. But the king's disposition to mercy and indulgence proved insufficient to conciliate the affections of those aspiring nobles whose views had for their exclusive object the gratification of their own interest and ambition. The duke of Bouillon, who had been deeply engaged in Biron's

⁶⁴ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xiii.⁶⁵ La Boderie, vol. i. p. 120.⁶⁶ Sully.

conspiracy, in order to avoid the storm that hovered over his head, had retired to his principality of Sedan; and he now resumed his correspondence with the court of Spain and the count of Auvergne. That nobleman, unmindful of the clemency he had so lately experienced, involved in his intrigues his sister, the marchioness of Verneuil, the king's mistress; and her father, Francis d'Entragues, on whom Henry had bestowed the rank of marshal, as the price of the conditional promise of marriage he had imprudently given to the daughter⁶⁷. Their designs, however, were fortunately detected by the vigilance of Henry. The marchioness of Verneuil was for some days confined to her house; but the passion of the man triumphed over the justice of the sovereign, and Henry soon flew to prostrate himself at the feet of the haughty beauty, whose chains he found it impossible to break. D'Entragues, who had been condemned to suffer decapitation, was indebted for his life to the charms of his daughter; and the same influence extended to the count of Auvergne, whose sentence of death was changed for the milder punishment of perpetual imprisonment.

A. D. 1605, 1606.] Such was the extreme order, economy, and regularity introduced by Sully into the finances, that the revenue, notwithstanding the numerous incumbrances with which it was lately burdened, was now found greatly to exceed the expenditure. On the death of queen Elizabeth, there remained due to that princess from Henry, for money advanced, and various expences incurred, the sum of seven million three hundred and seventy-eight thousand, eight hundred livres: to the Swiss cantons, Henry owed thirty-five million, eight hundred twenty-three thousand, four hundred and seventy-seven livres, six sols: to the states-general, nine million, two hundred seventy-five thousand four hundred livres; and to his own subjects, for mortgages on the crown lands, compositions of pensions, and donations to the chiefs of the League, two hundred and thirty million, three hundred and eighty-four thousand, two hundred and eighty-four livres. These debts, which amounted to near twelve million sterling, were all liquidated, notwithstanding the heavy expences incurred by the king, in the erection of churches and various public buildings; in repairing all the bridges and roads throughout the kingdom; in augmenting his marine; in replenishing his magazines and arsenals; in redeeming the jewels of the crown, and in making additions thereto; and at the expiration of the year a considerable overplus remained to be placed in the royal treasury; and all this was effected, through the extreme vigilance and good management of Sully, not only without imposing any additional burthen upon the people, but even while the burdens already imposed experienced a regular diminution⁶⁸.

But neither the king's justice, nor the prudence of his minister, could totally silence the clamours of faction: a discontented party, actuated by a restless spirit of ambition, headed

⁶⁷ Mezerai, tom. x. p. 261.

⁶⁸ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxi.

ed by the duke of Bouillon, and instigated and paid by the court of Spain, endeavoured to scatter the seeds of revolt in various parts of the kingdom. The Calvinists, in particular, evinced a seditious disposition, and several of their chiefs subscribed a paper, the object of which was the establishment of a Calvinistic republic in the heart of France, free and wholly independent of the sovereign⁶⁹. Fortunately, their pernicious designs were frustrated by prudent exertions of vigour, and well-timed acts of indulgence. To punish the arrogance of the duke of Bouillon, Henry collected a body of troops, and directed his course through Auvergne and the Limousin, to the territories of that prince; but Bouillon, alarmed at his approach, and unprepared for resistance, ordered the governors of the different towns that belonged to him to open their gates, and, by the apparent sincerity of his submission and professions of loyalty, he disarmed the immediate resentment of Henry.

But no sooner had the king returned to the capital, than fresh instances of the turbulence and disobedience of this haughty vassal again awakened his indignation. Impelled by the remonstrances of his favourite minister, who had hitherto only enjoyed the title of marquis of Rosny, but whom, on this occasion, he created duke of Sully⁷⁰, Henry at length determined to adopt the most decisive measures. With a small, but well-chosen army, and a formidable train of artillery, he departed from Fontainebleau, about the end of March, 1606, and advanced, by rapid marches, towards the principality of Sedan. The duke, encouraged by the number of his friends at court, and by the vain hope that all the Protestants would rise in his favour, at first employed the language of resistance: he represented the fortifications of Sedan as impregnable; and declared that, in defence of his city, he would sacrifice his property and life. But when Henry pitched his camp before the walls of Sedan, the duke's pride and courage forsook him, and he sued, with becoming humility, for reconciliation and favour. The king, ever kind and indulgent, lent a favourable ear to his supplications, and a treaty was signed, on the second of April, by which Bouillon agreed, that he and the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to Henry, and that a royal garrison and governor should be maintained in that city for four years. The duke, who had such strong reason to dread the effects of the king's resentment, esteemed himself happy in being suffered to escape on such favourable terms.

To these martial achievements, succeeded preparations for public rejoicing, and social festivity. The ceremony of the baptism of the dauphin and the two princesses of France was performed, with royal magnificence, at the palace of Fontainebleau, in the presence of the duchess of Mantua, sister to the queen, who stood godmother to the dauphin, and of all the principal nobility in the kingdom. But the tranquillity and hap-

⁶⁹ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxi.

⁷⁰ In February, 1606.

piners at this time enjoyed by the people had nearly experienced a fatal interruption. In crossing the river, at Neuilly, in their return from Saint Germain, on the ninth of June, 1606, the royal carriage, in which were the king, the queen, the duke of Vendôme, the princess of Conti, and the duke of Montpensier, was thrown, by the spirit of the horses, over the side of the ferry-boat into the middle of the stream. The king, being saved by the zeal and alacrity of his attendants, was no sooner brought to the side, than he again plunged into the water in order to rescue his consort, who had been prevented from sinking by a gentleman of the name of La Chateigneraie, and one of her footmen.

A. D. 1607, 1608.] But while the people exulted in the safety of a sovereign, whose virtues were formed to command their esteem, his tranquillity was disturbed by the secret machinations of the Calvinists, who daily advanced pretensions hostile to the regal authority, and the more insidious and more dangerous machinations of the Jesuits, who, ungrateful for the indulgence they had received, maintained a private correspondence with the court of Madrid, and had engaged several of the French nobility in their intrigues. The influence and authority of Sully were successfully exerted in quieting the former; but the schemes of the latter being conducted with more skill and method, required greater time, prudence, and circumspection, to detect and frustrate. Henry, on opening his mind on this business to the duke of Sully, observed—"I am not so stupid
 " as to inflict vengeance, at my own expence, upon your Hugonots, for the tricks they
 " sometimes play me; they are greatly deceived if they imagine I am not aware of the
 " difference between their strength and my own; and that I can destroy them with
 " great facility whenever I please: but I shall not for a trivial offence, nor for the gra-
 " tification of others, weaken my state so much by crushing them, as to render myself
 " an easy prey to my enemies, to whom I would rather give two blows, than receive
 " one from them. Therefore, since the malice of these rascals is so great, we must en-
 " deavour to avert its effects; and by Heaven I swear, for they have kindled my rage,
 " if they pursue their plots against my person and my state, for I have been informed
 " there are designs laid against them both, if they once compel me to take up arms, I
 " will do it so effectually, that they shall have reason to curse the hour when they first
 " disturbed my repose."

But the hostile measures of Henry were for a time suspended by the intelligence he received from the United Provinces of the Netherlands, of the terms offered them by the Spaniards, and of their consequent determination to accede to a cessation of arms. The president Jeannin was appointed by Henry to attend Buzenval to the Low Countries, and, in conjunction with that envoy, to keep a vigilant eye on the conduct of the



J. Jones sculp.

MARY de MÉDICIS.

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states, and the interests of France. While affairs, however, were in this situation, intelligence was received of a great naval victory gained, on the twenty-fifth of April, by the fleet of the United Provinces over that of the Spaniards. Don Alvares D'Avila, the Spanish admiral, was ordered to cruise in the straits of Gibraltar, in order to prevent the entrance of the Dutch into the Mediterranean, and to shut them out from the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, unwilling to be debarred the advantages they derived from that commerce, resolved to open a passage for themselves: with this view they equipped a small squadron of ten or twelve sail, the command of which they gave to one of their ablest seamen, Jacob Heemskerk, with the title of vice-admiral; and they ordered him, after duely reconnoitring the enemy's fleet, to make an attack on it. D'Avila, though already near twice as strong as his adversary, yet procured a reinforcement of six-and-twenty large vessels, some of which were of a thousand ton burden, and augmented the number of the troops he had on board to three thousand five hundred men. With this accession of strength he thought himself so secure of victory, that he took with him an hundred and fifty gentlemen merely to witness his triumph. But instead of standing out to sea, as, with such a force, he certainly ought to have done, he posted himself under the guns of Gibraltar, in order that he might not be forced to fight unless when he thought proper.

Heemskerk, who had taken none of these precautions, no sooner perceived that the enemy exhibited symptoms of apprehension, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began one of the most obstinate actions that grace the annals of naval achievements. It lasted eight hours: at the first onset, Heemskerk attacked the Spanish admiral's ship, and made a vain attempt to board her: at an early part of the day, he received a mortal wound in the thigh from a cannon-ball, which he survived but an hour, during which time, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he really felt no pain. When he found himself ready to expire, he delivered his sword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all the ship's crew, to bind themselves by an oath to conquer or die. The lieutenant exacted a similar oath from the officers and men throughout his fleet, where nothing was heard but a general exclamation of *victory or death*. Their courage proved irresistible; and, notwithstanding the immense superiority of the enemy's ships, both in numbers and weight of metal, the advantage obtained by the Dutch was complete and decisive. The Spaniards lost sixteen ships, three of which were burned, and the rest, together with the admiral's own ship, run aground. D'Avila, with five-and-thirty captains, fifty volunteers, and two thousand eight hundred soldiers, perished in the action; while the Dutch lost only two vessels, and about two hundred and fifty men⁷². Though this victory did not retard the peace, yet the conclusion of the treaty was delayed for a considerable time.

⁷² Sully, liv. xxiv.

The latter years of Henry's reign were embittered by domestic broils: his queen, in her manners and disposition, cold and reserved, frequently betrayed indifference and disgust, where duty and affection should have dictated a display of far different sentiments. Nor had the king greater reason to be contented with the shameful partiality she betrayed for several Italians, who had accompanied her to France, and whose insidious efforts were incessantly exerted in promoting a breach between her and her husband, by urging the queen to the adoption of a line of conduct which they knew must be disagreeable to Henry. His own licentious amours, indeed, afforded Mary ample grounds for reproach; but jealousy was only the pretence, and not the motive of her conduct; and her favourites, interested in feeding the flames of dissention, were indifferent as to the fuel they applied. Hence the royal residence became a scene of contention and misery, and the prime minister was frequently sent for to settle a matrimonial squabble, with as much earnestness and haste, as if some affair of state had required immediate arrangement.

But Henry never suffered pleasure to interfere with business: he now renewed his ancient alliance with the Low Countries; he successfully interposed his mediation between the Venetians and the pope; but he deemed it prudent to reject the repeated solicitations of the Moorish inhabitants of Spain; who oppressed, and, at length, driven into exile by the mistaken policy of the Third Philip, in vain implored an asylum in the bosom of France.

The wisdom of Henry has been strongly arraigned for having refused the proffered accession of five hundred thousand industrious people, whose labours might have fertilized the barren and uncultivated plains of France; but it is probable he was fearful, by accepting their offer, of precipitating those secret designs which he had long since formed for the depression of the house of Austria, and which were scarcely ripe for execution.

A. D. 1609.] In the spring of this year, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war which for near half a century had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The immense advantages which Spain enjoyed at the commencement of this memorable contest rendered the successful termination of it more glorious to the Dutch. Long had the pride of the former prevailed over all considerations of interest, and prevented her from attending to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the states, she at last consented to treat them as a free people, and solemnly to renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty. This chief point being gained, but little difficulty attended the conclusion of the treaty, which, under the joint mediation of France and England, was signed on the thirtieth of March. In acknowledgment of the guarantee of these royal mediators, and

and in return for the assistance and protection which the states had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty nor agreement with Spain during the continuance of the truce, without the advice and consent of their majesties, who promised; on their side, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and safety of their friends and allies ⁷³.

The transactions of this year proved alike fatal to the repose of Henry, and the welfare of France. Disgusted with the arrogance of his favourite mistress, the marchioness of Verneuil, and irritated by the incessant reproaches of his queen, Henry had lately transferred his affections to Margaret Charlotte de Montmorenci, daughter to the constable of France. In this new object of his passion every beauty of person was united with every quality that can adorn and dignify the mind: strong sense, shining wit, and manners the most amiable and insinuating. But while her powerful attractions made an irresistible impression on the heart of the monarch; her high birth and illustrious connections superinduced a resolution to shun all illicit and dishonourable gratification. Yet unable to forego the pleasure of her conversation, he bestowed her on the young prince of Condé, his near relation, who, in a manner, subsisted on his bounty, and constantly resided near his person. The marriage was celebrated without pomp at Chantilli; and the marchioness of Verneuil, with more malice than truth, remarked on the occasion that “the king had made this match to sink the heart of the “ prince of Condé, and to raise his head ⁷⁴.”

No person derived greater satisfaction from the conclusion of the marriage than the queen's Italian favourites, who eagerly seized on the opportunity to widen the breach that subsisted between her and the king, and on which they chiefly relied for the gratification of their own interested and ambitious views. The queen, influenced by their councils, and devoted to their will, carried her attention from matters of love to affairs of state, and lent her sanction to a rebellious scheme for frustrating the king's political designs. The French ambassador at the court of Madrid complained to Henry that he met with no attention from the king of Spain, and that a secret junto, under the influence and direction of persons whom he would not venture to name, effectually annulled every measure he proposed on the part of his majesty. The grand object of this intrigue was to overturn the king's project for depressing the house of Austria, and to compel him, either by fraud or force, to form an union with Spain, and to marry the dauphin to the infanta: and so confident were the agents in this dark business of their strength and success, that they declared to the council of Madrid, they had the means in their power of forcing the king to accede to their proposals ⁷⁵.

⁷³ Sully, liv. xxvii.

⁷⁴ Idem. xxvi. Note.

⁷⁵ Sully, liv. xxvii.

Henry was extremely alarmed at the daring insolence of a faction which dared openly to cabal against him in the midst of his own court. Urged by his fears, he endeavoured to investigate the mysterious business, and every step he advanced only served to encrease the magnitude of his apprehensions, chiefly founded on the conduct of the party whose actions seemed to be regulated by the idea that the king had but a short time to live. Whatever might be the origin of this suspicion, it acquired strength and confirmation in the mind of Henry (who had great faith in judicial astrology) when he reflected that prognostics were every where spread among the people, which fixed the period of his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age; a prediction said to be the consequence of divine inspiration, because zealously supported by a superstitious, or designing-Nun, who was then holden in great veneration. The name of this woman was Pasithea; she remained some time in France, and since she had left that country, she had maintained a regular and constant correspondence with the queen. Influenced by the earnest persuasions of Pasithea, Mary determined to be immediately crowned—a ceremony which had been hitherto omitted—with all the pomp and magnificence that, according to her junto, were essential to the preservation of that authority which she would find necessary to exert, after the king's death; an event, they said, which was at no great distance. The same junto also publicly expressed their intentions of recalling Pasithea, whom they probably found a fit instrument for the promotion of their designs, to France.

Henry was rendered extremely uneasy by these nefarious intrigues; the melancholy which reigned in his heart was visible in his countenance, and, in a conversation with his friend and favourite Sully, on this subject, he thus expressed himself—"I am averse from this ceremony; neither can I endure that this Pasithea should return to France. My heart tells me, that some disaster will happen to me, or that the government will be thrown into confusion, if my wife should obstinately persevere in insisting upon her coronation—which, I am told, the Conchinis advise her to—and in her design of recalling Pasithea. It is certain we shall quarrel on both those accounts; and should I discover any thing farther with regard to her designs upon Spain, I shall be provoked to the last degree against her." He then assured Sully that the queen's violent conduct must not be ascribed to any motive of jealousy—for that she was a stranger to the passion—but to the interested advice of her infamous counsellors, who had persuaded her of the necessity of being at variance with her husband, and had prevailed on her to employ this pretext with for the public want of a better: he added that what had falsely been imputed to jealousy was in reality the effect of malice the most refined.

The king observed, that such being the grounds of the conduct of his wife and her faction, should he even resolve to forego the pleasure he enjoyed in the society of the princess of Condé, he should not be able to silence the malicious reports of people who had such strong reasons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife.

He

He declared, that he would never seek to obtain any favours of the princess, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not subdue his passion, he would, at least, restrain its effects, and respect that sacred tie which he had formed for the mere purpose of imposing silence on his own wishes⁷⁶. With regard to the queen's Italian minions, he said, that in order to inspire her with a mistrust of his conduct, they prevented her from eating any thing which he sent her, and persuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. Yet, notwithstanding these just grounds for resentment, Henry had not sufficient resolution to punish the miscreants who preyed on the credulity of his wife, and disturbed his own repose.

At once to banish these disagreeable reflections from his mind, and to punish the detestable perfidy of the court of Spain, Henry began to make immediate preparations for the execution of his great designs. He examined the state of his finances, visited his arsenal, and calculated what money, arms, and ammunition, would be necessary for his purpose. From such a minister as Sully he expected and obtained the most salutary advice, and the most strenuous exertions; on this subject there was a coincidence of ideas between them, and they proceeded to the completion of their plan with vigour and effect.

But the king's unhappy passion for the fair princess of Condé, though it did not transgress the bounds of honour nor violate the laws of decency, proved an infinite source of uneasiness and trouble. The tongue of calumny was busily employed in the exaggeration of truth and the invention of facts; the queen's agents, with interested malice, propagated the mischievous lies they had previously framed; the queen herself was frantic with real or affected rage; and the prince of Condé, whose passions had been artfully played upon by the interested junto, publicly expressed his jealous discontent, and inveighed, with more virulence than justice, against his sovereign. Not daring to repeat his imaginary grievances to the king himself, he paid a visit to Sully, in order to prefer his complaints. Finding no encouragement from that faithful minister, who boldly repelled the charge of oppression with which his master had been hastily loaded, the prince

⁷⁶ The mareschal de Bassompierre, to whom Mademoiselle de Montmorenci was offered in marriage, relates several conversations he had with Henry on the subject; and among others, the following reply of Henry to some observation of his—"He answered me with a deep sigh, Bassompierre, I will speak to thee as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, desperately, in love with Mademoiselle de Montmorenci. If thou wert to marry her, I should hate thee; should she love me, thou wouldst hate me. It will be best to prevent this from becoming the cause of a breach of our friendship; for I entertain a deep and sincere regard for you. I am resolved to marry her to my nephew, the prince of Condé, and to have her in my family; she shall be the comfort and amusement of my old age, which is coming on apace. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting a thousand times better than women, a hundred thousand livres a year to amuse himself with. I shall desire of her no other favour than her affection; without pretending to any thing farther."—*tom. i. p. 229.*

declared

declared his resolution of leaving the country and returning to the dominions of Spain. To this Sully replied, that he did not believe him capable of betraying, in such a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit residence for princes of the blood; that every where else their grandeur sullied their reputation; and that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having previously obtained his majesty's permission. When the prince replied that such a restraint neither suited his birth nor rank, Sully observed, that the laws of the state obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater strictness of conduct, than the meanest of his subjects, an observation the justice of which he proved from history.

Four days after this conference with Sully the prince really put his project in execution; accompanied by his wife, and attended by a few domestics, he privately withdrew from court, and went to Muret, and from thence to Landrecy. Henry, doubly enraged at such a mark of disrespect from a kinsman who was so deeply indebted to his bounty, and at the evasion of a woman whose conversation constituted the principal amusement of his life, gave free vent to his indignation. Praslin, the captain of his guard, was instantly dispatched to demand the fugitives from the archduke; but Albert replied, "that he had never violated the laws of nations on any occasion whatever; and that no consideration should induce him to begin with the first prince of the blood royal of France." The marshal de Bassompierre, however, tells us, that the archduke was so much staggered with the declaration of Praslin, that he sent to desire the prince would only pass through his dominions, without making any stay in them, though he had before promised to receive him; but that afterwards he again changed his resolution, by the advice of the marquis Spinola; sent the prince a sum of money, with an escort to conduct him to Brussels, and treated him with every possible mark of distinction⁷⁵.

The prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to offer some kind of justification for his late conduct, sent a letter to the king, in which he observed that it was with the utmost regret, and merely for the preservation of his life and honour, that he had retired from court, and not with any intention ever to deviate from that line of conduct which was proper to be observed by an humble relation and faithful subject and servant of his majesty: that he would never engage in any thing contrary to his majesty's service, unless he should be compelled to it; and he concluded by expressing a wish that the king would not be offended at his refusal to read or receive any letters from court, except such as should be written by his majesty himself.

⁷⁵ Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France, Anno 1609.

⁷⁶ Mémoires de Bassompierre, tom. i. p. 28.

But

But the uneasiness which Henry experienced at the conduct of the prince of Condé did not prevent him from attending to the accomplishment of his grand design, which the death of the duke of Cleves rather tended to accelerate. As this event, was considered by all Europe as the signal of a general war, it requires particular notice and explanation. The duchy of Cleves had been gradually formed by the union of different fiefs or principalities. In the year 1130, a count of Juliers united to his own county that of Berg, by marrying the heiress of Berg: the county of Gueldres was afterwards annexed to it, in the year 1350, by the marriage of Renould, first duke of Gueldres, with the heiress of William, first duke of Juliers. About the same time, Adolphus de la Mark resigned the archbishoprick of Cologne and the bishoprick of Munster, in order to support his pretensions as heir to his mother, Mary, countess of Cleves, against his cousins, D'Erkeil and Perweis, who were also of the family of Cleves, but on the female side; Adolphus succeeded in establishing his claims, either by purchasing the right of the nearer heir, or by the assistance of the emperor, Charles the Fourth, and the states of the country.

The duchy of Cleves having thus passed into the house of La Mark, those of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-annexed to it in the person of John, duke of Cleves, count of La Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William, duke of Juliers and Berg. The duchy of Gueldres was at that time dismembered, because that Arnold D'Egmont, who possessed it in right of his mother, Mary D'Erkeil, had sold it, in 1472, to Charles, duke of Burgundy, with whose daughter it went to the house of Austria, a disposition that was vainly contested by William of Juliers, to whom it was bequeathed by Charles D'Egmont, grandson to Arnold; the house of Austria maintaining itself in possession of the duchy by force of arms.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La Mark, Ravensburgh, and Ravenstein, of which the late duke, John William, died possessed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims which he asserted to these fiefs, were only founded on proofs, which he was said to have, of their being fiefs-male. This contest did not turn upon a point that was entirely new. The contradiction of the dispositions of the different sovereigns of this little territory, which, at different times, had been received by their subjects, to the declarations of some of the emperors on this head, had long made it a point of dispute, the final decision whereof had been by both parties referred to the death of the last male heir of that house, which at length happened.

The arguments urged on this business, by the princes who espoused the emperor's claims, were drawn from various testamentary, matrimonial, and other writings, both public and private, which derived their authority from the solemn acceptance of the states of the country: the chief of these were—First, an ordonnance of Adolphus, the

first, duke of Cleves, count of La Mark, &c. received in all his towns, in 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldest son, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any share in the same; and, in default of male issue from him, to his eldest daughter, exclusive of other daughters. A similar edict was passed by William, duke of Juliers and Berg, count of Ravensburg, and John, duke of Cleves, count of La Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter to the first of these princes, with John, son to the second. There was another ordonnance of the said John of Cleves and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time a marriage took place between their eldest daughter Sibylla, and John Frederic, then count, but afterwards elector, of Saxony, to which regulation William himself, son to John and Mary, subscribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William, duke of Juliers and Cleves, father to the last duke, accomplished a match between his eldest daughter, Maria-Eleanora and Albert-Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia; and he, in the marriage articles, reserved the entire succession to her in the same form, in case of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, sister of Maria-Eleanora, espoused duke Philip Lewis, count palatine of Newburgh, with the same respect to the rights of eldership in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-Ponts, and signed by count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William, landgrave of Hesse, and by duke John, count palatine. The same contract was ratified a second time, in 1575, by the same prince William; at which time, duke Philip-Lewis complaining, that two hundred thousand florins, which was the portion of the younger sisters, was too slender a compensation for renouncing such a succession, his kinsman, the duke of Cleves, insisted upon an augmentation of one hundred thousand for each of them, on which condition, Ann of Juliers made a solemn renunciation of her claim the same year. Duke John, count palatine of Deux-Ponts, about four years after, married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the same renunciation in favour of the eldest of the three sisters as duke Philip-Lewis, his eldest brother, had done: Lewis, elector palatine; William, landgrave of Hesse; and Philip-Lewis, count palatine of Newburgh, also gave their consent to this regulation. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Newburgh. Lastly, Sibylla, the fourth of these princesses, married Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgaw, upon which occasion it was natural to suppose the same renunciation would have been insisted on from this prince, as had been made by those who had married the other sisters: this, however, for some reason or other, was neglected, and the duke of Cleves died before his fourth brother-in-law made any renunciation of his wife's claim. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburg and Prussia; the count palatine of Newburgh; the count palatine of Deux-Ponts; and the marquis of Burgaw.

The emperor alledged the following examples in his favour: in the year 1485, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg had, by the death of duke William, devolved to the empire, he bestowed them, by his own absolute will, on Albert, duke of Saxony, as
a reward

a reward for his services. Maximilian, the first son of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the person of Ernest, elector of Saxony, brother to Albert, in the year 1486. He confirmed it a second time in 1495, because he then stood in need of the assistance of the Saxon princes: but this consideration no longer subsisting, in the year 1508 the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to dispose of his own territory, either to Mary, or any other of his daughters. William dying in 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and deprive the duke of Cleves of Juliers, who had married the heiress of that country: but when he endeavoured to gain Maximilian to his side, that emperor, who was apprehensive that the duke of Cleves might be induced to throw himself into the arms of France, refused to interfere, and advised the elector to have patience, giving him only general promises that he should lose nothing by his forbearance. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter to John, duke of Cleves and Juliers, in 1526, Charles the Fifth expressly confirmed the right of that princess, and acted in consequence of such confirmation; for when, in 1546, he made peace with duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquished, on condition that the duke should marry Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and of Hungary; he allowed, in the marriage contract of this princess, who was his niece, that her daughter should succeed to the duchies of Juliers, &c. in case she should have no sons, which privilege was confirmed by Maximilian the Second, in 1566⁷⁹.

Thus there was a material difference between the justice and validity of the pretensions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, and highly unfavourable to the Austrians; the former grounding their claims on a series of regulations, unanimously and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants founded on mere power, which did little honour to the Aulic council, and were, moreover, by their variation and contradiction, so unstable as scarcely to form any right.

No sooner, however, was the duke of Cleves dead, than each party began seriously to think of maintaining his right. The emperor, Rodolphus, gave the investiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold of Austria, a measure he would not have adopted, but for the purpose of anticipating the king of France. The duchies were taken possession of in the name of Leopold, who declared, by deputy, to the king, that his intention in entering Cleves, was neither to do any thing in the least prejudicial to his majesty's interest, nor yet to treat with rigour the princes, his competitors; that he should be satisfied if they conducted themselves, on this occasion, with becoming propriety towards his imperial majesty; and entreated the king not to interfere in a business which only concerned those princes and himself.

⁷⁹ *Mémoires de Sully*, liv. xxvii.

The answer which Henry gave to the imperial envoy was evasive, and conceived only in general terms: and he soon after received an ambassador from the princes who had claims on the contested succession, entreating his support and protection, which he promised they should have. Indeed, when the situation and circumstances attending the disputed territory are considered, it must be acknowledged that by allowing the emperor to secure the possession of them, the king would have grossly deviated from that line of policy which the interest and welfare of his kingdom required him to observe.

The six small cantons or provinces of Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravenstein lay upon the frontiers of France; and the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours, particularly the emperor. This consideration alone was sufficient to superinduce the most vigilant circumspection in attending to their disposal. The war, too, about to be entered upon, on their account, between the different claimants, might possibly become general throughout Europe and was therefore an object in which France must be deeply interested. This would certainly be the case, were the United Provinces alone concerned; their connection with the territory in question being so manifest, that by giving it to the friends of Holland, the Spaniards and Austrians would be in a manner expelled from Flanders; whereas, were the house of Austria allowed to take quiet possession of it, the *United Provinces*, would be exposed to destruction.

If the object in question be farther considered, with regard to its influence on the great designs which had been formed by Henry, for the depression of the house of Austria, it will be found to have offered the best possible means for engaging in the promotion of those designs such powers as could not otherwise be brought to approve of them. It afforded the surest opportunity of attaching to France all the princes of the empire, of restoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a fatal blow to the imperial power, and of striking the whole house of Austria with consternation: and this advantage, which France, from motives of interest, should have endeavoured to obtain, she would in that case enjoy, as the effect of disinterested generosity towards persecuted princes, without exciting either jealousy or envy⁸⁰.

Motives of gratitude, also, were not wanting to influence the conduct of Henry in this particular. The princes whom he proposed to assist had rendered him real and essential services; and had, on all occasions, shewn that nothing but inability had prevented them from performing still greater. When Francis the First assisted Philip, landgrave of Hesse, in restoring duke Ulric to the possession of the duchy of Wirtemberg; when Henry the Second joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to rescue the German

⁸⁰ Mémoires de Sully, iv. xxvii.

princes from the oppressions of Charles the Fifth, their personal honour alone, and that of their crown, induced them to take those steps under very considerable inconveniences. But the inducements of Henry were infinitely stronger, and the situation of Europe more favourable to his views.

The plan was agitated in the council, where every real friend to his country gave it a decided approbation; but the secret partisans of Spain, the supporters of the late League, the enemies of the Calvinists, and the disaffected French, jealous of the glory of the king, and the prosperity of the kingdom, used their utmost endeavours to dissuade Henry from engaging in those great designs which he had so much at heart: but finding all their efforts ineffectual, all their arguments impotent, and perceiving that he was on the point of carrying his plans into execution, they had recourse to all the dark and dangerous arts of intrigue. They took advantage of Henry's propensity to pleasure, and endeavoured to raise a conflict in his mind, between his love of fame, and those inclinations which strengthened the attractions of a life of ease and voluptuousness. They endeavoured to fill his mind with suspicions of the whole body of Protestants, and particularly of his favourite minister, the duke of Sully: they represented his kingdom as torn by contending factions, who eagerly expected a war, during which they hoped to perpetrate with impunity their acts of treason; and they insinuated that the princes, whom he was going to protect, were artful deceivers, who secretly laughed at all his vain projects.

These insinuations had some effect on Henry; but a circumstance fortunately occurred, at this period, to fix his wavering mind. The German princes, to the number of eighteen or twenty, of their own accord, and in opposition to the emperor, held an assembly at Hall in Suabia, to deliberate on the means of restoring the circles to their former liberty. The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the states of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had, after much negotiation, at length consented to adopt the views and second the projects of France, sent deputies to this assembly to represent them: the manifestos which were industriously circulated; the prevailing topics of public discourse; and the secret intimations of the French agents, produced so good an effect, that the imposition of restraints on the ambition of the house of Austria became a subject of public discussion with the assembly; who finally resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the king of France, in the name of the confederated princes, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promise of his assistance, whenever it might be requisite: these ambassadors experienced a favourable reception, and all their requisitions were complied with.

The military preparations were now carried on with additional vigour; and all obstacles to the completion of the plan seemed to be removed. A treaty of alliance had
been:

been signed with the duke of Savoy; the king of Sweden offered to become an ally to France; and, to connect the interests of both crowns more closely, he gave the king to understand that he intended to seek, in France, for a consort for his son, who, though very young, evinced an earnest desire to second the generous resolutions of his father: the kings of England and Denmark were strongly disposed to favour the undertaking; the Protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Upper Austria, stimulated by the agents of France, and still more determined by the cruelties which the Imperial ministers, at the instigation of the Jesuits, exercised against them, had lately given assurances, that, as soon as war should be declared, they would make a powerful diversion on the borders of Germany: the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with the French, upon condition that he should be chosen to succeed the emperor, and actually nominated king of the Romans: the Swiss cantons evinced the most favourable disposition towards France; and in short scarce any of the neighbouring powers could resist the allurements that were held out to them. The pope himself, in appearance the most difficult to be gained, showed that he was not insensible to the calls of interest or ambition. When the duke of Sully told the nuncio, that he intended to make his master a king, he thanked him for the intelligence, which, he said, was the best that he could ever impart to his holiness.

The storm now began to gather on the side of Germany, where the princes had actually levied, for the grand army destined for Cleves, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of fifty pieces of cannon: the carriages, horses, mules, and baggage, were well-furnished, and in a fit condition for service. As soon as the levies were complete, the army began to file off towards Cleves; and although no declaration of war had yet taken place, the king prepared to second the efforts of his allies.

The following spring was destined to see the royal standard of France displayed on the frontiers of Germany, though Henry resolved to avoid every thing which might wear the semblance of an invasion, till within a few days of the period appointed for placing himself at the head of his troops. He wrote to the archduke, to inform him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves of their dominions, he could not refuse them the aid they required; and, as his troops would be under the necessity of marching through the archduke's territories, he desired that they might be received as friends, in which case they would commit no act of hostility, and observe the strictest discipline. The archduke's answer, which did not arrive till some time after, was expressive of his compliance with the wishes of Henry⁸¹.

⁸¹ Sully, liv. xxvii.

A. D. 1610.] Such was the state of affairs in France, at the conclusion of the year 1609, the last months of which Henry had solely employed in bringing his scheme to perfection; the longer he reflected, the more was he convinced of its propriety; nor could the interested remonstrances or insidious arts of the queen and her Italian courtiers effect any change in his resolutions, or intermission in his labours. Having verified the state of his finances, and found himself in possession of resources the most ample, with a fund of ready money amounting to thirty-six million of livres, (about a million and a half sterling) he nominated persons in whom he could confide as ambassadors to foreign courts; and provided for the safety of the state during his absence. The government was destined for the queen, with the title of regent; assisted by a council, without which she could come to no decision whatever. This council was composed of the cardinals de Joyeuse and du Perron; the dukes of Mayenne, Montmorenci, and Montbazou; the marshals Brissac and Fervaques; Châteauneuf, chancellor to the regency; De Harlay, Nicolai, Châteauneuf, Liancourt, Pontcarré, Gêvres, Villemontée, and Maupeou. The council was not only obliged to act in conformity to the instructions they should receive, but were also restrained from any final determination on affairs of consequence, without having given previous information to his majesty, and received his positive orders on the subject.

But during these political and military preparations, others of a very different nature were making in the capital, which the king beheld with deep regret; these last were for the intended ceremony of the queen's coronation: so strong was the reluctance of Henry to this measure, that nothing but the dread of mortally offending the queen could have extorted his consent to it. No sooner had that princess obtained an order for the ceremony, than she accelerated the preparations with uncommon eagerness. The motives urged by her minions for her speedy coronation we have already noticed; motives which must either be considered as the result of criminality the most profligate, or folly the most extravagant. Henry proposed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and as the delay occasioned thereby could not exceed a fortnight, orders were issued for all the troops to march, without delay, to the province of Champagne. Six thousand Swiss were conducted to Moulon by the duke of Rohan; and the finest train of artillery which France had ever been mistress of was forwarded to the army.

The mysterious conduct of the house of Austria, at this perilous conjuncture, affords a vast scope for conjecture, and the strongest grounds for suspicions of the darkest nature. Though no stranger to the hostile designs of Henry, and aware of the powerful combination of her most inveterate enemies, stimulated by resentment for oppression sustained, and injuries received, she remained quiet, tranquil, and inactive: neither seeking by negotiation to avert, nor by vigorous preparations to resist, the storm that lowered over her head. In vain does the mind seek for some natural cause for a conduct thus strange and unaccountable; it cannot possibly be ascribed to any one system of rational policy:

no possibility appeared of avoiding the meditated blow, and yet no measures were adopted for warding it off! It must be confessed, that not the smallest *proof* has been discovered that the Austrians were privy to the dark transaction that ensured their safety; but their conduct most indisputably affords the strongest presumption of their guilt: the sanguinary principles of the court of Spain had already brought the prince of Orange to the grave, and had planned the destruction of Elizabeth; to ascribe the same effects to the prevalence of the same principles, when a thousand circumstances combine to corroborate the suspicion, appears to be warranted by justice.

The accounts given by the duke of Sully of the secret bodings of Henry's mind are equally certain, and not less extraordinary. His apprehensions and terrors at times overcame his reason, and almost drove him to despair. The nearer the time appointed for the queen's coronation approached, the more those terrors and apprehensions increased. To Sully alone did he reveal his sentiments on the occasion: "*O my friend!*"—said the king to his minister—"this coronation does not please me; I know not whence my fears arise, but my heart tells me some fatal accident will happen." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he threw himself on a chair, and resigned himself to all the horrors of his gloomy apprehensions: after remaining some time in a profound reverie, he suddenly started up, and striking his hands together, exclaimed—"Pardieu, I shall die in this city; they will murder me here; I see plainly that they have made my death their only resource. O! this accursed coronation, it will be the cause of my death!"—"My God, Sire," said Sully to him one day when he was talking in this strain—"what a dreadful idea have you conceived; if you persist in it, it is my opinion that you ought to prevent this coronation, defer your journey, and give up the war; if such be your wish it can be easily gratified." After a short pause, Henry replied, "Yes, break off this coronation, and let me never hear it mentioned again; my mind will then be freed from those apprehensions which the advices I have received have given rise to: I shall, in that case, leave this city, and have nothing to fear."

"I would not yield to your solicitations,"—pursued the king—"but that it has been foretold to me I should be murdered at a public ceremony, and in a coach, and hence proceed my fears."—"You never mentioned this to me, Sire, before;"—returned Sully—"and I have frequently been surprized at hearing you cry out when in a coach, and testify such alarm at a danger so trifling: you, whom I have often beheld unmoved amidst the rage of battle; amidst volleys of cannon and musquet shot, and encompassed by swords and pikes. However, since you are so strongly prepossessed with this idea, and it affects you so deeply, I would advise you, sire, to depart to-morrow; let the coronation be performed without you, or defer it till some other time; and let it be long ere you return to Paris, or get into a coach. Shall I send directly to the cathedral, and to Saint Denis, to put a stop to the preparations, and dismiss the workmen?" "I would willingly consent to what you propose"—said the king—"but what

“ what will my wife, who has this coronation strangely in her head, say to it?” “ Let her say what she will ”—returned Sully, who saw his proposal had greatly pleased the king—“ However, I cannot believe she will continue obstinate, when she knows what apprehensions you labour under.”

Sully waited for no farther commands, but immediately sent orders to stop the preparations: he then waited on the queen, to whom he disclosed what had passed between Henry and himself; but though he employed the most persuasive arguments, and for three whole days never ceased to solicit her compliance with a request so reasonable, he was unable to prevail; the obdurate princess rejected with disdain his prayers and entreaties, and persisted in her determination to be crowned on the appointed day⁸². Henry was destined to yield; and as, in those moments when his natural vivacity rose superior to his apprehensions, he was the first to condemn his own weakness, he forbore to mention the subject of the coronation, and suffered the queen to have her will. As the preparations, however, continued, his fears returned, and he frequently exclaimed to Sully, “ Ah! my friend, I shall never go out of this city: they will murder me here: this accursed coronation will be the cause of my death.”

To strengthen and confirm these apprehensions of Henry, advices of a design against his person continued to be received. Schomberg, while at dinner with the duke of Sully, received a note from a mademoiselle de Gournai, informing him of the particulars

⁸² The queen's conduct, on this occasion, gives rise to a variety of conjectures, of which the two following appear to be the most strong, and, indeed, naturally to result from an attentive consideration of the case. Either she herself was privy to the intended assassination of the king; or her Italian favourites had formed the detestable project, without informing her of it, and contrived, by the ascendancy they had acquired over her mind, to render her instrumental to their designs. In either case Mary was highly culpable; if she knew of the plot the whole compass of our language can afford no expressions sufficiently strong to mark the execration her infamy must necessarily excite; but, admitting she were really ignorant of the designs of her minions, her refusal to grant a request on which the happiness of her husband essentially depended, was a gross deviation from that indispensable duty which she owed to her consort and her sovereign. At all events, it seems clear that the Austrians, with whom the queen's favourites maintained a private correspondence, were by them apprized of the scheme that was in agitation, and to such knowledge alone can the inactivity of the former, under circumstances so alarming, be rationally ascribed. Perefixe, archbishop of Paris, who lived in the following reign, and who wrote the life of Henry the Fourth, tells us, (p. 409) that many conspiracies were formed against the person of that worthy monarch; since he received intelligence of the same from different quarters; since printed accounts of his death were published in the dominions of Spain; since a courier passed through the city of Liege eight days before he was murdered, who said, he was going with news of his assassination to the princes of Germany; and since a note was found on the altar of the church, at Montargis, containing a prediction of his approaching death, by a method already determined upon.

The various prognostications that were made on the death of Henry were, probably, circulated for the purpose of weakening suspicion, by dividing it between different objects; of familiarizing the minds of the people with the horrid event; and of deterring Henry's German allies from continuing their preparations against the house of Austria, by instilling into them a belief that they would speedily be deprived of their firmest support.

of a conspiracy, which she had learned from a madame d'Ecoman, who had been in the household of the marchioness of Verneuil. This woman accused the marchioness herself, and several other persons of distinction, as the principal agents in the plot; when she was afterwards examined, she firmly maintained her deposition, and persisted in it to her death.

Meanwhile, the ceremony of the coronation was performed on Thursday, the thirteenth of May, with unusual magnificence; the Sunday following was fixed for the public entry of the queen; and on the subsequent day Henry had determined to quit Paris, and place himself at the head of his army. But the queen's entry being on some account deferred till the twentieth, the king's departure was of course delayed for a few days. On the morning of the nineteenth⁸³ the king had intended to pay a visit to the duke of Sully, at the arsenal, but the indisposition of that nobleman induced him to postpone his intention; he had already passed a sleepless night, and with the return of day, his fears and apprehensions seemed to acquire fresh strength. He attended mass, and was observed to pray with more than usual fervour; in restless inquietude the morning passed away, and, after a vain effort to compose himself to rest, he ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the dukes of Epemon and Montbazon, the marshal Lavardin and Roquelaure, the marquesses de la Force and Mirabeau, and du Pleffis Liancourt, his master of horse, determined to proceed to the arsenal. Vitry, the captain of his guards, was by his order dispatched to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the carriage was only attended by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and a few of the royal footmen⁸⁴. The curtains were all drawn up that the king might as he passed observe the preparations that were every where making by the citizens for the reception of the queen. As the coach was turning out of the street of Saint Honoré into that of La Feronnerie, which was then extremely narrow, an embarrassment occasioned by the meeting of two carts obliged it to stop. The majority of the attendants immediately took a nearer way, and two footmen only were left, one of whom went before to clear the passage, while the other staid behind to tie up his garter. At this instant, as the king turned to read a letter to the duke of Epemon, he received a wound from a two-edged knife, inflicted by a man who had raised himself for the purpose on the wheel of the carriage: Henry had scarcely time to exclaim—"I am wounded"—before a second blow more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and, breathing only a deep sigh, he sunk a lifeless corpse upon the seat.

The assassin was immediately seized with the fatal instrument in his hand, apparently glorying in the atrocious deed he had committed. By the prudence of the duke of Epemon, he was rescued from the immediate fury of the royal attendants, and consigned

⁸³ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxvii.

⁸⁴ Perefixe—Matthieu—L'Etoile—Rigault.

to safe custody. He proved to be a native of Angoulême, named Francis Ravaillac, who, quitting his province, repaired to the capital, where he endeavoured to gain a miserable subsistence as an obscure retainer to the law: failing in that attempt, he procured admission as a lay-brother in a convent of Feuillants; but, was soon rejected by the monks as a wild and frantic visionary; and his distress had already reduced him to the necessity of imploring alms, when he formed the desperate design of murdering his sovereign, to which, according to his own confession, he was urged by the belief that the king was going to wage war against the pope, and that he had neglected to take proper measures for the conversion of the Hugonots⁸⁵.

Thus perished, by the hand of an assassin, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign, Henry the Fourth, on whom his subjects, in admiration of his virtues and talents, had unanimously bestowed the honourable distinction of *Great*. The leading features in the character of this magnanimous prince were honour and the love of Fame; and these were so happily blended with wisdom, prudence, and moder-

⁸⁵ I am aware that the printed trial of Ravaillac is calculated to confute the opinion I have advanced with regard to the premeditated plan for the assassination of Henry; but that trial is evidently defective, and there is too great reason to believe that it was *framed not for the purpose of information, but for that of concealment*. The duke of Sully, tells us (liv. xxvii.) that great care was taken to suppress all the papers relating to the trial of the regicide; and this suppression had generally been admitted as a fact of established notoriety. To the reflections justly cast on the judges on this account, it has also been added, that but little, if *any*, examination was made by them into the circumstances of the death of several persons under confinement, (on account of the assassination) which appeared to be effected by violent means; that they neglected to examine many other persons who were able to throw great light on the subject, such as Ravaillac's mother, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Easter-day, before he had performed the devotions appointed for that festival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the course of his examination; the parish priest of St. Severin; a Bernardine monk, named Father Saint-Mary Magdalen; the Capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of cost-mary root, and some pieces (as they made him believe) of the true cross, which they told him would cure him of a fever, Guillbaut, a canon of Angoulême; Father Gilles Osieres, ancient visitor of the order of Cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, or Febure, a monk of the same order; several of the cardinal du Perron's Almoners whom Ravaillac, declared he knew by sight, though not by name; and many others. It has also been considered as a subject for censure, that Ravaillac was so carelessly guarded in prison, that persons of all denominations were suffered to have free intercourse with him. It has likewise been asserted—though the assertion, it must be owned, requires confirmation—that after Ravaillac was fastened to the horses, in order to be pulled asunder, he desired some one to take down his confession; when Voisin, the clerk, stepped forward for that purpose, but wrote it so ill that, though said to be in existence fifty years ago, no notary or scrivener had yet been found sufficiently skilful to decypher a single word of it.

The inference drawn from these considerations is this—that the parliament were restrained from the strict discharge of their duty by the apprehension that the discovery and promulgation of the truth might reduce them to the necessity of proceeding, with vigour, against a number of persons, whose high rank and stations would render any attempt at punishment dangerous and probably ineffectual. There certainly was some deep mystery attending this dark business, which never has been, and apparently, never will be, cleared up.

ation; that they were always rendered subservient to the welfare and happiness of his people. Impressed with a just sense of the duties of a king, he held all acts of oppression in abhorrence, and administered justice with an impartial hand⁸⁶. Brave and undaunted in the hour of danger; in adversity calm, firm, and collected; in prosperity, temperate and equitable; Henry seemed peculiarly formed for the station he was destined to fill. With a mind alike comprehensive and acute, he could, with little reflection, simplify and decide on systems of policy, and projects of improvement, the most intricate and complex. In all matters of public concern, no subject was too high for his understanding, and none too low for his attention. His ambition was truly royal; its object, the prosperity of the state by the establishment of a solid and permanent tranquillity; the soul of Henry was a stranger to the sordid motives of interest; in his grand scheme for the depression of the house of Austria, he had pre-determined that, however great his success, no accession of territory should be the consequence of his efforts. Candid, affable, sincere, grateful, compassionate and generous, he considered himself as the father of his subjects, whom he loved with paternal tenderness. He frequently was heard to repeat an earnest wish that glory might mark the last years of his life, and render them, at once, useful to the world, and acceptable to God⁸⁷.

But while we bestow on the virtues of this prince the commendation they so richly deserve, we should ill discharge the duty of an historian, were we to suffer his frailties and vices to pass without a comment. His propensity to play was carried to excess, and, though productive of no inconvenience to his people, it was nevertheless highly blameable, as it offered a bad example to his courtiers, many of whom, by encouraging the same spirit, were involved in the greatest distress. His passion for women, too, from its gratification too unlimited and unrestrained, was equally obnoxious to censure; yet this propensity, the most natural that man can experience, is, probably, entitled to a greater degree of indulgence than other vices which have not an impulse of nature for their origin: and though it be indisputably the duty of a monarch to impose a proper restraint on his passions, yet the extraordinary temptations under which he continually labours should certainly be admitted, in particular cases, as a pal-

⁸⁶ On twelfth-day, as the king was going to receive the sacrament, M. de Roquelaure, who had been previously soliciting the pardon of his kinsman (Saint-Chaumont) whom the king had ordered to be severely punished for an act of oppression he had committed, took the opportunity to renew his solicitations; observing to Henry that he ought to pardon him for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would only forgive such as had extended equal forgiveness to all who had given *them* offence. To this Henry replied—"Be gone, and cease your entreaties: I am astonished you should make this request to me at a time when I am going to declare to God my resolution to do justice to all men, and to ask his pardon for having neglected so to do." *Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 262.*

⁸⁷ Sully, liv. 28.

liative, though not an excuse, for his failings. But though Henry's passion for the fair sex was extreme, yet he never suffered them to regulate the choice of his ministers, decide the fate of his servants, or influence the deliberations of his council⁸⁸. It was his daily prayer to God to grant him three things—First, that he would be pleased to pardon his enemies; Secondly, to grant him a victory over his passions, and especially sensuality; and, Thirdly, that he might make a right use of the authority God had given him, and never abuse it⁸⁹.

Henry left three sons and three daughters by his queen, Mary of Medicis: viz. Lewis, who succeeded him in the throne; the duke of Orleans, who died in his fourth year, before he had received any name⁹⁰; and John Baptiste Gaston, who also bore the title of duke of Orleans: the daughters were Elizabeth, who married Philip the Fourth, king of Spain; Christiana, consort to Victor Amadeus, prince of Piedmont, and afterwards duke of Savoy; and Henrietta Maria, wife to Charles the First, of England.

His natural children were more numerous: he acknowledged eleven; six by Gabrielle D'Estiées, viz. Cesar, duke of Vendome; Lewis, Francis, and Isabella, who died young; Alexander, grand-prior of France; and Catharine Henrietta, wife to Charles, duke of Elbeuf: two by the marchioness of Verneuil; Henry, duke of Verneuil and bishop of Metz; and Gabrielle, wife to Bernard de Nogaret, duke de la Vallette, and afterwards duke D'Epéron: by Jacqueline Du-Beuil, countess of Moret, he had Anthony, count of Moret, who was killed at the battle of Castelnaudary, in 1632: and by Charlotte des Effarts, countess of Romorantin, he had two daughters; Jane, abbess of Fontevraud; and Maria-Henrietta, abbess of Chelles.

⁸⁸ Henry's intended declaration of war against the house of Austria, with a view to humble the pride and check the ambition of that aspiring family, whose projects had become highly dangerous to the other powers of Europe, has, by some authors, been ascribed solely to his eagerness to recover the princeps of Condé. But this false and malicious accusation has been amply confuted by the duke of Sully, who was acquainted with Henry's most secret thoughts, and who, as he never countenanced his foibles while living, never strove to conceal, or even palliate, his defects when dead. The author of a book recently published, entitled "*The Crimes of the Kings of France*," has, however, presumed to renew the accusation, seeking to impose on the credulity of the ignorant by the boldness of his assertions. This book, which is written, if I mistake not, by *Marat*, one of the modern Parisian regicides, is composed of a series of malignant invectives, artful exaggerations, atrocious calumnies, and notorious falsehoods; the translation is truly worthy the original; every page of it exhibits some gross and grammatical inaccuracy; it is replete with *Gallicisms* the most disgusting; the meaning of the author is frequently mistaken or imperfectly expressed; the style would disgrace a school-boy of thirteen; and through the whole of the publication a shameful ignorance, as well of the English as of the French language, is incessantly displayed. The translator's preface is of a piece with the rest; and there can be no doubt but that the book was published merely to promote the views of a desperate faction, at the expence of decency and truth.

⁸⁹ Matthieu, tom. ii. p. 838.

⁹⁰ Mezerai, tom. x. p. 400.

Many salutary laws and wholesome regulations for the security of trade, the extension of commerce, and the correction of abuses, were enforced during the reign of Henry the Great. The high interest which money bore at this period was deemed highly prejudicial to the state; by that means people were enabled to obtain as large an income by remaining in a state of inactivity, as by the efforts of industry; for which reason considerable sums of money, put to interest, remained useless to the public; whereas, without that mode of acquiring wealth, they would have been put into circulation, and employed in some manner beneficial to the commonwealth. The lawful interest of money, therefore, was fixed at six per cent. This regulation took place in 1601. At the same time, in order to encourage the French manufactures, the importation and use of foreign stuffs were forbidden, under severe penalties: the exportation of specie from the kingdom was likewise prohibited, under pain of forfeiture of all money seized, and of confiscation of the estates of the offender. Another mode of remedying this inconvenience was adopted soon after, by raising the value of the current coin. The crown-piece, called *ecu d'or au soleil*, which was valued at sixty sols tournois, was raised to sixty-five; that called *ecu pistolet*, worth fifty-eight sols, to sixty-two; and all other gold coin in proportion: the silver franc of twenty sols was raised one sol and four deniers. This last measure is highly extolled by the historian Matthieu, and as highly censured by M. Le Blanc, in his ingenious treatise on coins.

In order to facilitate the intercourse of one province with another, for commercial purposes, Sully had conceived the design of forming a junction, by means of a canal, between the rivers Seine and Loire; the work having met the king's approbation, was begun, and considerable progress was made in it, at the time of Henry's assassination; it was resumed and finished, at a subsequent period. This canal takes its rise at the small town of Briare, and extends to Montargis, a distance of about thirty miles.

Henry was extremely anxious to promote the establishment of manufactures of silks and stuffs of all kinds; and he expended very considerable sums in the attempt. They were not, indeed, brought to any great degree of perfection during his reign; but he had the merit of laying the foundation of a structure that was afterwards rendered highly beneficial to the kingdom.

In the year 1603, a French colony was sent to Canada, under the direction of the Sieur Du Mont. The first company for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies was instituted in France under the reign of Henry the Fourth. The plan of it was formed by a Fleming, named Gerard-Le-Roy. The edict of its establishment, dated the first of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to the company; by the fifth and sixth articles it was enacted, that gentlemen might become members of the company, without subjecting themselves to degradation. But the difficulty of procuring an adequate

quate fund, dissention among the members, and some other obstacles, prevented the perfection of this plan, which was reserved for the superior talents of Colbert.

One of the most salutary laws passed during this reign for the security of trade was intended to prevent fraudulent bankruptcies. It was published in 1609: by this law it was enacted, that all fraudulent bankrupts should be considered as public robbers, and, as such, punished with death: that all donations, grants, sales, and assignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, or pretended creditors, should be annulled, and those who accepted them punished as accomplices, provided it should appear to the judges that the transaction had been accomplished with the intent to defraud the real creditors: all persons were likewise forbidden, under pain of being considered as accomplices, to afford a retreat to such bankrupts, their securities, clerks, or factors; as also to receive any of their goods, papers and effects, or to give them the smallest assistance: all persons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to justice, notwithstanding any edict or custom to the contrary: and, lastly, the real creditors of the bankrupts were forbidden to make any agreements or contracts with them, or with any persons acting for them, under pain of losing their debts, and subjecting themselves to criminal prosecution. An action at law was the only mode left open to them.

The barbarous custom of duelling prevailed to such a degree during this reign, that according to a computation made in 1607, no less than four thousand gentlemen had been killed in duels since the accession of Henry to the throne⁹¹. It must be acknowledged that the martial disposition of Henry had greatly tended to encourage the practice; though he endeavoured to put a stop to it by the most rigorous edicts. By an edict, published at Blois, in June, 1602, duelling was declared to be high-treason; and a power was given to the constable and marshals of France to examine the ground of disputes between individuals, and to fix the proper reparation for the injury received. Another edict was passed at Fontainebleau, in 1609, for the same purpose: infamy, degradation, and even death, in particular cases, was, by both edicts, declared to be the penalty of disobedience⁹².

One regulation, however, adopted by Henry at the instigation of the duke of Sully, has been highly censured by different writers—we mean, the law for rendering offices of justice hereditary. The promulgation of this edict occasioned great murmurs and complaints;—it was urged, that the purchase of those offices being, thereby, raised to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they would, in future, be monopolized by monied men, whereby the vexations that occurred in the administration of justice, would be increased instead of diminished. But

⁹¹ Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France.

⁹² Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. 4.

cardinal Richelieu was so fully persuaded of the wisdom and policy of the measure, that he not only continued it during his administration, but devoted the first section of his "Political Testament" to prove the impropriety of abolishing either the sale or inheritance of offices of justice. One of the chief motives with Henry for passing the edict, was the consideration that nothing had contributed so much to enable the duke of Guise to render himself powerful in the League against the king and state, as the great number of officers he had, by his interest, brought into the principal posts of the kingdom. The arguments of the cardinal were plausible, and, applied to the times in which he lived, carry great weight with them; but, if considered as tending to enforce a general rule, we must reject his authority, and strongly dissent from his principles.

By virtue of this edict, called the edict of the *Droit Annuel*, the officers of justice were obliged to pay the sixtieth part of the produce of their offices every ninth year, a custom which continued in force till the latter end of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when they were compelled to purchase an exemption from the tax. The *Droit Annuel* had been subjected by Henry to various restrictions that tended to temper its rigour, and avert its pernicious effects; but these were afterwards injudiciously suppressed.

Henry expended considerable sums in building and repairing churches and hospitals, and in other works of public utility. He greatly embellished the royal residence of Fontainebleau, and caused avenues to be cut through the extensive forest adjoining. He completed the Pont Neuf, built the Place and Rue Dauphin, and erected several wharfs. He raised numerous causeways and bridges in various parts of the kingdom; repaired most of the public roads, and caused trees to be planted on either side of them. In order to prevent a scarcity of corn, he published several edicts, forbidding the conversion of arable land into pasture, and ordering the vineyards to be ploughed up. In short, such was his anxiety to promote the welfare and comfort of his subjects, that he was frequently heard to declare, he should not be content till he had enabled every peasant in his dominions to eat meat as often as he chose, and to have a fowl for his Sunday's dinner.

By an edict dated July the seventh, 1605, Henry established a fund for the support of disabled officers and soldiers, and he assigned them the house of Christian Charity, which belonged to the crown, for their residence. Two years after he caused the royal hospital of Saint Lewis to be built; for which purpose he granted to the Hôtel Dieu ten sols on every minot of salt (a measure containing something less than an English bushel), within the district of Paris, for fifteen years, and five sols for ever.

We have already, in different parts of our history, given an account of the state of the revenue, and of the public imposts; but by exhibiting under one point of view the regular progress of the system of taxation, the subject will be rendered more clear, satisfactory, and intelligible. In the present advanced state of society, it becomes almost superfluous to observe, that no kingdom whatever, whether subject to the government of one or many, can subsist without the contribution of the people; in other words, without the payment of taxes. For, admitting a state to be content with the power it already enjoys, and averse from any accession of territory by the means of conquest, still, in the common course of human events, it must occasionally have outrages to revenge and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must indispensably be supplied by regular expences, the magnitude whereof must be determined by the exigencies of the case. In France these expences, both ordinary and extraordinary, were—as has been before shewn—defrayed by the revenues of the crown-lands; and by taxes, under the denomination of *free gifts*, imposed and distributed by a decision of the states-general of the kingdom. But the sums thus raised were trifling when compared to those which were laid at a subsequent period; since the states confined their grants to what was barely necessary as well within as out of the kingdom. So long as this spirit of moderation and frugality was observed the kings never found themselves in want, but were able to defray all the current expences, without mortgaging or alienating the crown-lands. But mismanagement at home, and wars abroad, by degrees occasioned a considerable augmentation of expence, and of course rendered an increase of imposts a matter of necessity.

The *Taille*, under which denomination were comprised all capitations or assessments levied on individuals, in an arbitrary manner⁹⁴, occasioned great discontents among the people when first imposed: discontents which not only shook the throne, but even affected the lives of some of its early monarchs. The imposition of an exorbitant tax, under Philip Augustus, produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the king's design. Saint Lewis left the strongest injunction to his son, to raise no money against the will of his subjects, and without their consent. Philip of Valois, less scrupulous, occasioned a revolt of the principal cities, by his arbitrary mode of raising taxes; though, before his accession to the throne, he had attended an assembly of the notables, convened by Lewis Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every monarch should, at the time of his consecration, take an oath to impose no fresh taxes upon his people, without the authority of the states-general of the kingdom, lawfully assembled. To this decree John, and Charles the Wise submitted; the demands of these monarchs for supplies were moderate, and readily granted. A tax levied on the people, without an assembly of the states, or consent of the nation, was considered as one of the greatest evils of the unfortunate reign of the Sixth Charles, which Sully calls, The Grave of the French Laws,

⁹⁴ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxiv.

and of the French Morals. Under Charles the Seventh, who had the expulsion of the English from his country to effect, that necessity which lessened the murmurs of the people encreased the evil. He had the address to change a temporary contribution into a fixed and settled payment, which, from its being a personal assessment, had the name of *Taille*. It was, however, established in different provinces under different forms; in some it was called a poll-tax; in others a tax upon estates; and in others a mixed tax⁹⁵.

The *Taille* was fixed by Charles the Seventh at eighteen hundred thousand livres. Lewis the Eleventh encreased it to four million, seven hundred thousand livres. In the year 1498, at the death of Charles the Eighth, there were paid into the exchequer, after all expences were deducted, four million, four hundred and sixty-one thousand, six hundred and nineteen livres; in 1515, at the death of Lewis the Twelfth, four million, eight hundred sixty-five thousand, six hundred and seventeen livres. A prodigious advance took place under Francis the First, at whose death it appeared to have been raised fourteen million, forty-four thousand, one hundred and fifteen livres. Under Henry the Second it was lowered to twelve million, ninety-eight thousand, five hundred and sixty-three livres. It continued to diminish in the two following reigns: under Francis the Second it produced only eleven million, one hundred and four thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one livres; and in the reign of Charles the Ninth it was reduced to eight million, six hundred and thirty-eight thousand, nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. It rose again, under Henry the Third; at one period of whose reign, in 1581, it amounted to thirty-one million, six hundred and fifty-four thousand, four hundred livres. Henry the Fourth, though encumbered with immense debts, and various other heavy charges, ever anxious to relieve his subjects, contented himself with a revenue of only sixteen millions, half of which proceeded from the *Taille*, and half from the farms; and, by the exertion of uncommon frugality, and uncommon vigour in the correction of abuses, he rendered this sum fully adequate to defray all the expences of the state.

After the obstinate disputes which had prevailed for so great a length of time between the Catholics and Calvinists, it is rather a subject for regret than a matter of astonishment, that much acrimony and violence should have appeared, during the reign of Henry, among the ecclesiastics of either religion. Father Gonthier, a Jesuit, preaching before the king, in the church of Saint Gervase, uttered the most virulent invectives against the Hugonots, on whom he repeatedly bestowed the appellations of *vermin* and *scoundrels*. Yet we are told, by Matthieu, the historian⁹⁶, that there were more regularity, modesty, gravity, and moderation in the sermons of the Jesuits, than in many others. Marechal D'Ornano talking to Henry one day on this subject, observed, that if any Jesuit had dared to preach before him in the same strain which father Gonthier had used in the presence

⁹⁴ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxv.

⁹⁵ liv. iii.

of his majesty, he would have ordered him to be thrown into the river the moment he left the pulpit⁹⁷. The Calvinistic clergy are said to have been equally virulent in their invectives. It is dreadful to see the ministers of the gospel thus hurried away by their passions, and encouraging a blind spirit of resentment, when it is their peculiar province to propagate the doctrines of Christian charity and brotherly love; and their indispensable duty to enforce by their example the precepts they promulgate.

In the year 1609 an edict was passed, whereby the demesnes and all the estates which belonged to Henry the Fourth, as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept separate from the crown of France, because that prince had granted the income thereof to his sister Catharine, were irrevocably united to it. These territories comprehended the duchies of Vendôme and Albret; the counties of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, and La Fere, with the viscounty of Limoges.

⁹⁷ Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France, anno 1609.

LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.

A. D. 1610.] THE death of Henry put an end to all those noble designs which he had formed with a view to establish the happiness of Europe on a solid foundation; nor were even the schemes he had conceived for the immediate welfare of his subjects permitted to survive him. A far different scene was the court of France now destined to exhibit, from that which, under the late excellent monarch, had rendered it respectable, and respected by all the European powers. Economy, prudence, order and wisdom were banished from the council, and their place was usurped by rapaciousness, imbecility, and political profligacy of every kind.

As Lewis the Thirteenth, who now succeeded to the throne, was only nine years of age, it became necessary to appoint a regent; and the attainment of this important dignity so wholly occupied the queen's thoughts and attention, that she had no time to devote to sorrow: and, indeed, the palace, within a few hours after the death of its master, rather resembled the temple of joy than a house of mourning¹. The duke of Epemon, eager to second the designs of Mary, stationed the French guards in the streets immediately contiguous to the convent of the Augustins, where the parliament now met; and as soon as the different chambers had assembled, the duke made his appearance, and, after he had disengaged his sword from the belt, he pointed to it with a menacing air, and said—"It is still in the scabbard, but if the queen be not declared regent, before the court breaks up, it must be drawn, and I foresee that blood will be shed. Some of you, gentlemen, require time for deliberation: their prudence is unseasona-

¹ Sully.

² ble:



J. Jones fecit.

LOUIS, XIII.

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“ble: what I propose may be done to day without danger; to morrow it will not be effected without slaughter².” The judges looked at each other: astonished at the proposed innovation, of placing the government of the state in the hands of the queen, without the participation of the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the crown, they remained silent for some time; but at length their fears proved stronger than their patriotism, and, knowing themselves to be surrounded by an armed force, they thought it prudent to comply with the duke’s requisitions.

When the assembly broke up, the most prudent members of the parliament expressed their deep concern at the loss their country had sustained in the death of a king who had its interest and welfare so much at heart. “We are now”—said one of them—“once more at the discretion of an Italian: and what good can be expected from a regent, imperious, prodigal and inexperienced? we must in future depend upon Galigai³, and her husband Conchini, who are the queen’s confidants and sold to the court of Spain. What confusion will their avarice and ambition occasion in the kingdom!”—“If”—observed others—“the king had followed the advice that was given him, to banish this Italian crew, who were always employed in irritating the jealousy, and augmenting the inquietude of the queen, perhaps we should not have now to deplore the loss of that worthy prince. It is well known that Conchini and his wife threatened the king’s person, in case he should attempt to punish their malice: and are not people of this description very capable of suborning an assassin⁴?”

The day after the assassination of Henry, the young king went to the parliament in person, to hold a bed of justice, and to confirm the nomination of Mary to the regency. He was accompanied by his mother, the principal nobility, and the chief officers of the crown: the regent, in a short speech, recommended her son to the protection of the court; and Lewis himself, in an harangue prepared for the purpose, expressed his determination to follow their advice, and to pursue the glorious example which his father had set him. As soon as the decision of the preceding day had received a formal confirmation, the assembly was dissolved.

When Mary had thus secured the establishment of her authority, she thought of paying the last duties to her murdered husband: The body of Henry was opened and embalmed, and afterwards interred in the royal vault at Saint-Denis: his heart was

² Histoire de Lewis XIII. Le Vassor, tom. i. liv. i. p. 21.

³ Leonora Galigai accompanied Mary of Medicis from Italy; she was the queen’s particular favourite; and Conchini, a native of the same country, and of obscure extraction, had married her in order to encrease his own influence at court: during the regency their united councils ruled France, and their mistress, with unbounded sway.

⁴ Le Vassor, tom. i. liv. i. p. 32, 33

given to the Jesuits, who preserved it for some time, in their church of Saint-Lewis, whence it was transferred to their college at La Flèche, which that prince had founded^s:

The next object of public attention was the trial of the assassin, who was condemned to perish by the most exquisite torments. His sentence was executed on the twenty-seventh of May, at the place de Grève. After confessing the enormity of his crime at the door of the cathedral, he was conducted to the place of execution: having mounted the scaffold, his right hand, grasping the instrument with which he had perpetrated the fatal deed, was consumed by fire: the flesh was then torn by red-hot pincers, from his breasts, arms, thighs, and the calves of his legs; scalding lead and oil, mixed with brimstone, wax, and pitch, were poured upon his wounds: and after an unsuccessful effort to dismember his mangled body, still sensible, by four horses, the populace who had, during the execution, loaded him with execrations, rushed upon him, and with various instruments, tore him in pieces, and dragged his limbs, in frantic triumph, through the streets.

During these transactions the first princes of the blood, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, were absent from the capital. The latter soon arrived at court, and expressed the utmost displeasure when he found the business of the regency, which he maintained could not be settled without his consent and concurrence, already arranged. In order to render himself formidable, the count endeavoured to strengthen his party at court, but he was unfortunately endowed with none of those qualities which are essential to the acquisition of friends, and the conciliation of esteem; and the regent soon found means to get rid of his opposition, by the bestowal of honours and rewards. As the price of his conciliation with Conchini, and of his co-operation with the measures of the court, the government of Normandy was taken from the king's brother and given to him. The regent, indeed, spared neither pains nor expence to strengthen her government by encreasing the number of her partisans. She enlarged the pensions of the princes of Lorraine, which had been moderate during the late reign: she gave the duke of Guise two hundred thousand crowns for the payment of his debts, and promised to second his design of marrying the rich heiress of the house of Joyeuse. The duke of Epemon, who enjoyed the high post of colonel general of the infantry, and many other lucrative places, had an apartment assigned him in the Louvre, where he was treated with almost the same honour and distinction as the royal family.

To the public council all noblemen and officers of the crown were indiscriminately admitted; but their deliberations were generally confined to the means of augmenting the revenue (without encreasing the taxes) in order to gratify their own rapaciousness.

^s Continuation de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 4.

If, indeed, some prudent resolutions were occasionally adopted, through the perseverance of some of the old ministers who still preserved their integrity inviolate, they were all rendered ineffectual by the proceedings of a secret council, composed of different persons, and actuated by different views.

To these secret councils, which were frequently holden at the dark hour of midnight, the queen admitted none but Conchini and his wife; the pope's nuncio; the chevalier de Sillery; the duke of Epemon; Villeroi; the president Jeannin; Arnaud; Daret the physician; Dollé; and Father Cotton, a Jesuit. The subject of their consultations was the total destruction of that enlarged system of policy which had been adopted and pursued by the late king: it was determined to promote an union between the crowns of France and Spain; to renounce all the most ancient alliances of the former with foreign princes; to repeal all edicts of pacification; to extirpate the Protestants; to disgrace all such as refused implicit obedience to the queen's favourites; to dissipate all the treasures amassed by Henry, by bribing the avaricious to second their measures; and to load with wealth and authority all whom it was their interest to raise to the first dignities of the state. To promote their iniquitous measures, the signature of Henry was frequently forged, and his seal, which ought to have been destroyed at his death, made use of⁶.

The first object which necessarily engaged the attention of the ministry, was the disposal of those great armaments which had been set on foot by the late king, with a view to the accomplishment of his grand object. Though this affair had been previously decided by the junto in their determination to court the friendship of Spain, it was nevertheless submitted to an extraordinary council, with the same solemnity, as if their advice were really to influence the conduct of government: a variety of opinions prevailed on the subject: some voted for an immediate dismissal of the troops; others insisted upon the necessity of fulfilling all the engagements which Henry had contracted with the princes of Germany; a third set maintained the propriety of only sending to the assistance of the princes eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and a fourth were of opinion that, instead of troops, a supply of money should be sent to those allies. The duke of Sully, who was most competent to speak on this subject, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the late king, and had been consulted in all his operations, adapted his advice to the present situation of affairs. Perceiving there was no probability that Henry's projects would be put in execution, he urged the necessity of immediately recalling all the orders which had been issued for new levies; of stopping all those which were already begun; and of disbanding all such as were completed: the reason he assigned for this advice was, that this must be done sooner or later, and that by being done without delay, the king would avoid a considerable expence, and the people a

⁶ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxviii.

considerable burthen. But at the same time the duke insisted on the necessity of fulfilling the engagements entered into with the princes of Germany, to whom he proposed to send deputies, to know whether they really stood in need of assistance to accomplish the object they had in view; and, if they did, to ask what succours they required.

Some days after this, Sully was summoned to attend a more private council, at which were present only the queen, the constable, the chancellor, and Villeroi. Here he repeated the same advice he had before given; and likewise insisted on the propriety of supporting the duke of Savoy. The queen, however, interrupted him, by saying—"With respect to the duke of Savoy, these gentlemen and myself had, before you came, talked over that business, and we are all of opinion, that the interest of the kingdom requires an immediate reconciliation with Spain; to promote which we are determined to send one of the princes of the blood to Madrid, to propose an alliance between the two crowns by means of a double marriage, which I know the Spaniards still wish for as ardently as they did formerly; and while this negociation is pending, which cannot be attended with any great difficulty; or be protracted to any length of time, we must flatter the duke of Savoy with the hopes of seeing our engagements fulfilled."

In vain did Sully remonstrate against the injustice and impolicy of this conduct; in vain did he represent to the queen that she could not, without violating that faith which had been so solemnly pledged, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown, at the persuasion of her husband; that since she had chosen to alter the system of policy that had been pursued under the late reign, she ought to give the duke notice thereof, and conceal her views from the king of Spain, until, by a general reconciliation, all those who had entered into an alliance with France should be extricated from the danger which now threatened them. This salutary advice was wholly disregarded, and the queen continued to pursue her own plan⁷.

The prince of Condé no sooner received intelligence of the king's assassination, than he began his journey to France, hoping, by making extraordinary haste, to arrive time enough to assert the rights given him by his birth, on an occasion exactly similar to that in which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to obtain a preference over

⁷ By the treaty of Brusol, which had been signed on the twenty-fifth of April, France was pledged to protect the duke of Savoy against the attempts of Spain: (*Memoires de Nevers*, tom. ii. p. 880.) But that prince, being abandoned by the new council, was exposed to the resentment of the court of Madrid, the effects of which he was obliged to avert by the most humiliating concessions. His son threw himself at the feet of the king of Spain, beseeching him to take his father and all his house under his royal protection; imploring his clemency, and, with the most humble submission, asking his pardon for all the offences he had committed against him.

Catharine of Medicis. But being informed that the queen, without waiting for him or any other of the princes of the blood ; without settling a council of regency as the laws required ; or observing any of the forms usual on such occasions, had been rather *declared* than *chosen* regent, he no longer indulged a hope of obtaining that dignity, and even began to entertain fears, that, on his appearance at court, where his presence, after what had happened, could not be very acceptable, some attempts would be made on his person. As he imagined, however, that nothing was so likely to give weight to his demands as the respect and distinction he should experience from the nobility, he caused them to be sounded, and insinuated that he should deem himself obliged to all who should go to meet him, and escort him to Paris.

On the fifteenth of July the prince of Condé arrived at the capital, accompanied by a body of five hundred gentlemen, whose formidable appearance greatly alarmed the queen. She was fearful, that as the artillery, the Bastile, and the treasury were in his power, by means of the duke of Sully, who had joined his retinue, he might be led to make attempts highly dangerous to the state. The prince himself was equally mistrustful of her and her favourites. On his arrival, he received repeated information, that the queen, at the instigation of the count of Soissons, had formed a design of securing him and the duke of Bouillon. He experienced, however, a most gracious reception, as well from the regent as the young monarch ; and, not daring to assert his claims, he listened to the advances that were made him, and suffered his interest to subdue his principles. He had a pension of two hundred thousand livres given him, together with the palace of Conti, in the suburb of Saint Germain, which had cost two hundred thousand livres ; and the county of Clermont ; besides some other gratifications.

The council at length made known their resolution with regard to the affair of the duchy of Cleves. The army of the confederated princes, joined to that of the united Provinces, had laid siege to Juliers ; and the prince of Orange, who acted as commander in chief, had taken such measures, that the place must of necessity have fallen into his hands. The French succours were entirely useless to him, because the house of Austria had levied no troops, nor made any preparations for resisting the progress of her enemies ; and, after the reduction of this city, the war, as they proposed to carry it on, must speedily be terminated. But the queen's private council thought they should exhibit a wonderful stroke of policy, by granting to the princes, at this period, more than what they had been so long and so ineffectually soliciting. They knew the situation to which the besieged city was reduced, and they were anxious to have the honour of taking it, as it could not possibly hold out long after the arrival of the French troops. They likewise imagined that such a measure would operate as an incitement to the king of Spain to solicit an alliance, for the conclusion of which he did not appear to express sufficient eagerness ; and they were ashamed of making all the advances themselves. It was resolv-

ed, therefore, that a body of eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, with eight pieces of cannon, should be immediately sent to Juliers; and that the command of this army should be given to the *mareschal de la Châtre*.

The reduction of Juliers compelled the emperor to lay aside his design of sequestering the disputed territories in the hands of the archduke Leopold; and the marquis of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of Newburgh, quietly shared the whole succession between them: the former had Cleves, La Mark, and Ravensburg; and the latter, Juliers and Bergh.

On the seventeenth of October, the ceremony of the king's coronation was performed with royal magnificence, at Rheims, by the cardinal de Joyeuse. The princes of Condé and Conti, the count of Soissons, the dukes of Nevers, Elbeuf and Epernon, occupied the places allotted to the ancient dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitaine; the counts of Thoulouse, Flanders, and Champagne⁸.

The absolute authority which Conchini had acquired, though destitute of talents, integrity, and experience, gave the most serious concern to all who had the interest of their country at heart. To strengthen that power which he had obtained by the most dishonest means, he had recourse to all the arts of corruption and intrigue. The council exhibited a scene of rapacity that made every honest man shudder; scarcely any business was transacted there, but what related to gifts to the nobles; augmentations of the pensions of persons in office; payment of debts which had been cancelled; abatement of farms, the discharge of farmers, and revocations of the contracts concluded for the rents, registries, and domains; and the creation of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in short, a thousand schemes were proposed to render the people wretched, instead of applying the treasures amassed by the late king to their relief, as ought in justice to have been done, since circumstances were so changed that the object for which they had been raised could not be accomplished. But the rapacity of the nobles would have swallowed up sums far more considerable: a short account of their demands will suffice to shew its extent.

The prince of Condé, besides what he had already obtained, advanced pretensions to the government of Château-Trompette, and of Blaye, as well as to the principality of Orange. The count of Soissons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, and of the citadel of Caen; and required that a duty on linen cloth should be imposed for his profit. The duke of Lorraine demanded the payment of the whole of a sum which the late king, by a private treaty, had consented to pay him, though by a subse-

⁸ Le Vassor, liv. i. p. 82.

quent arrangement it had been agreed that two thirds of it should be taken off. The duke of Guise solicited the payment of his debts, and the revocation of the duties on patents in Provence, with some other emoluments. The duke of Mayenne demanded an augmentation of the sums granted him by a treaty with Henry the Fourth. D'Eguillon required a donation of thirty thousand crowns; the government of Bresse, and the city of Bourg, and the appointment of ambassador to Spain, with an exorbitant salary. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the first government that should become vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the produce of the gabelles in Rethelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint Menchoud. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept in constant pay; the reversion of his government for his son; fortifications to be raised at Angoulême and Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Meffin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon required a sum of money, which he pretended was due to him; the profits arising from the Aids, Tailles, and Gabelles, in the viscounty of Turenne; the arrears of his garrisons and pensions during his exile; and the privilege of holding general assemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money arising from the petty seals; his salary to be doubled, and a patent of nobility. Villeroi required, that a garrison should be maintained at Lyons; that Saint Chaumont should be deprived of the post of king's lieutenant of the Lyonnois; that his son, D'Alincourt, should have a marshal's staff; and that an agreement which Sully had made with him for the re-purchase of the crown-lands in that province, should be annulled.

It will be easily supposed that Conchini's demands were not less exorbitant than the rest: he required a marshal's staff; the governments of Bourg, Dieppe and Pont de L'Arche; a donation of the money produced by the sale of the offices of the Gabelle in Languedoc; together with the profits arising from the reduction made upon public works, which had been granted to Moisset and Feydeau. All the members of the queen's private council preferred their claims; every person who had any concern with government, or who held any public office, thought himself entitled to a reward: the princes of the blood, governors of provinces, the lieutenant civil, the provost of the merchants, even the members of the companies and sovereign courts, appeared in the list of claimants; all the officers of the crown were to have their pensions augmented twenty-four thousand livres each; the salaries of every member of the council were to be raised in proportion, and their numbers to be considerably increased. In short, there seemed to be a general conspiracy formed to pillage the royal treasury, which was now considered as a lawful prize⁹.

A. D. 1611.] The austere manners of the duke of Sully, which led him to

⁹ Mémoires de Sully, liv. xxix.

disdain the arts of a court, and his inflexible integrity, which made him detest the profligacy of the council, rendered him an object of disgust to the new ministry; and finding his services no longer acceptable to the regent, whose conduct towards him was marked by the most profound dissimulation, that able and upright minister indignantly retired to the estates which the late king's bounty had enabled him to purchase, and resigned his offices of governor of the Bastile, and superintendant of the finances; but the Hugonots, who still confided in him, notwithstanding the intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, exhorted him to retain the government of Poitou, and post of master of the ordnance. The ascendancy of Conchini daily acquired fresh strength; and, with a view to make the people forget that he was a foreigner, he purchased the estate of Ancre in Picardy which gave him a French title, and he was after distinguished by the appellation of marquis of Ancre. The death of the duke of Orleans, whose title devolved on his younger brother the duke of Anjou, did not interrupt the negociations which the regent and her ministers eagerly pursued with the court of Spain. Instead of seeking to repress the dangerous ambition of the house of Austria, the queen, to establish her authority, determined closely to connect herself with that family; and while the young king was contracted to the Infanta, the hand of his sister, the princess Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Asturias.

A. D. 1612.] The alliance with Spain, so contrary to the maxims of Henry the Fourth, might, it was feared, create great discontent in the kingdom: no pains, therefore, were spared to obtain the unanimous consent of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility, to the measure. This, indeed, required no great art to accomplish, there being so little virtue or patriotism among them, at this period, that the prospect of reward was alone sufficient to secure their approbation. The prince of Condé and the count of Soissons, indeed, attended the council, with a full determination to oppose what they knew to be prejudicial to the true interests of their country; but they displayed so little consistency and resolution, that the constable Montmorenci could not forbear observing to the prince, who had married his daughter, that he neither knew how to fight with courage, nor to yield with prudence¹⁰. Sanctioned by the approbation of the council, the alliance was made public, on the twenty-fifth of March; and the rejoicings on the occasion lasted for three successive days. The marriage-contract between madam Elizabeth and the prince of Asturias was signed on the twenty-fifth of August; the dower of the princess was fixed at five hundred thousand crowns of gold, payable the day before the marriage was to be consummated.

The influence of the pope and the king of Spain in the councils of France could not fail to give serious cause for alarm to the Hugonots: A general assembly of the reform-

¹⁰ Le Vassor, liv. iii. p. 277.

ed had met at Saumur, the year before; but the prudent conduct of the duke of Sully had prevented the adoption of any violent measures. The division which reigned between the chiefs of the reformed now afforded an opportunity, which the regent eagerly embraced, to infringe on the edicts of pacification; an attempt that the court would never have dared to make, if the dukes of Bouillon and Rohan had preserved that harmony and good intelligence which the interest of their party required. The former of these noblemen employed his credit with the regent to effect the ruin of the latter. The opposition which Bouillon had experienced in the assembly of the Hugonots at Saumur, through the means of Rohan, made him resolve to deprive that nobleman of the government of St. John D'Angeli, which had been given him by the late king. Rohan, apprized of his intentions, repaired to court to justify his own conduct: and, after representing to the regent that he had behaved like a man of honour at the assembly at Saumur, he acknowledged that he had opposed the designs of the duke of Bouillon, through zeal for the service of his sovereign, which would never receive more injury than when Bouillon should be placed at the head of the Hugonots¹¹.

But the remonstrances of the duke of Rohan made no impression on the mind of the regent, whose prejudice against him was so strong, that she resolved to exert all possible means for the diminution of his power and consequence. The time now approached for the election of the mayor of Saint John d'Angeli; and it was of the utmost importance to the duke of Rohan to prevent the present mayor from being re-chosen, for, since he had been corrupted by the opposite party, the duke would, by his continuation in power, have lost all his authority in the place. To obviate this inconvenience he suddenly left the capital, and repaired to his government. On the day of election a *Lettre-de-cachet* was produced, from the king, ordering the citizens to re-elect the mayor; but the duke persuaded them that his majesty had been imposed upon, as to the true situation of the town, since his orders necessarily supposed the prevalence of dissensions which had no existence; he therefore advised them to proceed to a new election, and engaged to take the consequences upon himself.

Bouillon had flattered himself that the ruin of his rival would be inevitable, whatever part he might take in an affair thus delicate. If Rohan suffered the old mayor to be continued, he must lose his authority; and if he opposed the execution of the orders of the court, he must expose himself to the punishment due to a man who treated the king's authority with contempt. In order to engage the regent so far in this business as to prevent the possibility of a retreat, Bouillon prevailed on her to dispatch a second order for the re-election of the mayor, more positive and peremptory than the first: but the duke of Rohan, convinced that the loss of his government would be followed

¹¹ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.—Vie du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. iii.

by his total ruin, persisted in his opposition; and three persons being chosen by the town, their names were sent to court that the king might fix on one of them to fill the office of mayor. Meanwhile the duke placed the keys of the town in the hands of the oldest alderman, and dismissed several of the subaltern officers who had espoused the cause of his enemies.

This bold stroke of authority greatly incensed the regent, who committed to the Bastille some persons sent by the duke of Rohan to explain and justify the motives of his conduct. The duke's mother, wife, and children, also received orders not to quit the metropolis. It was proposed in the council to declare the duke a rebel, and to lay siege to the town of Saint-John d'Angeli; and orders were accordingly issued for assembling the troops, and preparing a train of artillery. The queen gave it out that the dukes of Bouillon and Lefdiguières, both of them Protestants, had offered to take the command of the army destined for this expedition, in order to convince the reformed, that it was not undertaken from any religious motive, but merely with a view to punish the seditious conduct of a private nobleman.

The regent, however, by this imprudent exertion of power, only showed that she had engaged with precipitation in a business that she could not terminate with honour. Convinced, at length, that by proceeding with rigour against the duke, she should irritate the Hugonots, and, probably, kindle the flames of civil war, she proposed an accommodation, to which the duke readily consented, as it ensured to him the object for which he contended. It was agreed to re-establish the old mayor, to restore to him the keys of the place, and to recall the subaltern officers whom the duke had expelled; but at the same time, the citizens were left at liberty to dismiss these officers immediately after, and to proceed to a new election; which was accordingly done: thus the duke of Rohan preserved, at once, his government and authority. One consequence of this affair, which the queen had not foreseen, was the reconciliation of many of the Protestant nobility, who had quarrelled at the assembly at Saumur, and who now became convinced, that their safety in future depended on their union ¹².

The duke of Bouillon had been dispatched to England to remove the jealousies which James might entertain at the late union between France and Spain, and to propose a marriage with the princess Christina, the second daughter of Henry the Fourth, and the eldest son of the king of England: but the prince of Wales unfortunately expired in the dawn of manhood, when his virtues and talents had endeared him to his country; and the duke of Bouillon availed himself of the opportunity to negotiate the nuptials of his own nephew, the elector palatine, with the princess Elizabeth, daughter to James: a

¹² Le Vaffor, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 330—Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 35.

marriage, which, probably, prompted the elector to his enterprize against the kingdom of Bohemia, and which, after plunging his posterity in a long series of difficulties, and distress, by the union of the princess Sophia with the house of Hanover, finally transferred the sceptre of England to that family.

The death of the count of Soissons, which happened on the first of November, this year, greatly weakened the party of the princes, and tended to augment the influence and credit of the marquis and marchioness of Ancre, which were already too extensive.

A. D. 1613.] While the intrigues of the princes and nobility at home kept the regent in a constant state of alarm, an event took place in Italy which called her attention to that quarter. Her nephew Francis, duke of Mantua, and marquis of Montferrat, had lately expired, leaving only, by his wife, Margaret of Savoy daughter to duke Charles Emanuel, one daughter, then four years of age. The duchy of Mantua incontestibly belonged to Ferdinand de Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and brother to the deceased duke; but the marquisate of Montferrat not being a fief-male became the property of the young princess of Mantua. This marquisate, formerly bestowed by the emperor Otto on a Saxon nobleman, had since passed into two different families; first, into that of Paleologus, by the marriage of Yoland, heiress of the Saxon line, with Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople. Theodore, their second son, having received the marquisate of Montferrat for his portion, this fief of the western empire descended to his male heirs, by whom it continued to be possessed till their final extinction, when it fell to the family of Gonzaga, in consequence of the marriage of Margaret Paleologus with Frederick duke of Mantua¹³.

The duke of Savoy contested this succession with the house of Gonzaga, on the plea, that an agreement had been formerly made, between Theodore Paleologus, and Aimond, count of Savoy, that on the extinction of the male line of the family of Paleologus, the male descendants of Yoland, daughter to the former, and Aimond of Saxony, whom she had married, should inherit the marquisate of Montferrat, in preference to the females of the house of Paleologus, whose claims should be limited to a dower suitable to their rank. Charles Emanuel had some farther pretensions to a part of the marquisate in virtue of the will of Blanche Paleologus, who had married into the house of Savoy; and who left duke Charles the Second some territorial possessions in Montferrat, with the sum of eighty thousand crowns, a part of her fortune that remained unpaid. The sum itself was but trifling, but the interest had been suffered to run so long, that, together with the principal, it at length encreased the debt to a million of livres. Hence arose a long train of disputes between the houses of Savoy and Gonzaga; and the em-

¹³ Nani Historia Venetr, lib. i.—Le Vassor, tom. i. liv. iv. p. 390.

pèr Charles the Fifth, instead of deciding the affair, by a definitive sentence, encreased the difficulty attending it. In order to please both parties, he adjudged the possession of the marquisate to the house of Mantua, but at the same time left that of Savoy at full liberty to assert their pretensions, as founded on the will of Blanche Paleologus.

The marriage of Francis, the late duke of Mantau, with Margaret of Savoy, had been concluded with a view to settle all the disputes between the two families. In consequence of this alliance, Charles Emanuel ceded all his pretensions to his daughter and her children; and an agreement was also made to draw a line of separation between the dominions of the two princes, which joined each other: but this line having never been drawn, the duke of Savoy took an opportunity from thence to revive his ancient claims: so that, in fact, his invasion of Monferrat was made less for the purpose of asserting the pretensions of his grand-daughter Mary, than his own.

Having assembled his forces, with equal secrecy and expedition, he soon overran the contested country, and bearing down all opposition, advanced to the very gates of Montferrat. That city consented to receive the victor; and Casal alone, encouraged by the presence of the duke of Nevers of the house of Gonzaga, held out for the cardinal. But the rapidity of his progress alarmed the jealousy of France, and the regent engaged the council to espouse the cause of her kinsman. Lesdiguières, at the head of twelve thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, was destined to enter Savoy, by the way of Dauphiné: Bellegarde, with four thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry, was to proceed into that country, through Provence and La Beauffe; while the duke of Guise, with another body of troops, was ordered to effect a junction with the troops of the cardinal duke of Mantua, in Montferrat. But the duke of Savoy, having received intelligence of these preparations, and being unable to resist such a formidable force, had recourse to the arts of negociation. The marquis of Cœuvres was sent to Italy to conclude a treaty of peace, and at the same time he had secret orders to engage the duke of Mantua to resign his cardinal's hat in favour of Galigai, brother to the marchioness of Ancre. The duke of Savoy, surrounded by enemies, was reduced to the necessity of finishing the war with the same precipitation with which he had begun it; and to resign all the places he had reduced in the marquisate of Montferrat. It was about this time that the marquis of Ancre, insatiate of power, obtained the dignity of mareschal of France, vacant by the death of the mareschal de Fervaques ²⁴.

A. D. 1614.] The joy which Mary experienced on the happy termination of the disputes for the succession of the duke of Mantua, was soon allayed by the factious conduct of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility. This cabal was raised

²⁴ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 45, 46, 47.

by the intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, who thought himself but ill rewarded for the services which he pretended to have rendered to the state, and was anxious to encrease his credit at court, by exciting embarrassments which he expected to remove at his pleasure. He had been so active in his efforts, that he engaged the dukes of Nevers, Mayenne, Vendôme, Longueville, and Luxemburgh, with several others, to enter into a close alliance, with the prince of Condé, who was to act as head of the party. The malecontents all agreed to retire from court at the same time, and to assemble in Champagne, in order to demand a reformation of the numerous abuses which had crept into the government. The pretext was specious, and had the party really been actuated by a concern for the public good, their proceedings might have been productive of very beneficial effects to the kingdom.

The prince of Condé left Paris on the sixth of January, and went first to Châteauroux, and then to Mezieres. The rest of the party soon followed him, and repaired to their respective governments; the duke of Nevers to Champagne; the duke of Mayenne to the isle of France; and the duke of Longueville to Picardy. The duke of Vendôme was preparing to set out for Brittany; but the regent, having some suspicion of his designs, ordered him to be arrested and confined in the Louvre, whence, however, he soon found means to effect his escape. The duke of Bouillon was the last to withdraw from court: in order to render himself less suspected by the party, he procured a commission to see the ministers, and to make known to them the intentions of the prince and his associates. Convinced that he should always have sufficient address to direct the party, and to lead the prince of Condé at his pleasure, the duke did not attempt to retire until he had promised the queen that he would soon restore the malecontents to a just sense of their duty ¹⁵.

The number of the malecontents daily encreased; and the regent, seeing the kingdom on the point of being involved in the same difficulties which had convulsed the state in the two preceding reigns, was thrown into the greatest consternation. She immediately assembled the council, by whose advice circular letters were sent to all the parliaments in France, to the governors of towns and provinces, and to all municipal officers, exhorting them to remain faithful to the king, and to be on their guard against the dangerous machinations of the prince of Condé and his partisans; and declaring her resolution to convene the states-general of the kingdom, in order to adopt such resolutions as might be most conducive to the public good. At the same time she dispatched the duke of Ventadour and Boissifé to the prince, but they were not able to procure an audience; and the prince having previously assembled the chiefs of the party at Mezieres, sent a letter to the queen, in the form of a manifesto, in which, after enumerating the

¹⁵ Le Vaffor.

abuses which prevailed in the government, he demanded that the assembly of the states-general should be convened before the expiration of three months, and the marriage of the king and his sister postponed till after the dissolution of the states. The prince also wrote to the different parliaments, to the prince of Conti, to all the dukes and peers, and other officers of the crown; explaining the motives, of his conduct, and exhorting them to concur with him in his efforts to procure a reform in the government.

Mary returned an answer to the prince, in which she promised to assemble the states-general without delay, in order to correct those abuses which formed the chief subject of his complaints: but unwilling to rely wholly on negotiation, the council had determined to put such an army on foot, as might enforce a compliance with the requisitions they urged. Colonel Galatis was employed to levy six thousand Swiss, but as the duke of Rohan, whom the regent was afraid to trust on such an occasion, was colonel-general of the troops of that country in the service of France, she was at a loss how to act. The duke, however, relieved her from this embarrassment by accepting a sum of money for his post, which was given to Bassompierre¹⁶.

The malecontents likewise assembled all the forces of their party, and made several attempts to engage the reformed to take up arms. The prince of Condé's object in this endeavour was to procure more favourable terms for himself; while that of the duke of Bouillon was to effect the ruin of his rival, the duke of Rohan, and to encrease his own importance in the eyes of the regent. But the prudent precautions of Du Pleffis-Mornay rendered these efforts ineffectual, by confining the Hugonots within the bounds of their duty. He told the deputies-general what line of conduct they were to pursue; observing, that they must not subject themselves to the reproach of having opposed the government on other grounds than those of religion; and that by suffering interests of a nature purely civil to mix themselves with their proceedings, they would do great injury to a cause in itself excellent¹⁷. Thus the Hugonots remained faithful to the king. The regent, aware of their strength, had solicited their protection; and Du Pleffis-Mornay embraced the opportunity to represent to the court, of what importance it was to the tranquillity of the state, to enforce a strict observance of the edicts of pacification. The regent, embarrassed by the difficulty of her situation, did not scruple to make every promise required of her, on this subject.

Conferences meanwhile were opened, on the fourteenth of April, at the castle of Soissons, at which the confederates protested that they had no other object in view than to secure the peace of the kingdom, and faithfully to serve their majesties: they then made three propositions as the basis of an accommodation:—1. That the states-general of

¹⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 52, 53.

¹⁷ Idem Ibid.

the kingdom should be convened without delay; 2. That the projected matrimonial alliance with Spain should be suspended; and, 3. That both parties should disarm. The first proposal was accepted without hesitation, but the second was attended with some difficulty. It was required that the double marriage should be postponed till after the dissolution of the states, and the royal commissioners were only authorized to consent to its suspension till the king should be of age: besides, the regent, unwilling that her authority should be called in question on a business which she had solemnly concluded with Spain, refused to allow this article to be inserted in the treaty; but she offered to give the prince of Condé a private letter, expressive of her compliance with his demand. This was agreed to, and the marriage was postponed to the end of the sessions.

Had the public welfare been the real object of the confederacy, tranquillity must now have been restored; but what the prince of Condé and his associates proposed for their own private interest gave rise to violent debates in the council. Under pretence of providing for their own safety, they demanded the surrender of certain towns into their hands, and advanced several other claims which sufficiently proved their conduct to have been influenced by considerations of private advantage. The necessity of repeatedly sending couriers to court for farther instructions, afforded time for the reinforcement of the royal army, and the junction of the Swiss. On the news of their approach, the prince of Condé left Soissons with precipitation, and, after an ineffectual attempt upon Vitri, took Saint-Menehould by surprise.

During these transactions, the council re-examined the demands of the discontented nobles, which were found to be so exorbitant, that many of the members were for the immediate employment of an armed force to reduce them to a state of obedience. The queen would have followed this advice, which was certainly the best that could be given, to preserve, at once, her reputation and authority, if she had not been dissuaded from it by the chancellor and the marshal D'Ancre, who not only harangued in the council, in order, to prove the propriety of granting the confederates the greater part of their demands, but caballed in the parliament, and among the people, to superinduce an application for peace. They even engaged the chiefs of the reformed church to say, that if the regent entrusted the command of the army to the enemies of their religion, they should think themselves justified in providing for their own safety, by joining the prince of Condé¹⁸. Others alledged that the war would only be considered as a renewal of the ancient feuds between the house of Bourbon and Guise. In consequence of this diversity of opinions the queen deemed it prudent to summon an extraordinary council. The presidents of the parliament and the chief magistrates of Paris, who were summoned to attend, having been previously gained by the chancellor, unanimously voted for peace.

¹⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 5.

In compliance with this determination, a treaty of peace was signed, on the fifteenth of May, by the king's commissioners and the confederates, at the town of Saint Menehould. The regent consented to cede Amboise to the prince of Condé; Saint Menehould to the duke of Nevers; and to gratify the duke of Bouillon with a considerable pecuniary donation. The chiefs of the confederacy having thus provided for their own interest; no longer talked about the public good. In the month of June, letters-patent were issued for the convocation of the states-general, who were to assemble at Sens, on the tenth of November.

But notwithstanding this treaty, the prince of Condé still continued his seditious practices. Not content with his government of Amboise, he endeavoured to seduce the citizens of Poitiers from their allegiance, and make himself master of the town: his efforts, however, were rendered ineffectual, by the loyal exertions of the bishop of the diocese, who secured the gates of the city, armed the inhabitants, and apprized the regent of the treacherous designs of the prince. This unexpected opposition made the prince desist from his project, and having received a full pardon for all offences, he returned to his duty, and repaired to court.

The duke of Vendôme, too, dissatisfied with the treaty, in which he thought his interests had not been sufficiently consulted, attempted to excite a revolt in Brittany, and to stimulate the Hugonots to espouse his cause; but he fortunately did not succeed in either of his attempts: the fidelity of the Bretons was not to be shaken; and the prudence of Du Pleffis-Mornay again extorted from his brethren a declaration of their resolution not to interfere in political matters.

The young monarch having now entered his fourteenth year, at which, by the edict of Charles the Wise, the kings of France were declared to be of age, the regency ceased, and he began to reign in his own name. The first act of sovereignty he performed was an act of religion and justice. At a council, holden on the first of October, a declaration was drawn up, by which Lewis promised to "attend to every thing that was
" suitable to a most Christian king, jealous of the glory of God, fond of peace, and
" anxious for the tranquillity of his subjects; to enforce the observance of those
" good and sacred laws which had been established by his predecessors; and to enact new
" ones in conformity to the advice of the states-general of the kingdom." This general declaration was followed by a confirmation of the edict of Nantes, conceived in the fullest terms, and of all the explanatory edicts which had been since published. After forbidding his subjects to form connections hostile to the welfare of the state, with foreign princes, and to receive secret pensions from them, the king confirmed the edicts of his father against duels; and the ordinances of his predecessors for the repression of prophane swearing and blasphemy. The next day he held a bed of justice at the parliament, at which Mary made a formal resignation of her power; while Lewis, after
thanking

thanking her for her past services, expressed his desire that she would still continue to take care of him; and to govern the state¹⁹.

By the treaty of Saint Menchoud, it had been settled that the meeting of the states-general of the kingdom should be holden at Sens on the tenth of September; but this arrangement by no means accorded with the designs of the regent, who feared that the states would interfere with her administration; that they would require the dismissal of the ministers, particularly of the marshal D'Ancre; and that they would prevent the king, on the conclusion of his minority, from entrusting her with the same degree of power she had before enjoyed. The prince of Condé and his partisans, who were deeply interested in enforcing a strict compliance with the terms of the treaty, by a conduct, at once impolitic and improper, gave occasion to the delay which the regent so earnestly desired. The ill-timed and useless resistance of the duke of Vendôme in Brittany, and the ill-concerted and seditious attempts of the prince of Condé in Poitou, supplied the regent with a plausible pretext for taking the king into those two provinces, and for deferring the meeting of the states till the return of their majesties to Paris. During this time the king came of age, declared his satisfaction with his mother's conduct, and his determination not to deprive her of her authority. Having thus gained the object of her ambition, she caused the states to be transferred to Paris, and their meeting to be fixed for the tenth of October.

The states-general, accordingly, met at the convent of the Augustins. The ecclesiastical chamber was composed of a hundred and forty members, among whom were five cardinals, seven archbishops, and forty-seven bishops; of this chamber the cardinal de Joyeuse was elected president. The chamber of the nobility consisted of one hundred and thirty-two persons, whose president was the baron de Senecey; and that of the commons, or third estate, of one hundred and eighty-two, presided by Miron, provost of the merchants²⁰. The king opened the sessions by a short speech, in which he observed, that his principal object in assembling the states, was to hear the complaints of his subjects, and to redress their grievances.

Of the three chambers that composed the states-general, that of the third estate most excited the jealousy, and roused the apprehensions, of the court. Being chiefly formed of provincial deputies, who had neither protection to seek, favour to implore, nor punishment to avert, it was more attentive to the interests of the people, with whose grievances, and the subjects of whose complaints, it was also better acquainted. Less pliant and supple than the clergy and nobles, who were more immediately connected with the crown, its exertions were more steady and uniform, and its conduct more patriotic and

¹⁹ Le Vassor, tom. i. liv. 5.

²⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 68.

disinterested. The nobility, indeed, at this period, seem to have greatly degenerated from that noble spirit which had marked the conduct of their ancestors; but, fortunately, they did not long remain in that state of degradation to which the factious disposition of the princes of the blood, and the vicious administration of the regent, had reduced them.

Mary and her ministers, in pursuit of that crooked and corrupt system of policy, which had so strongly marked their administration, exerted their utmost efforts to thwart and frustrate all the measures of the third estate, with regard to the reformation of abuses in the government. As it would have been highly dangerous openly to reject their demands, it was determined, as the best expedient they could adopt, to promote dissensions between the three chambers, and to render the sessions as tumultuous as possible. With this view, the nobility and clergy were excited to propose articles to which the commons would, with difficulty, consent; and as it was not doubted but that the third estate would propose others that would be equally disagreeable to the clergy and nobles, the regent and her party entertained hopes that the disputes which such a difference of opinion must necessarily occasion, would engage the assembly to separate, or, at least, afford a plausible pretext for dissolving it, taking care to amuse the people by vague promises²¹.

The first thing proposed by the nobility (on the fourth of November) was the abolition of that edict which rendered offices of justice hereditary. This proposal greatly embarrassed the commons, a considerable part of whom were magistrates, who would suffer materially by the abolition; in order, therefore, to retort on the nobility, they demanded a diminution of the *Tailles*, and a retrenchment of the numerous pensions paid by the court. Neither of the proposals was adopted, and the regent hastened to express her wish that they would proceed, without farther delay, to discuss those objects for which they had been chiefly convened. The contrariety of interests did not fail to produce the divisions which the court had expected, and which it took every opportunity of increasing.

A dispute next arose between the states and the king's council, concerning the manner in which the account of the revenue and expenditure of the kingdom should be presented to the united committee of the three orders, appointed for the purpose of inspecting all matters relating to the finances: the ministers at length declared, with an air of mystery, that the expences amounted to twenty-one million, five hundred thousand livres, whereas the receipts did not exceed eighteen million, eight hundred thousand. This account appeared to have been prepared for the express purpose of concealing the queen's extravagance, in dissipating the treasure amassed by Henry the Fourth. Convinced that

²¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 71.

the surplus of expences had been occasioned by the pensions extorted by the principal nobility, or imprudently granted by Mary, the committee desired to have an exact account of all the pensions paid from the royal treasury. The president Jeannin replied, that a secret of that importance could not be divulged without great prejudice to the king's affairs; and all the information they could obtain was, that the king, besides the revenue specified in the account already delivered, levied on his subjects a farther sum of eighteen million, one hundred thousand livres, which was devoted to the payment of his officers, and to several other purposes, which the intendants of the finances would explain to the committee. Admitting this statement to be exact, it will be found that the revenue of France, during the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth, amounted to about thirty-seven million of livres, of which only nineteen, at the most, was paid into the king's treasury²².

Enraged at their inability to obtain a satisfactory account of the administration of the finances, the most disinterested members of the states thought they could render no greater service to the nation, than that of drawing up a remonstrance to the king, conceived in strong and energetic terms. It contained some very salutary advice to Lewis, as to the mode of regulating his expences on a better plan than that which his ministers had hitherto pursued. The court, however, paid little attention to it, being convinced that, after the dissolution of the states, they should again be at liberty to act as they pleased. The states farther represented to his majesty, that he ought not to raise any extraordinary levies on his subjects: then observing that the pensions granted to the nobility were attended with dangerous consequences to the kingdom, and were extremely burdensome to the people, on whom the money requisite for paying them was levied, they humbly entreated his majesty to retrench them, since he had sufficient employments and gratuities to distribute among those who rendered real service to their country. Lastly, they demanded that three members, at least, of the states-general, should be admitted into the chamber of justice which the king proposed to establish.

The court had the greater difficulty in breaking the union which seemed to subsist between the three orders, on the subject of the revenue, as divisions prevailed among themselves, concerning a motion which had been made in the chamber of the commons. This motion was strenuously opposed by the clergy; and the nobles, seduced by the intrigues of the creatures of the pope, by the artifices of the Jesuits, and by the clamours of ambitious and bigoted priests, openly declared for the clergy against the third estate. The latter, however, supported their motion with the utmost vigour, and the magistrates of the parliament of Paris openly seconded their efforts with all their credit and

²² Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 72.

authority ; so that the business was discussed with such heat on both sides, that it made the pope tremble, and threw the queen into the greatest consternation.

On the fifteenth of December, the commons having begun to prepare their general *cahier*, or list of complaints and demands, the members for the city of Paris, and the government of the isle of France, proposed the insertion of an article of the utmost importance to the king's sovereign power, and the security of his person. The substance of their motion was this—That in order to stop the progress of the pernicious doctrine which, for some years past, had been propagated against kings, and the sovereign powers established by God, his majesty should be requested to cause it to be proclaimed by the states-general, as an inviolable and fundamental law of the realm, that the king being acknowledged sovereign in France, and acknowledging no other superior than God, there was no power on earth, either spiritual or temporal, who had the right to deprive him of his kingdom, or to absolve his subjects, on any pretence whatever, from that fidelity and obedience which they owed him: that all Frenchmen in general should hold this law as sacred, founded in truth, and conformable to the word of God, without any distinction, equivocation, or restriction: that an oath to observe it should be taken by all the deputies of the states-general, and, in future, by all persons holding benefices, and all magistrates, at the time of taking possession of their places: that all preceptors, regents, doctors and preachers, should be bound to maintain it: that the contrary opinion, as well as that which authorized the assassination and deposition of sovereigns, and the revolt of subjects, should be declared false, impious, detestable, and contrary to the establishment of the French monarchy: that all books which taught that pernicious doctrine should be considered as seditious and *damnable*: that all foreigners who should undertake to support it, should be deemed enemies to the crown; that all such of the king's subjects who should espouse it, of whatever rank or condition, should be punished as rebels and traitors: and that if any foreign ecclesiastic or monk should publish a work containing propositions directly or indirectly contrary to the established law, the ecclesiastics or monks of the same order should be compelled to refute such book with all possible candour, under pain of being punished as encouragers of the enemies of the state²³.

This article was admitted, almost unanimously, by the commons, who had very strong reasons for the adoption of a resolution so disagreeable to the pope and the clergy. The fate of two successive kings of France, assassinated by wretches seduced by the doctrines of the Jesuits, and of other writers devoted to the court of Rome, afforded a dreadful example of the power of the priests over weak minds, and inspired all true Frenchmen with sentiments of horror and indignation. These deemed it important to promote, at any rate, the extirpation of dogmas which had been productive of such fatal consequences.

²³ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 75.

Others, whose views extended farther, wished to sap by degrees the enormous and formidable power which the Roman pontiffs had usurped in all countries which acknowledged their sway. It was hoped that, after the destruction of the authority they assumed over sovereigns, it would be easy to reduce the pretensions of the court of Rome within bounds more circumscribed and rational: perhaps, too, many of the members were anxious to shake off the degrading yoke to which the ignorance and superstition of their ancestors had blindly submitted²⁴. The well-founded suspicions to which the late introduction of the Jesuits into the first towns in France had given rise, also excited the commons to remedy an evil which seemed pregnant with danger to the kingdom. This law would have reduced that society to the disagreeable alternative of shutting up their colleges, and of forbearing to preach; or of breaking their engagements, and renouncing their intimate connection with the pope and the court of Rome; with their general superior, and their brethren in Italy and Spain. The cardinals, the pope's nuncio, and the Jesuits perceived the consequence of the article, and "moved heaven and earth" to procure its erasure from the cahier of the commons. The cardinal de Joyeuse, who had retired to Conflans on account of a slight indisposition, was pressed, by the nuncio and the clergy, to return, with all possible expedition, in order to exert his influence, and that of his friends, with the queen, on a matter of such importance to the pope.

The very day after the article had been admitted by the commons, the chamber of the clergy resounded with exclamations of—"All is lost; some wicked heretics have obtained admission into the assembly, in order to overthrow our religion." The cardinals de Sourdis and de la Rochefoucault were sent to the king to represent to his majesty and the queen-mother, the danger to which the Catholic religion was exposed, from a powerful cabal formed in the chamber of the third estate. Mary and her son assured the two cardinals that care should be taken to prevent the discussion of any new or useless topics in the assembly: the commons, however, maintained with vigour the justice and necessity of the article in question, notwithstanding the cries of the clergy, who observed, "that under the specious pretext of supporting the king's authority, and providing for the safety of his sacred person, they suffered artful and malicious men to make proposals which manifestly tended to form a schism, to sow dissensions among the Catholics, and to interrupt the harmony which subsisted between his majesty and the holy see: that the power of the pope and that of the king afforded mutual support to each other, without any encroachment on either side; and that it was highly impolitic to inspire the king with sentiments of jealousy against the pope, at a time when France stood in the greatest need of his favour." These observations, false and ridiculous as they were, found many partisans; and the clergy soon obtained a promise from the nobility that they would support them against the efforts of the third estate.

²⁴ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 76.

Thus fortified, it was determined to remonstrate with the commons, on the *impropriety* of their conduct, and the cardinal du Perron was appointed to deliver the sentiments of his party.

While the cardinal was engaged in the collection of materials for his projected harangue, the commons, apprized of the arts employed by the clergy to misrepresent their proceedings to the public, deputed a committee to wait on them; when their speaker, Marmieffe, after assuring them that the third estate never meant to interfere in matters of faith, continued thus—"We only request that you will not take it amiss if we draw up, without your participation, a few articles respecting the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, the reformation of certain abuses introduced among the clergy, and the regulation of the spiritual jurisdiction, which ought not to encroach on the temporal. All these objects come within our cognizance. We would willingly communicate the articles to you, but that might probably occasion some disputes between us, and would certainly give rise to great delays. Be assured, however, that we will exert the greatest prudence in every thing which concerns the church; we will only touch the gown, that is, the external actions of those who dishonour your order, and give offence to all good christians." The clergy were by no means pleased with this speech; and the cardinal de Sourdis replied, that what belonged to ecclesiastical discipline was not less important than that which regulated matters of faith and religion; and that the laity had no more right to take cognizance of the one than of the other²⁵.

After the departure of the deputies, the clamours of the clergy were renewed. "The article of the commons"—said they—"is drawn up for the express purpose of dividing the French Catholics, in order to cause a schism between France and other countries. They seek to convert a *controverted and problematic question* into a point of faith. What an advantage do they give, by this means, to the heretics; who now appear more haughty and more powerful than ever! What answer shall we make to their insults and reproaches, for condemning, as heretical, a *dogma commonly received at Rome and elsewhere*? In order to conceal more effectually from the eyes of the simple the snares which they lay for them, the commons mix, in their article, an opinion contrary to the safety of the lives of sovereigns, with matters relating to the power of the pope, and the authority of the king." Thus these ecclesiastics, publicly, and without ceremony, acknowledged that the dogma which gave to the pope the power of deposing kings, and absolving subjects from the obedience which they owe to their lawful sovereigns, was a problematic opinion, and one that ought to be tolerated; and that it could not be condemned as pernicious and contrary to the scriptures, without raising a schism between the pope and the other Catholic powers.

²⁵ Le Vassor.

The parliament of Paris regarded with horror the shameful prevarication of the nobility and clergy, who basely sacrificed to the pope the interests of the king, and the fundamental maxims of the state. Enraged at the air of triumph with which the cardinal du Perron was preparing to combat the article proposed by the third estate, the crown lawyers (*Gens du Roi*) represented to the magistrates, on the thirty-first of December, by the mouth of Servin, the advocate-general, that they had learned, from good authority, that several persons had presumed to treat as doubtful and problematic “ Those maxims “ in all times acknowledged in France, and coeval with the crown itself; that the king acknowledged no other superior, with regard to his temporal authority, than God; and “ that no power had the right to absolve his majesty’s subjects from their oath of allegiance, and from the obedience which they owed him; much less to make or cause to “ be made any attempt, either by public or private authority, on the sacred persons of “ sovereigns.” The advocate-general concluded by demanding that the court should publish a confirmation of all the arrêts which had been formerly issued on this subject, in order to keep the minds of all the king’s subjects, of whatever rank or condition, fixed and steady to the said maxims and rules; and to promote the security of the king’s life, and the peace and tranquillity of the public. This demand was granted by the court, and an arrêt, conformable to the requisition of the crown lawyers, immediately published: thus, while the first magistrates in the kingdom employed the authority entrusted to them by the king for the support of a point which they declared to be a fundamental maxim of the French monarchy; the clergy openly maintained a contrary opinion in the assembly of the states-general. The ecclesiastics triumphed over the parliament; and the nobility loaded with praises the very men whom the magistrates condemned, as guilty of sedition, and of a violation of the most ancient and most sacred laws of the realm.

A. D. 1615.] On the second of January the cardinal du Perron repaired to the chamber of the third estate, and there pronounced an elaborate harangue, in which he displayed much eloquence, but more sophistry and misrepresentation; many of the maxims he advanced were highly pernicious, and many of his conclusions glaringly false. He called the subject of dispute a mere matter of religion; and averred, that the article proposed by the commons pronounced on a dogma of theology, and not on a question of state and policy. “ To dispute”—said the cardinal—“ whether the authority of him “ who holds the keys extends to the excommunication of such as pay willing obedience “ to apostate or heretical princes; and whether the church can absolve from their oaths “ of allegiance the subjects of a king who himself violates the oath he has made to God “ and his people, to maintain the Christian and Catholic religion, is to discuss questions “ purely theological.”

Du Perron having concluded his speech, by demanding that the contested article should be withdrawn from the cahier of the commons, and be left to the discretion of

the clergy, the president Miron replied, in the name of the third estate. He entered upon the motives which had superinduced the adoption of the resolution in question: "The death of the two last kings"—he said—"having been preceded by the publication of certain books, the authors of which, in order to pay their court to the pope, pretended to submit this kingdom to a power purely spiritual, all the companies in the capital assembled in a body, unanimously demanded, that the states-general should adopt effectual measures for the preservation of the kingdom, and of the person of the king. This alone gave rise to the article, which was drawn up without the participation of any Protestant whatever. It never would have been thought of but for the writings of certain monks, who, instead of praying to God in behalf of their sovereigns, and endeavouring to draw down the benediction of heaven upon the Catholic countries, by a rigid observance of the rules of their order, employ themselves in the composition of books of a seditious tendency, and capable of setting the whole kingdom in a flame." Miron forbore to enquire whether the article objected to ought to be considered as a matter of faith: "I will admit"—said he—"that it is only problematical, we may, in that case, be allowed to take that side of the question which we think the best, and the most conformable to the word of God. The gentlemen of the ecclesiastical chamber, who are indebted to the king for all their rich benefices, at least owe so much gratitude to their benefactor, as to maintain that the crown is independent of the pope. For, in short, whose vicar does the successor of Saint Peter pretend to be? The vicar of him who refused to be an arbiter between two brothers, who could not agree about the division of their father's property." After shewing that the kings of France were only subject to the pastors of the church in matters purely spiritual, the orator insisted that there could be no possible danger in exacting from all persons holding any place of profit or trust, an oath to maintain that the crown is absolutely independent of all ecclesiastical power; and that neither the popes nor councils could depose the king on any account whatever.

The French clergy were so proud of their pretended victory over the commons, that they flattered themselves every thing would in future bend beneath their power. Mary of Medicis paid a blind obedience to the will of the pope, and listened with much greater attention to the ministers and pensioners of the court of Madrid, than to the salutary advice of disinterested Frenchmen. This mistaken policy of the queen tended to encrease the pride and arrogance of the clergy, who, profiting by a conjuncture thus favourable to the extension of their influence, resolved to prefer a complaint to the king, on the subject of the arrêt issued by the parliament, which they represented as an insupportable infringement on the liberty of the states-general. They also averred, that under the specious pretext of maintaining the rights of the crown, and providing for the personal safety of the sovereign, the magistrates infringed on the spiritual power of the church. They went in a body to remonstrate with the king on the subject, and to request his interference for the suppression of the arrêt of the parliament.

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On the fourth of January the king held an extraordinary council, for the purpose of devising some means to settle the difference that subsisted between the clergy and the commons and parliament. The prince of Condé went to the Louvre, in order to pronounce a studied harangue on the occasion; but, instead of supporting the third estate and the parliament, whose assistance was necessary to strengthen his party, daily diminishing through the encreasing power of the court, he threw his support into the opposite scale, and spoke more like a superficial and designing theologist, than an enlightened politician, of an affair which he himself considered "as of greater consequence than any which had ever been discussed during a whole century in the council of the kings of France." It must have excited a mixture of pity and indignation in the mind of every friend to his country, to hear the first prince of the blood gravely assert that, "The pope being the sovereign pastor of the flocks of Jesus Christ, kings ought to be as submissive to the spiritual power of the pontiff as the lowest of their subjects. A sentence of excommunication justly pronounced against you by the pope"—said the prince to the young monarch—"would deliver up your soul to Satan, would cut you off from the communion of the church, and would even deprive you of the right to enter your own chapel."

When a prince undertakes the discussion of theological points, he should, at least, gain previous instruction from men of experience, moderation and discernment. Had the prince of Condé taken the precaution to consult men of this description, he would have found that, in the opinion of the most skilful theologians in France, and according to the ancient discipline of the church, the bishop of Rome was not the universal bishop of the whole world; and that he had no right to determine whether an individual living at a distance from Rome should be deprived of the use of the sacraments, and cut off from the communion of the church²⁶.

But though Condé denied the spiritual power of the king, he strenuously defended his temporal authority. "Your subjects ought to obey you"—said he to Lewis—"even though you were a heretic or an infidel. Such as would then refuse to acknowledge your authority, and to pay you tribute, would neither follow the precepts nor example of Jesus Christ and his apostles. The Saviour of the world commanded the payment of tribute to a pagan emperor; and submitted himself to the sentence of an infidel magistrate. Saint Paul observed the same line of conduct in his appeal to Néro." The prince of Condé erred most grossly in the application of his examples; which certainly tend to shew the necessity of obedience to a lawful sovereign, and to justify the exaction of imposts by a monarch in a lawful manner; but a king who, on his accession to the throne, had sworn to observe the Christian religion, would indisputably forfeit all

²⁶ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 112.

pretensions to the allegiance of his subjects by a renunciation of the christian faith ; as he would, in that case, virtually dissolve the contract between himself and his people, by violating one of its principal conditions.

The conclusion of the prince's speech was no better than the commencement. After having praised the zeal of the commons and parliament for preserving the rights of the crown, and providing for the safety of the king's person, at a time when such precautions, he acknowledged, were necessary, he declared his opinion, that the clergy and commons should both be prohibited from any farther discussion on the article ; that his majesty should take the decision of the business upon himself, and prevent the publication of the arrêt of the parliament, in order to please the nobility and clergy, who complained that the magistrates had invaded the liberty of the states-general. This advice tended to secure the triumph of the clergy, and to expose the commons and the parliament to the insults of an assembly of ambitious priests, who evinced a disposition to sacrifice the welfare of their country to the caprice of the pope. But the servile complacency of the prince of Condé completed the disgust which all honest men had already begun to feel at his conduct. The court of Rome, and the cabal of bigots whom he had sought to gratify at the expence of truth, were greatly displeased with him for justifying the opposition of France to the dangerous efforts of pope Boniface the Eighth, during the reign of Philip the Fair ; and for praising the prudence of the chancellor L'Hôpital in procuring a solemn arrêt to be issued against Tanquerel, a Bachelor of the Sorbonne, whose theses attacked the liberties of the Gallican church. On the other side, the commons and parliament were more than ever convinced, that they had nothing to hope for from a prince so weak and irresolute, and who so little understood his own interests.

Policy, however, required that the clergy should at least give some mark of their zeal for the safety of the person of a king whose father had been assassinated, in consequence of that very doctrine which the commons wished to condemn. They therefore prepared an article levelled against those who maintained that it was, in certain cases, allowable to make an attempt on the lives of princes ; and at the end of their article they inserted the decree of the council of Constance, condemning that pernicious doctrine. They farther entreated the king to apply to the pope for the purpose of procuring a renewal and republication of this decision, by the express command of his holiness. Content with the united opposition of the nobility and clergy of France to the efforts of the commons, who wished to stigmatize the pretensions of the Roman pontiffs over the temporal authority of sovereign princes, Paul the Fifth willingly consented that it should not be lawful to kill them, provided the popes were not deprived of the right of deposing them at their pleasure, and of declaring them heretics, or enemies to the
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the church²⁷. The chamber of the ecclesiastics ordered this new article to be presented to the two other chambers, who were requested to join the clergy in preferring fresh complaints on the subject of the arrêt pronounced by the parliament of Paris. Arnaud John du Pleffis, bishop of Luçon, afterwards so celebrated under the title of cardinal Richelieu; and the coadjutor of Leitoure, were appointed to make the proposal to the chamber of the nobles, who received them with every mark of attention and deference, and immediately acceded to their request.

The commons were less obsequious and tractable. The insinuating manners of the bishop of Mascon, who had been appointed to hold a conference with them, proved inadequate to engage them to content themselves with the article proposed by the clergy, and to unite in the censures of the other chambers on the conduct of the parliament. They sent word to the clergy that they would deliberate on the proposals submitted to them with regard to the article, but that they could not think of preferring a complaint against the parliament before they had seen the arrêt against which their censures must be directed. Many of the members of the third estate loudly exclaimed against the base and unworthy conduct of the ecclesiastics: “Do these men”—said they—“whom the king has loaded with favours, flatter themselves that they shall get rid of the obligation by a renewal of the decree of a council, whose authority has never been fully acknowledged by the court of Rome? Is not the preservation of the king’s sovereign power as dear to all true Frenchmen as the safety of his person? the cardinal du Perron has had the audacity to reproach us, to our faces, with having espoused the dogmas of Calvin and his disciples: does a man, then, become a heretic, when he maintains that the church has no power over the temporal authority of kings? Would to Heaven Calvin and his sectaries had always preached so salutary a doctrine. The conduct of the heretics reflects a disgrace on the prevaricating behaviour of our own clergy. It well becomes du Perron, indeed, to preach up to us the maxims of the League: If we are to believe him, Sixtus the Fifth and his successors were in the right to declare that the late king had forfeited his pretensions to the crown, and to forbid the French, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign.”²⁸

The clergy had another audience of the king, at which they enforced, with fresh arguments, the complaints they had preferred before; and the next day, an arrêt of the council was issued, by which the king “for good and weighty considerations, took up on himself the decision of the disputes which had arisen in the assembly of the three orders of the states of his kingdom, on the subject of an article proposed in the chamber of the commons.” He then ordered the execution of the arrêt pronounced by:

²⁷ Le Vaffor, tom. ii. liv. 7. p. 115.

²⁸ Idem. *ibid.* p. 117.

the parliament to be suspended, in consequence of those disputes; and this order was accordingly signified to the court. The magistrates were greatly astonished at this extraordinary suspension of their arrêt, and expressed the highest displeasure on the subject: they asked, what were the *good and weighty considerations* which had led a queen, seduced, by the intrigues of the minister and creatures of the Roman pontiff, to sacrifice subjects and magistrates, whose sole object was the preservation of the king's person and power, to ecclesiastics who only sought to raise the power of the pope on the ruins of regal authority; and to extend their own jurisdiction, to the prejudice of that which the king had entrusted to his parliaments?

Though the clergy had obtained from the court a compliance with all the requests they had preferred, they were nevertheless dissatisfied; they would not suffer even the king himself to take cognizance of the article proposed in the chamber of the commons, nor to publish any ordonnance for the safety of his person, and the preservation of the sovereign power. Such an attempt was, in their opinion, a criminal infringement on the authority of the church. "We must"—said they—"present a third remonstrance to his majesty, and frankly tell him that we are resolved to put a stop to all the business of the state, until we shall have obtained a redress of the grievances of which we complain." Some members, however, more moderate than the rest, dissuaded them from the adoption of so violent a measure, at least for the present; and advised them to appoint a deputation to wait on the chancellor, in order to obtain, if possible, from him the satisfaction they required.

Five prelates were fixed on for this purpose; and the bishop of Avranches, the orator of the deputation, began his speech by returning the thanks of his brethren to Silleri, for the pains he had taken, in the course of this business, to maintain the rights of the church; he then declared, that "the clergy would suspend all their deliberations, until the king had commanded the commons to suppress their article; and had forbidden the courts of parliament, and other sovereign companies, to enter, in future, on any discussion relating to the doctrine of the church; to decide on any questions concerning it, and particularly concerning the authority of the pope; his majesty reserving to himself the privilege of treating, on that subject, with the Roman pontiff, in conformity to the advice of the prelates of the kingdom.—The bishop also required, that the parliament should be forbidden to renew all former arrêts on this matter, and to enforce their execution ²⁹.

All the members of the commons and the magistrates of the parliament were extremely disgusted at the intolerable arrogance of the clergy; and they blamed the

²⁹ Le Vaffor, tom. ii. liv. xi. p. 122.

chancellor for having neglected to answer the bishop in a manner suitable to the stile of their remonstrance. Silleri's dread of either saying or doing any thing which could give offence to the queen seemed unworthy the first magistrate of France. In fact, far from rejecting, with a noble indignation, these audacious demands, he assumed a mild and obliging tone. After protesting that, during the progress of this affair, he had been ever studious to promote the interests of religion, the authority of the church, and the satisfaction of the clergy, the chancellor represented to the prelates, that, in the present conjuncture, the king had granted more to the clergy than prudence seemed to authorize; and that the minds of the parties being in a state of agitation, it would not be possible to give them any farther satisfaction, without exciting a general discontent of the commons and parliament. He assured them of the good dispositions of the king in favour of the church; and told them that as he had taken upon himself the decision of the affair in question, they might be persuaded it would be decided to their advantage. As to the threat of suspending their deliberations, Silleri requested they would revolve the subject in their minds, and reflect a little on the inconveniences which must inevitably ensue from the adoption of a similar resolution.

But during these altercations the article proposed by the commons was printed and published, under the title of "*The fundamental law*," and from the capital, where it first appeared, it was distributed throughout the provinces, and sent into foreign countries. This gave rise to a report that a division prevailed among the Catholics of France on the subject of the pope's authority, and the Protestants seemed to entertain hopes that it might lead to some serious consequences. Savaron, lieutenant-general of Clermont in Auvergne, published two treatises, "*on the sovereignty of the king*;" and some other person printed, "*an apology for the article proposed by the commons*." The clergy, on their side, circulated answers to those books, in which they represented every thing that had passed between them and the commons in the most favourable light for themselves. James, king of England, whose propensity to writing made him frequently assume the pen without consulting the extent of his talents, likewise became a party in this dispute. He had, some time before, entered into a discussion with Du Perron on the subject of the pope's primacy, and similar points of controversy; and as the cardinal, in his late speech, had attacked the oath exacted in England, under a pretence that the article proposed by the third estate was a direct imitation of it, king James thought it his duty to support what had been done in his own dominions, and to confute the cardinal's harangue. With this view he published a small book, entitled, "*Declaration of the king of Great Britain on the rights of kings, and the independence of their crowns*." Though the learning of James was always disfigured by pedantry, yet in this publication he displayed no small degree of acuteness, and advanced some strong truths, which greatly offended his spiritual antagonist.

The dispute was at length finally terminated, by a violent exertion of authority, on the part of Mary of Medicis, who made her son insist on the erasure of the article in question from the *cahier* of the commons; an unconstitutional mandate, which excited great murmurs, but which, nevertheless, was carried into effect ³⁰. The conduct of the nobility and clergy, in thus defending the absurd pretensions of the pope, in opposition to the interests of their sovereign, and the honor of their country, was rewarded by a formal letter of thanks, in the form of a brief, from his holiness, Paul the Fifth.

The court having succeeded in their efforts to promote such dissensions between the different chambers of the states, as prevented them from paying proper attention to the grand objects for which they had met, thought they might avail themselves of the opportunity to accelerate the dissolution of the assembly. A vigorous opposition was, indeed, made by the commons, to a measure which tended to deprive them of the power of enforcing the correction of abuses, but, being abandoned by the nobility and clergy, they were compelled to yield to the torrent; and a day was accordingly fixed for the presentation of their *cahiers* to the king.

A deputation of the nobility and clergy having met, four-and-twenty principal articles were agreed on between them, to be placed at the head of their respective *cahiers*. The most remarkable of these demands were, the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent; the re-establishment of the Romish religion in Bearn, and other places; the inseparable union of that principality and the kingdom of Navarre with the crown of France, and a declaration that the domains possessed by a prince before his accession to the throne should be subject to a similar annexation; an absolute prohibition to the sovereign courts to take cognizance of any matter of faith, of any thing concerning the authority of the pope, the doctrine and sacraments of the church, monastic rules, or whatever affairs the clergy were pleased to consider as of spiritual import, under pain of having their sentences abrogated and annulled: the regulation of appeals, in particular cases, with an elucidation of the nature and extent of the liberties of the Gallican church: a suppression of the inheritance and sale of offices of justice; of governments and military employments, with a revocation of the reversions already granted: the reformation of the universities; the re-establishment of the Jesuits; and the accomplishment of the marriage concluded between the king and the infanta of Spain. The nature of these demands sufficiently proved the influence of the pope and the prevalence of the Spanish faction in the chambers of the nobility and clergy, which, indeed, were farther evinced by their exhortation to the young monarch not to forget the *obligations* he was under to the queen-mother, for having given him a *holy and religious education*. Every neces-

³⁰ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. vi. p. 129, 130.

sary precaution being taken, the twenty-third of February was the day appointed for receiving the cahiers of the states.

As soon as the king and queen-mother (who were accompanied by the whole court) had taken their seats, Armand John du Pleffis, bishop of Luçon, advanced to present the cahier of the clergy, and to address his majesty. Since this prelate, who was descended from a family of some distinction, but little property, in Poitou, had quitted the army to take the bishoprick of Luçon, vacated by his brother Alphonso, on his entrance into a convent of Carthusians, he had endeavoured by all possible means to advance himself in the world. Become a member of the Sorbonne, he displayed his talents in theological disputations, and took, at length, the degree of doctor of divinity. Dissatisfied with the circumscribed sphere to which the abilities of ecclesiastics in general were confined, he resolved to give his studies a more capacious range, and, returning into the country, he began by applying himself to the acquisition of that learning which is essentially necessary to a man who seeks to gain distinction in the field of controversy³¹. To this line of study he was probably allured by the example of cardinal du Perron, whose controversial talents had been productive of a brilliant reputation, and a splendid fortune. Du Pleffis flattered himself that with the advantage of birth, which Du Perron wanted, he might easily attain to the same rank in the church, provided he could procure an opportunity for the display of his abilities. But it afterwards appeared that Du Pleffis had been mistaken in the choice of his studies, and that he as much excelled Du Perron in conducting the business of a state, and the intrigues of a court, as he was himself excelled by that prelate in controversial skill and scientific attainments. It was said that Du Pleffis had been greatly admired at the court of Rome, whither he was obliged to repair, in order to obtain a dispensation, on account of his age, to enable him to hold the bishoprick of Luçon: but a report prevailed at that time, and his enemies afterwards made it a subject of reproach, that he had deceived pope Paul the Fifth by a flagrant falsehood, in assuring him that he was older than he really was³². The Pontiff is said to have bestowed high commendations on the sense and address of the prelate who had deceived him, and to have foretold that the bishop of Luçon would one day become a signal cheat³³. On the return of Du Pleffis to Paris he endeavoured to obtain notice by joining in the intrigues of the court; but his merit was not sufficiently known to attract many admirers. Failing in this effort, he became one of the Lent-preachers in the metropolis, and the applause bestowed on his sermons afforded an opportunity to his friends to speak favourably of his talents to Mary of Medicis, whose esteem he afterwards found means to conciliate. However estimable the qualities of a man who seeks to procure an establishment at court, he always stands in need of a patron. Convinced of this truth, Du Pleffis endeavoured to insinuate himself into the good graces of the marshal D'Ancre, the reigning favourite, whose credit and influence had excited the jealousy of

³¹ Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. i. chap. 2.
la Reine Mere—Il Mercurio di Vittorio Sui, tom. ii. lib. 3.

³² Diverses Pièces pour la Defense de
³³ Le Vaffor, tom. ii. liv. vi. p. 164.

the princes of the blood and the chief nobility of the kingdom. On the convocation of the states-general he obtained a seat in that assembly, in the hope of finding some opportunity of exertion that might farther recommend him to the favour of the queen: but the confidence of Mary was monopolized by the five cardinals and other prelates of distinction, who had also seats in the assembly, and who left the rest but little to do. All that Du Pleffis could obtain was a commission to present the cahier of the clergy to the king, and at the same time to harangue his majesty, in the name of the ecclesiastical chamber.

His speech, which he took an hour and a half to deliver, was heard with attention and pleasure; but, though composed in his best manner, it contained nothing remarkable; he demanded, in the name of the clergy, a retrenchment of the excessive expences incurred by gratifications and pensions granted without necessity; the suppression of the sale and inheritance of public offices; the restitution of the property of the church in possession of the Hugonots; and the accomplishment of the double marriage with Spain. He complained bitterly that the clergy were not admitted into the king's council, and offices of state—"Your majesty"—said the bishop—"ought to allow us a greater share in public affairs. When some of your predecessors employed the prelates of their kingdom, the Gallican church was in a more flourishing state than any other. But since this laudable and salutary custom has been neglected, the French clergy have so far lost their splendor that they are no longer the same. So far from consulting prelates on matters of state, it is now imagined that the honour we enjoy of being consecrated to the worship of God renders us incapable of serving our king, who is the living image of the Deity." This ill-timed observation excited the mirth of the courtiers; who remarked, that Saint Paul refused to suffer those who had enlisted in the service of God to trouble themselves about the affairs of the world; and asked whether the bishop of Luçon and his brethren were of opinion that such a prohibition was only salutary in the time of the apostles? Du Pleffis exhorted the king to leave the government of the state to the queen-mother, whose credit and authority could not, he thought, be too extensive, so long as he had any hopes of advancing through her means: but the opinion of cardinal Richelieu proved very different from that of the bishop of Luçon.

The circuitous mode adopted by Du Pleffis, of introducing his demand with respect to the council of Trent, exposed the clergy to much censure and ridicule. "We confess with tears in our eyes"—said the orator, towards the conclusion of his speech—"that the dissipated manners of our order are the principal cause of the great evils with which France is afflicted. It is in your power, Sire, to apply an efficacious remedy, by ordering the publication of the decrees of the holy council of Trent. The sincere and ardent desire which we have of re-establishing among ourselves the purity of the ancient discipline, is the only motive which leads us to present this most
humble

“ humble request to your majesty.” In reply to this observation it was said—“ If these
 “ gentlemen are so strongly disposed to reform themselves, what prevents them from re-
 “ fusing to hold more benefices than one; from residing in their respective dioceses;
 “ from retrenching their luxury and superfluous expences; and from a due obser-
 “ vance of the ancient canons? It is in their power to edify us by leading an exemplary
 “ life, and by the promulgation of good precepts, without enforcing the publication of
 “ the decrees of the council of Trent. Their artifices are too shallow to impose on
 “ the most superficial minds: they have no intention of discharging their duty, and they
 “ wish to throw on others the blame of their own neglect³⁴.”

As the nobility acted in concert with the clergy, made the same proposals and urged the same demands, the baron de Senecey, their president, did not think it necessary to make a long speech. Miron, president of the commons, then addressed the king, in a speech less polished, but more solid than that of the bishop of Luçon. This orator gained great credit, by his observance of a just medium between the two extremes: he appeared serious without affectation; respectful without obsequiousness; and firm without passion. “ Piety and justice”—said this orator—“ are the firmest supports of the state,
 “ and, by a misfortune which cannot be sufficiently deplored, nothing of those virtues
 “ but the shadow and the name are now to be found in France. We shall have no great
 “ difficulty in discovering the reasons why the truths of religion are so little known,
 “ and so ill-practised. Several dioceses are without bishops; people of a certain de-
 “ scription are suffered to enjoy these benefices under the title of *Economet*, or in virtue
 “ of a simple nomination. The prelates, in contempt of the most sacred laws of the
 “ church, seldom reside in their diocese. Most of the rectors have such small incomes,
 “ that a man of common merit will not accept a living. Those who are richer, con-
 “ tent to receive the profits, employ an ignorant curate to do their duty for a trivial
 “ stipend. More than half the abbies are possessed by people who have no canonical
 “ title; the revenues arising from them are received by gentlemen, and not unfrequent-
 “ ly by those of a different religion. •One person is suffered to hold several benefices,
 “ the profits whereof are appropriated to profane and criminal uses. Many of the
 “ clergy are not ashamed to become parties to simoniacal contracts; and from the irre-
 “ gular conduct of that body of men are the calamities with which France is afflicted
 “ solely to be ascribed. These shameful disorders have drawn down upon us the just
 “ anger of God, whom men cannot offend with impunity.

“ It is our duty”—pursued the president—“ not only to lay before you the abuses
 “ which have been introduced into the kingdom; but to give you such advice as to us
 “ appears necessary on the remedies which ought to be applied. We know of none

³⁴ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 168, 169.

“ better, or more efficacious, than the observance of the holy decrees, of the wise or-
 “ donnances of the kings your predecessors, and of the Concordate entered into with the
 “ holy see. Strict residence is there enjoined to all pastors, as well as the bestowal of
 “ benefices on men capable, from the extent of their knowledge and the purity of their
 “ manners, of discharging the duties annexed to them with propriety and effect. The
 “ rectors hold the most important offices of the church, and your majesty may easily
 “ augment the revenue of such of them as are poor, by giving them the tythes, or by
 “ taking off something from those livings which are more considerable. The abbies,
 “ and conventual priories holden in commendam form not one of the least abuses which
 “ have been introduced into the church. Your faithful commons most humbly beseech
 “ your majesty to restore these benefices to their proper use.”

Miron inveighed, with equal energy, against the excesses committed by the nobility and members of the law. He loudly complained of the contempt of justice openly professed by gentlemen; of their frequent violations of the king's ordonnances; of the acts of violence which they committed on their own estates; of their boundless passion for play; and their superfluous expences. In order to remedy the abuses and disorders which prevailed among the French nobility, Miron demanded the total abolition of duels; a prohibition of deep play, and of superfluous luxury, which led to the ruin of many noblemen and gentlemen; the punishment of blasphemy and swearing, which they thought an ornament to common conversation; the protection of the king, in favour of the people they oppressed; and the restitution of church property; possessed by the nobility in contempt of the holy decrees of the councils. The abuses which obtained at the bar were censured with equal severity by Miron, who not only proposed the suppression of many useless places which were burdensome to the people, but even the abolition of the sale of offices, though highly detrimental to the interest of the commons. This last regulation indeed was strenuously opposed by the members themselves, who probably thought that in going so far, their orator had exceeded his commission. Miron concluded his speech by recommending to the young monarch the re-establishment of the police; the encouragement of commerce; a just administration of the revenue; the abolition of useless pensions; the relief of the people, and the diminution of the taxes: then addressing himself to the queen-mother, he exhorted her to teach her son to govern his people with wisdom, and frequently to inculcate on his youthful mind this important truth, that a king, by exertions of justice and mercy, acquires more substantial glory, than by an ostentatious display of his power, and by conquests, which, far from strengthening a state, almost invariably drain it of men and money³⁵.

Such was the last act of the last assembly of the states-general which was convened in France, until the year 1789. “Bad princes”—said William, prince of Orange, in his

³⁵ Le Vaisor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 173.

apology against Philip the Second, king of Spain—"hate assemblies which have the power of putting a stop to their tyranny, as much as good kings wish for and love them: those who wish to become the true fathers of their people will ever believe that the states general form the most certain foundation of a just government." Not that this reflection is by any means justified by the conduct of that assembly, of whose proceedings we have given so ample an account; for the different interests of the three orders having prevented them from acting in concert, they did much more harm than good.

The court, unwilling to acquiesce in any of the principal proposals urged by the states, was anxious to find a specious pretext for accelerating their dissolution. It was necessary, however, to preserve appearances. A promise had been made to the three orders, that the king should give an answer to their cahiers before they left Paris: they were, therefore, allowed to have another meeting, on condition that instead of assembling at the usual place, each chamber should meet at the private residence of its president; that the members should make no fresh proposals, nor adopt any resolutions with regard to matters already discussed in the states-general. Meanwhile Mary of Medicis evinced a disposition to give them satisfaction on their most important demands; for which purpose she ordered the propositions contained in the cahiers to be classed under three heads: the first comprehended the affairs of the church; the second those of the nobility; and the third those of the commons; these were to be examined in different offices, composed of several counsellors of state, commissioned by the king to deliberate on the answers which he ought to give to each proposition. From this regulation, hopes were entertained that some effective measures would be adopted; and under this idea each of the three orders deputed a committee to confer with the king's commissioners. The court appeared to act with sincerity; and proposed the immediate examination of the principal articles contained in the cahiers.

The sale of offices was the first object of discussion; and Mary and her ministers hoped to get rid of this embarrassment, by means of the difficulties which would infallibly be started as soon as the question should be agitated of making the king amends for the diminution which his revenue must suffer by such a regulation. The commons proposed to supply the deficiency by a partial abolition or retrenchment of pensions; but to this the nobility raised insuperable objections, and joined the clergy in voting for the imposition of some new tax, which was as strenuously opposed by the commons. On this division the court founded its hopes of eluding all their demands. In fact, all the three orders having, in appearance, agreed on the propriety of abolishing the sale of offices, and reducing the officers of state to a reasonable number, it became necessary to replace the fifteen hundred thousand livres which the king would lose by the abolition of the *Droit Annuel* and the *Parties Casuelles*. Some persons suggested the propriety of a new tax—to last ten years—of thirty sols on every minot of salt in those provinces where the

the *Gabelle* was established, and of some equivalent in the others which were exempt from that impost. The proposal was accepted by the nobility and clergy, but the commons having rejected it, it gave rise to very long and tedious discussions. This was what the court wished to promote, in order to exhaust the patience of the deputies, and make the people wish for their dismissal.

As soon as this proceeding had the desired effect on the minds of the public, the leaders of the three orders were summoned to appear at the Louvre, on the twenty-fourth of March, when they were shewn into the gallery, whither the king repaired, accompanied by his mother, and the members of his council. The chancellor declared to the deputies of the states, that his majesty having caused the cahiers to be examined, they had been found to contain so great a number of important articles, that it was not possible the king should answer them so soon as he could wish. "Nevertheless"—said Sillery—"his majesty is willing to afford you the most unequivocal proofs of his good will towards you, by giving a favourable answer to those demands on which you have most insisted. The king has come to a determination to abolish the sale of offices, and to regulate the number of officers; to establish a chamber of justice for enquiring into the conduct of financiers; and to retrench the pensions. All this will be executed in such a manner as to afford the compleatest satisfaction to the states. With regard to the other articles contained in the cahiers, the king will attend to them as soon as possible." This was considered as a formal dissolution of the states, and the members accordingly separated³⁶.

Sixty-six deputies of the third estate, notwithstanding the dissolution, assembled and drew up a request to the king, representing the inconveniencies of the projected impost upon salt, the great weight of which would fall, exclusively, upon the people. They observed that the curtailment of pensions, and some other retrenchments which had been recommended by the commons, would afford a less burdensome means of making his majesty amends for the loss he would sustain by the repeal of the *Droit Annuel*. But this remonstrance had no effect on the king, who reprimanded the deputies for having presumed to assemble after the dissolution of the states; and the queen-mother advised them to return to their respective provinces without farther delay.

The parliament, after the departure of the states, hastened to solicit the continuation of the sale of offices; and the queen-mother, equally anxious to prevent its suppression, caused an arrêt of the council of state to be published, by which the *Droit Annuel* was re-established for three years. It was mentioned in the act, that his majesty being unable to supply an immediate remedy for the inconveniencies which must ensue from the

³⁶ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 177, 178.

total suppression of the sale of offices, had found it expedient to defer the execution of "The good and holy resolution adopted by the states general of his kingdom," that such a step had appeared to him the more reasonable as the *Gens de Robe* might with justice demand the continuation of the *Droit Annuel* till the year 1618, since the public faith was pledged for it by two arrêts of the council of state, issued in 1611 and 1612. This shameful elusion of a promise so solemnly made, and so frequently repeated, afforded strong grounds for supposing that as little ceremony would be used with regard to all the other resolutions adopted by the states general for the advantage of the kingdom.

Relieved from the apprehensions which the convention of the states had raised in her mind; Mary now turned her attention to projects of pleasure and schemes of ambition; her hours were alternately passed in preparations for accelerating the conclusion of the projected alliance with Spain, and in efforts to suppress the cabals and intrigues which were forming for the humiliation of her party. The duke of Longueville, and many of the principal nobility, enraged at the favour which Conchini continued to enjoy, entered into a close connection with the prince of Condé, with a view to humble the pride of that imperious foreigner, and to effect a diminution of the boundless authority of Mary of Medicis. The duke of Bouillon, still more irritated than the rest, because the queen seemed to remember the intrigues he had formed against her better than the services he pretended to have rendered the state, exerted his utmost endeavours to strengthen the prince of Condé's party, by the accession of all the great men in the kingdom "who were discontented, either on account of some private offences they had received, or through envy, a vice more mean and common than any other ³⁷."

But while the nobles were seeking to promote the ruin of the queen's favourite, another appeared, who by degrees insinuated himself into the good graces of the king. This was Charles Albert de Luines, a private gentleman of the county of Avignon, who had recently come to Paris with his two brothers, Hônoré and Leon D'Albert; one of whom assumed the name of Cadenet, and the other that of Brantes; "Two lordships"—said the mareschal Bassompierre—over which a hare jumps every day ³⁸." Luines, by the ardour with which he planned and partook of the childish amusements of Lewis—to whom he had been introduced by the count of Lude—soon obtained his favour and confidence, which, under an appearance of levity and carelessness, he was studious to turn to his own advantage ³⁹. The mareschal D'Ancre, attentive to all the actions of his youthful sovereign, soon discovered that he had a greater friendship for Luines than for any other person who was suffered to approach him, and this discovery made him resolve to secure the attachment of the new favourite, in order to employ him

³⁷ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.
Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. vi. p. 455, 456.

³⁸ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. iv.—Additions aux
³⁹ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

against Souvré and his son, Courtenvaux, who had great influence over the king, and who were known enemies to Conchini. To this resolution was Luines indebted for the government of Amboise, which he obtained at the recommendation of the marshal D'Ancre, who, thinking to secure a grateful dependent, promoted the elevation of a dangerous rival. The government which was now bestowed on Luines had been lately resigned by the prince of Condé, under the idea that the states-general would, at the instigation of the queen and her ministers, demand the restitution of the places which had been surrendered to the confederates by the treaty of Saint Menchoud.

The duke of Bouillon, convinced by experience that the parliament of Paris had not sufficient confidence in the integrity and talents of the prince of Condé to declare in his favour, should he make any open attack upon the court, was of opinion, that the best mode of securing the support of that formidable company, would be to engage it in some dispute with the ministry that would induce it to have recourse, of itself, to the protection of the prince and his party, in order to screen it from the enmity of the queen, and to enable it to enforce the adoption of its own measures⁴². The duke conducted this intrigue with so much skill and dexterity, that the principal magistrates fell into the snare he had prepared for them, and even those who had resolved not to enter into the new faction found themselves engaged in it against their inclination. Indeed, the minds of the parliament were sufficiently prepared for an enterprize of this nature; they were discontented with the infringements which the court itself made on the royal authority, with a view to confirm and extend the power of the pope; with the favourable audience granted to the clergy and nobility, when those two orders petitioned the king to enforce the decrees of the council of Trent, and to abridge the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates with regard to ecclesiastical affairs; with the resolution adopted by the states-general, on the accomplishment of the double marriage with Spain; and, lastly, with the extraordinary favour enjoyed by the marquis of Ancre, who was universally detested throughout the kingdom, and particularly at Paris. All these subjects of discontent Bouillon was careful to aggravate and confirm; he strenuously excited the magistrates to the adoption of some vigorous resolution for reforming the state; and he represented to them, in pointed terms, the glory and consequence which the parliament must necessarily acquire, by obtaining that which the assembly of the states had not been able to procure. In short, he gave the magistrates to understand, that if they would discharge their duty, and evince a becoming zeal for the public good, the princes and nobility would support their remonstrances so effectually, that the queen would be compelled to pay them proper attention.

The duke was too well acquainted with the temper and disposition of the court, not to know that as soon as the magistrates should attempt to interfere in matters of state,

⁴² Mémoires du Duc de Rohan.

they would experience the most decided opposition; but this was the object of his wishes, from the persuasion that the people, discontented with the court for rejecting the remonstrances of the parliament, on a subject which tended to promote their welfare and relief, would not fail to declare in favour of the magistrates, and of those who should second their demands. Farther, to forward his own views, Bouillon took care to profit by the discontents which prevailed among those members of the states who were most concerned for the real interests of their country; and who had been dismissed in violation of a solemn promise that they should first receive a favourable answer to the demands contained in their cahiers. The members of the commons who had evinced more firmness and integrity than the other two orders, secretly stimulated by the duke's emissaries, contributed not a little to excite the parliament to action.

Nothing now remained but to gain over the Hugonots to his interest; and as he had considerable influence among them, his hopes of success appeared not to be destitute of foundation. Des Bordes, Mirande, and Bertheville had been sent to court by the reformed churches, in order to settle the circumstances of a general assembly which was to be holden with the king's permission; and Bouillon ensured the support of these deputies, by pointing out to them the remedies he meant to apply to the disorders of the state, and the advantages which must thence necessarily accrue to the reformed.

The parliament now began to act: the first president having assembled the different chambers, informed them that it was time to take into consideration the promise they had received from the king, to give no answer to the cahiers presented by the state, and to adopt no resolution, without previously hearing the remonstrances of his parliament on the subject. To give greater weight to their proceedings, an arrêt was passed on the twenty-eighth of March, holding out an invitation to the princes of the blood, the dukes and peers, and the officers of the crown, to take their seats in the parliament, in order to deliberate with the chancellor, and all the other magistrates, on a proposal that would be submitted to them, for promoting the service of the king, the relief of his subjects, and the good of the state.

This arrêt gave great offence to the court, who considered the conduct of the parliament as a gross invasion of the regal authority; and Mary, persuaded that the partisans of the prince of Condé had excited this fresh tumult among the magistrates, issued a prohibition to his highness, and all those noblemen who had, the year before, espoused his party, to accept the invitation of the parliament. The attorney and two advocates-general were ordered to attend at the Louvre, where the chancellor, in the king's presence, severely censured the conduct of the parliament, who, he said, had greatly exceeded the limits of their power, by their injudicious interference in matters of state: this censure was repeated by the queen-mother; and, after the council had deliberated on the matter, the crown lawyers had orders to tell the parliament that, the king being at Paris,

they had no right to assemble for the purpose of discussing affairs of state; nor to invite the princes, and others who had seats in the parliament, to attend, without previously asking permission of his majesty, who forbade them to proceed any farther in the business.

The steps taken by the parliament were here improperly termed an interference in matters of state: the king had expressly promised the magistrates to give no answer to the cahiers of the states-general, until he had heard their remonstrances on the subject; and therefore he himself had acknowledged their right to assemble for the purpose of concerting those remonstrances. And as the business was of the utmost consequence to the whole kingdom, they had certainly acted right in inviting all their members to attend; and the prohibitions issued by Mary could, constitutionally, be considered in no other light than as a despotic exertion of authority.

The parliament still persisting in their first resolution, sent a deputation to the king to remonstrate on the impropriety of putting a stop to their proceedings by an act of arbitrary power. Silleri, the chancellor, was appointed to answer the deputies; he told them that the annals of France contained no example of a proceeding similar to that which was now adopted by the parliament, with the just limits of whose power and jurisdiction the king was perfectly acquainted; that that company had no more right to interfere in any thing which concerned the government of the state, than to take cognizance of affairs relating to the accompts and gabelles: that the kings had reserved the first for themselves; and had appointed proper courts for the management of the two last. After some farther observations of the same nature, Lewis himself renewed the prohibition to proceed.

The remark of the chancellor, with regard to the interference of the parliament, was certainly unjust and ill-founded, in the extent to which he meant it should be carried. We have already shewn, in a former part of this history, that the practice of *verifying* and *registering* the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris, prevailed at an early period of the monarchy; that it was established as a fundamental maxim in French jurisprudence, that no law could be published in any other manner; that, without this formality, no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to consider it as an edict or ordonnance until it was verified in the supreme court, after free deliberation. It could not therefore be said, that the parliament had no right to interfere in *any thing* which concerned the government of the kingdom. The maxim of *Adveniente Principe cessat Magistratus* could not possibly apply in this instance; for though the king was present in the capital, he had not attended the parliament, which was essentially requisite to disable the magistrates from performing any of their functions. Had the principle advanced by the chancellor been true, how would he have accounted

for

for the circumstance of the kings of France listening to the remonstrances made by the parliament on the wants of the people, and on the justice or injustice of their ordinances, which were, properly speaking, submitted to the examination of the magistrates. Whence came it that the princes of the blood, peers of the realm, and officers of the crown had seats in the parliament? What reason had Mary of Medicis for being in such haste to be declared, by the parliament, regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her son? And what necessity was there for Lewis the Thirteenth to be declared of age, by the same court, and capable of governing the kingdom himself, in future, according to law.

The parliament still remained firm to their principles, and proceeded to frame a remonstrance on the unconstitutional conduct which the ministers of the king had advised his majesty to adopt. The queen-mother, informed by her spies of the proceedings of the magistrates, summoned a certain number of them to repair to the Louvre; when, the king having referred them to her for a declaration of his will, she told them, in a threatening tone, that their attempt was unprecedented, and that her son would punish the authors of it, should they persist in their disobedience. "He is your king and your master"—pursued Mary—"be persuaded he will know how to exert his authority, should you set his prohibitions at defiance. They are people disaffected to his service who lead you to treat his orders with contempt."—The first president contented himself with coolly answering that he would communicate the king's intentions to the parliament.

While the minds of the public were in the greatest agitation, on account of this dispute between the court and the parliament, the queen-mother endeavoured to soothe the reformed, through fear that they might be induced to form too close a connection with the prince of Condé, who was anxious to make them join his party. Convinced of the probity and moderation of Du Plessis-Mornai, the queen maintained a correspondence with him; and the ministers and secretaries of state had frequently written to him to let him know what was going forward in the assembly of the states-general⁴¹. A proposal which had been made in the chamber of the nobles, had caused a great noise in the assembly, and the deputies of the reformed religion had loudly and justly complained of it. The clergy, having formally drawn up the form of the oath taken by the kings of France at their coronation, had been careful to insert this article: "*I will freely and to the utmost of my power endeavour to expel from my jurisdiction and territories all heretics condemned by the church.*" The late king, and even Lewis the Thirteenth himself, had made express declarations that, in this oath, they did not mean to comprehend their subjects of the reformed religion. But this exception dis-

⁴¹ Lettres et Mémoires de M. du Plessis, 1614, 1615.

pleased a number of bigots; and some members of the nobility proposed the insertion of an article in their cahier, by which the king should be entreated to *preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion, according to the oath taken at his consecration*. Some of the reformed members exclaimed against a proposal so unjust and ill-timed, and the dispute that ensued had nearly been attended with very serious consequences⁴².

The matter was discussed at court, and the ministers were studious to remove the umbrage and dispel the suspicions which a proposal of this nature was so well calculated to excite in a party whose esteem it was their interest to conciliate. The queen-mother, apprized of the intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, persuaded the king to issue a declaration, on the twelfth of March, in which, after excusing the imprudent zeal of those members who had made the proposal in the chamber of the nobles, he protested that the dispute had given him the greatest displeasure, as it had always been his intention to make all his subjects live in friendship with each other, and inviolably to maintain the grants made by the late king and himself to the reformed; and he ordered all the edicts, declarations and private articles to be religiously maintained and observed: the declaration concluded in these words—"We trust to the goodness of the Almighty to reunite all our subjects in one religion, by the ordinary and accustomed modes of the church: convinced as we are, by past experience, that violent remedies have only tended to augment the number of those who have quitted the pale of the church, instead of shewing them the way to return." The parliament made some scruple to register this declaration, but the magistrates being no less fearful than the court of offending the reformed, at this critical conjuncture, thought proper, at length, to withdraw their opposition.

The parliament, during this time, had proceeded with their remonstrance, and after it had been duly digested and repeatedly read, the crown-lawyers had orders to inform the chancellor that the court demanded an audience of the king. The twenty-second of May being fixed on by Lewis for receiving their petition, a deputation of forty magistrates repaired to the Louvre, attended by the attorney and advocates-general, and followed by a vast multitude of people. After waiting half an hour, they were conducted by the captain of the guards into the council chamber, where they found the king, and queen-mother, accompanied by the dukes of Guise, Nevers, Vendôme, Montmorenci, and Epemon; the chancellor; the marshals d'Ancre and de Souvré; several other noblemen; and the principal councillors of state.

Verdun, the first president, presented the remonstrance to the king, and having requested that it might be immediately perused, the young monarch gave it into the hands

⁴² Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 7. p. 240.

of Lomenie, son to the secretary of state, with orders to read it aloud. The stile of this remonstrance was dignified and spirited; and the observations it contained were just and well-applied: it began by stating the displeasure which the parliament had experienced at the sinister interpretations which had been given to their arrêt of the twenty-eighth of March: it then proceeded to refute the assertion of the chancellor de Silleri, that the resolution to invite the princes of the blood, the dukes and peers, and the officers of the crown, was an unprecedented encroachment on the authority of the king. “Our conduct on this occasion, sire,”—said the magistrates—“is neither without example, nor without reason. Philip the Fair rendered your parliament sedentary, and Lewis Hutin established it at Paris: but both father and son left it in possession of the functions and prerogatives which it had enjoyed under the kings their predecessors. The parliament is born, as it were, with the state. It supplies the place of the princes and barons who in ancient times were stationed near the persons of their sovereigns, to assist them with their advice. The right of sitting and voting in the parliament, which the princes and peers of France have ever enjoyed, affords a sufficient proof of what I advance. Our sovereigns have never failed to send the laws, ordonnances, edicts, and treaties of peace to the court; nor to submit to the parliament affairs of the greatest importance; in order that the magistrates might deliberate thereon, without any constraint; examine the merits of each particular point, and impose such restrictions and modifications as to them should seem necessary. Even what our monarchs grant to the states-general of their kingdom must be verified in the parliament: there is their royal throne, and bed of justice truly placed.

“Under king John, the princes, prelates, and most noble persons in the kingdom, were summoned to attend the parliament of Paris, in order to regulate the affairs of the state, which were then in extreme confusion. It was by the advice of the same company that Charles the Wise declared war against the king of England, from whom the provinces of Poitou and Guienne were wrested. Every body knows that the parliament acted as a mediator between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, whose deadly feuds brought the kingdom to the brink of destruction. Lewis, that prince so jealous of his authority, far from being displeased with the president La Vacquerie when he made some remonstrance on an edict which the king wished to publish, thanked both him and the magistrates who accompanied him, and promised never to compel them to do any thing that was repugnant to their conscience. Lewis the Twelfth, before he adopted the resolution of resisting the usurpations and efforts of pope Julius the Second, and some other princes who had entered into a league against France, consulted his parliament. He even afterwards invited the principal magistrates to Tours, to ask their advice on the marriage he had projected between his eldest daughter, and Francis, count of Angoulême, presumptive heir to the crown.

“When

“ When Francis the First succeeded to the throne of his father-in-law, the parliament sent memorials and instructions to his mother, the regent, on matters which they deemed essential to the welfare and preservation of the kingdom. The treaty of Madrid and several others concluded with Spain, were previously concerted with the parliament of Paris. In our time, Henry the Third publicly expressed his regret at not having followed the good advice we had given him, and at having extorted from us a verification of certain edicts which were afterwards revoked. We might also quote, sir, what we did under the reign of the king, your father; but it is sufficient to request your majesty to recollect the arrêt we passed at the commencement of your own reign, in order to ensure the regency to the queen, your mother. We dare venture to observe to your majesty that the first acts of a king after he comes of age ought not to be absolute commands. Your advisers are wrong to accustom you thus early to exertions of authority to which good princes have seldom recourse. The more extensive the greatness and power of a king, the more sparingly ought he to use his authority, if he wish it to last long. This is a certain and invariable maxim of good policy.

“ If prejudiced or ill-advised kings have refused, in certain cases, to listen to the remonstrances of the parliament, such examples ought not to be proposed to your majesty as worthy of imitation. Francis the First expressed his concern at not having listened to those which were made to him on the subject of the Concordate. He compelled the parliament to verify it, but he afterwards declared that that violence was the action of which he most repented. We well know what were the evil councils which reduced Charles the Ninth to speak with severity of his parliament. In the sequel he repented of his conduct; and far from thinking that our company ought only to take cognizance of disputes between individuals, he came to the parliament himself, accompanied by the queen, his mother, the princes of the blood, and the noblemen of his council, in order to deliberate on the most important affairs of the state. Foreigners admire the wise constitution of the government of France. Of favours, benefactions and rewards you are the sole dispenser; and, hence you are possessed of every thing that can attract the love of the people towards you. All that relates to the observance of the laws and the administration of justice is entrusted to your parliament. It was the will of your predecessors that we should take cognizance of their rights and try their causes, as well as those of the meanest of their subjects. By this means you are exempted from the envy which the sovereign power generally excites, and from the importunities of powerful nobles, who would endeavour to extort favours and rewards prejudicial to the welfare of the state.”

After adducing examples to prove that the parliament had always been accustomed to take cognizance of matters of state, they proceeded to state the reasons which had induced

induced them to invite the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, and the officers of the crown. "Your parliament, sire"—said they—"sees with extreme grief the disorders which have been introduced into all the departments of the state. People of a certain description profit by the ruin of the people; and the just apprehensions they entertain of having their conduct investigated lead them to give your majesty sinister impressions with regard to us, to inspire you with an aversion from our company, and to dissuade you from listening to our disinterested counsels, and salutary remonstrances. In a necessity thus urgent for supplying a remedy for the calamities of the state, the parliament thought it their duty to investigate the source of those disorders, in conjunction with the great men of the realm; to invite them to become witnesses of our fidelity, and the rectitude of our intentions; and to deliberate with them on the proper means of correcting the abuses which are daily augmenting. We never entertained a thought of adopting any resolution, or of ordaining any thing, of ourselves. Our only design was to concert, with the princes, the peers, and officers of the crown, what remonstrance it would be proper to present to your majesty; and to engage them to promote, jointly with us, a reformation of those abuses which have excited the complaints of all orders of people. The declarations we made, that the execution of our arrêt should be submitted to the consideration of your majesty, ought to dispel any suspicions that may have been excited in your mind. It affords a certain proof that we never wished to encroach upon your authority; which we consider as sacred and inviolable.

Whatever pains the company took, during the perusal of this remonstrance, to compose their countenances and conceal the emotions of their hearts, it was easily to be perceived that such a beginning was highly displeasing to the queen and her ministers. Mary could scarcely contain herself; for she was well aware that such a preface was calculated to prepare the minds of the audience for a detail of the bad administration of affairs during her regency. The marshal d'Ancre in vain attempted to assume an appearance of satisfaction; vexation and rage appeared in his countenance in spite of himself; the chancellor blushed to find himself convicted of ignorance or insincerity; the dukes of Guise and Nevers, the marshal de Souvré, and all those who were enemies to Conchini and his partisans, sufficiently evinced their satisfaction at hearing them attacked and censured. If these noblemen had not been apprehensive of the too great authority of the prince of Condé's faction, and particularly of the duke of Bouillon, they would, without ceremony, have applauded the remonstrance of the parliament. When Souvré came to that part in which the different disorders which obtained in the government were specified, the magistrates observed, with secret satisfaction, the alternate symptoms of pleasure and indignation successively exhibited by the same persons. Those who seemed rejoiced at the contents of one paragraph, in which their rivals were censured, changed countenance on the perusal of the next, in which their own actions were commented on with proper severity ⁴².

⁴² Le Vaffor, tom. iii. liv. 7. p. 259.

It must be confessed that the various abuses in the government had been collected with great discernment, and were set forth with equal courage and freedom. The magistrates of the parliament of Paris would doubtless have deserved the highest commendation, if they had displayed a little more disinterestedness, and if the manner in which they abandoned an enterprize, begun with vigour, and pursued with firmness, had not proved that they had been actuated rather by a spirit of faction and intrigue, than by the love of justice and of their country. The sale and inheritance of offices were considered as an evil of great magnitude by a considerable part of the kingdom, and the states-general had demanded the suppression of a custom deemed pregnant with pernicious consequences; yet far from supporting this demand, the parliament not only took no notice of it in their remonstrance, but exerted their utmost efforts in order to render it ineffectual. They circulated a report that it had been proposed and received by the states at the instigation of the marshal D'Ancre, and the confidential ministers of the queen, who, they said, wished to have the disposal of places, honours, and rewards, that they might gratify their relations and dependants. It was remarked, that those who voted for the continuation of one abuse, came with a very ill grace to propose the abolition of others.

Whatever might be the rectitude of their intentions, it is certain their remonstrances were reasonable and just. They represented that certain people had endeavoured to weaken the authority of the king, by rendering it problematic and doubtful. This was an open attack on the speech of the cardinal du Perron to the states, which was called a subversion of the fundamental law of the realm: to stop "The course of those pernicious maxims, and to prevent the sovereign authority, which the king held from God, from being subjected to another power," under any pretext of religion, the magistrates demanded the execution of the laws established in France in the earliest ages, and of the arrêts passed at a subsequent period; they required "that those who sought to render the royal dignity dependent on a foreign domination should be declared enemies to the state; and that all the declarations sent to Rome, to the prejudice of the king's authority, should be declared null, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the crown." This last demand regarded the letters which many of the clergy had written to the Roman pontiff, in order to assure him of their attachment to his see, and of their zeal for the preservation of his rights.

The French Protestants were highly pleased with the conduct of the parliament in this respect: they were only at a loss how to reconcile it with another article of their remonstrance, in which they demanded "The preservation of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion in its primitive splendor." This appeared to them a manifest contradiction. "Is the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion of the parliament?"—said they—"different from the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion of the clergy? If by the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion we are to understand that which acknowledges the pope for the vicar of Jesus Christ, the visible head of the church, and the center of the ecclesiastical

“sacrist communion, does it not seem that Du Perron was right in maintaining, that they could not, without causing a schism with Rome, condemn as pernicious, and contrary to the holy scriptures, a sentiment which the vicar of Jesus Christ maintains to be true, and which he has caused to be confirmed by several councils? When, therefore, the parliament demands the preservation of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion in its ancient splendor, they ought to demand the same reformation which we have so long urged; that is to say, that religion should be placed on the same footing on which it stood at Rome and elsewhere under the reign of Constantine; and that the authority of the pope should be reduced to the limits prescribed by the first general council. Unless the parliament entertain nearly the same sentiments with ourselves”—added the Protestants—“it is not possible to affix a reasonable sense to these two articles of their remonstrance. But on the other hand can it be supposed that they wish to declare enemies to the state, the majority of the clergy, and all others who follow the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, as established for five or six hundred years⁴³.”

Mary of Medicis could not hear without emotion the second article, which required that all alliances made or renewed by the late king, with foreign princes, potentates, and republics, should be confirmed: “On that”—said the magistrates—“depends the safety of the state, and the repose of Christendom.” Her majesty was well aware that they meant to attack, by indirect means, the conclusion of the double marriage with Spain. Every body exclaimed, that the sole object of the court of Madrid in concluding the treaty, was to break, by degrees, all the engagements which Henry the Fourth had contracted with the princes of the Protestant states, whom the house of Austria wished to oppress. But some members of the council appeared still more confused than the queen, on the perusal of the third article, in which the king was entreated to “retain in his council the princes of the blood, the officers of the crown, and the ancient counsellors of state, who had enjoyed places of trust and confidence; and to dismiss those persons who had been admitted, within a few years, without any other merit than that of being the favourites of those who wished to surround the king with their own creatures.” The marshal D’Ancre and his friends were observed to turn pale at this passage; while some others evinced their uneasiness at the perusal of the fourth article, by which the king was entreated “to prohibit all persons of whatever quality, from receiving pensions, gifts, or appointments from any foreign prince, under pain of being treated as traitors; and likewise to all counsellors of state, and officers of sovereign courts, from accepting any pension or appointment from any prince or nobleman of the realm, from the clergy or the communities, under pain of incurring the same punishment, agreeably to the ordonnances.”

Both the avowed and secret enemies of Conchini expressed their satisfaction at finding

⁴³ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 7 p. 262.

him so clearly pointed out in the article which besought the king to observe the ancient laws of the realm, that forbade the bestowal of any office, or military dignity, or government of a province, or any place of importance, on a foreigner. The magistrates observed that the officers of the crown, and governors of towns and provinces, ought to be maintained in their authority, without suffering any person to interfere in the discharge of their functions. They also requested the king not to grant, in future, the reversion of any place or government, and to prevent the offices of his own household, and of the households of the children of France, from being exposed to sale. They accused certain ecclesiastics of having introduced a new oath of fidelity to the pope; of holding a private correspondence, secret councils, and too frequent communications with the nuncio, and the court of Rome. And as it was supposed that the oath alluded to was exacted by the nuncio on the examination which took place, on the purity of the life and manners of a clergyman, previous to his institution to a consistorial benefice; the parliament demanded that such examination should in future be entrusted to the bishop of the diocese, according to ancient custom.

The next object of their remonstrance was the preservation of the liberties of the Gallican church, on which they dwelt with great energy and effect. They demanded that no persons should be appointed to bishopricks and abbies, but such as were, by their knowledge and virtues, well qualified to fulfil, with becoming dignity, the duties of their office. As a report had prevailed that the marshal D'Ancre kept near his person, or, at least, under his protection, a number of Jews, magicians, and assassins, the parliament, anxious to render the favourite, if possible, more odious than he was already, did not fail to observe, that the laws against persons of that description should be rigidly enforced.

Though no express mention was made of the Jesuits in the remonstrance, they were clearly alluded to; and the parliament seemed to insinuate, that it was necessary either to expel them the kingdom, or, at least, to abrogate what was dangerous in their institutions, in direct contradiction to the nobility and clergy, who had, in their cahier, demanded the re-establishment of the Jesuits in the universities. After complaining of the vast number of religious orders newly established, the parliament insisted, that they should "be reduced" and regulated, conformably to the ancient decrees, the canonical constitutions, the ordinances of the kings, and the consequent arrêts of the parliament." They entreated Lewis "to restore the university of Paris to its primitive lustre; to excite, by new gratifications, the professors of the sciences to bring up the French youth in the paths of piety, and in the ancient doctrine of the nation, and to fortify them against the artifices of such as endeavoured to corrupt the scholars, by inspiring them with sentiments very different from those which all true Frenchmen entertain for their king, their country, and

"and their parents. Of this disorder"—said the magistrates—"we have felt, and do still feel the sad and deplorable effects."

The last articles of the remonstrance related entirely to the administration of justice, and the management of the revenue. The parliament complained that certain persons had presumed openly to oppose the execution of their arrêts in the capital, and desired the king would prevent a repetition of such flagrant and unconstitutional acts of violence. They also required that he would be more circumspect in regulating the jurisdiction of his council, who annulled the arrêts of the sovereign courts, or ordered their execution to be suspended, on the simple request of an individual; that he would forbear to grant letters of abolition for atrocious crimes; enforce the observance of the edicts and declarations against duels; not suffer the arrêts pronounced by his council to be changed at the instigation and caprice of particular persons, who made a man lose a cause after he had really gained it; abolish the new duties imposed by the king's private authority, without the publication of an edict verified by the parliament; prohibit all counsellors of state from receiving pensions or presents from persons engaged in farming the revenue; and, lastly, that he would enforce the execution of the laws enacted, and arrêts granted, for the purpose of suppressing that spirit of gaming which proved the ruin of youth. The parliament had taken pleasure in revenging themselves on the chancellor, by noticing his avarice and unjust extortions. Silleri was enraged when he heard them ask the king to institute an enquiry into all the exactions which had been enforced, under the great seal, without reason: he was fearful that some cause might be found for bringing him to trial, in the same manner as the chancellor Poyet, in the reign of Francis the First.

Mary of Medicis was not less displeased with the parliament for remonstrating on the evil administration of the finances. The articles which spoke of the great number of useless offices, created at the expence of the public, and to the prejudice of the king's revenue; of the constraint imposed on private persons, who had been compelled to purchase new offices which they had great difficulty in disposing of; of the money arising from these pernicious practices, converted entirely to the profit of a few individuals; of the excessive pensions granted since the death of Henry the Fourth; and of the superfluous number of people employed in the collection and distribution of the revenue: all these articles gave less offence to the queen, than the subsequent reflections on her indiscreet profusion, and on her dissipation of the money left in the Bastille by the late king. After a long detail of the deranged state of the finances, they entreated the king to order a strict investigation of the conduct of those who had been entrusted with the management of them; to enforce a restitution of the immense donations made during his minority; to stop the progress of luxury, by prohibiting the use of expensive furniture, plate, jewels, lace, and other superfluities; and finally, to enforce the laws against those who transported gold or silver into foreign countries.

The queen's chief consolation was derived from the consideration that the attacks of the parliament were too general to succeed: and that their censures were directed against a great number of persons of vast influence and credit, who would be urged by interest to support all the acts of her regency. The magistrates had themselves too much knowledge and experience to hope that the reformation they proposed would be adopted. The scheme, indeed, was not practicable; since so many persons found themselves under the necessity of opposing it. A state that has been long corrupted is not easily reformed. Those who undertake the arduous task, are in danger of falling a sacrifice to their zeal, unless they have recourse to violent remedies, which are, almost invariably, productive of greater evils than those they are intended to correct. The truth seems to be, that the authors of this remonstrance thought more of mortifying the queen and promoting the downfall of some of her ministers and confidants, than of obtaining a reformation, which they themselves judged to be impossible.

Whatever might be the real intention of the parliament, they closed their remonstrance by beseeching the king to permit them, in conformity to the arrêt of the twenty-eighth of March, to invite the princes and peers of the realm, and the officers of the crown, in order to obtain such farther lights into the disorders of the government, as might enable them to give his majesty more ample information on the subject. They concluded thus—"Your majesty will allow us here to repeat, in your presence and
"under your authority, in discharge of our duty to God, for the good of your service,
"and the preservation of the state, this solemn protestation, that we shall at length
"be obliged to name without reserve the authors of the disorders we have laid before
"your majesty; and to make them known to the people, in order that you may be enabled to apply an effectual remedy, at a more convenient time, when affairs may
"be better disposed for that purpose, and when you may be more inclined to take cognizance of them. All virtuous men wish for this, sire, and especially the officers
"of your parliament, whose only object is to serve your majesty, and to maintain the
"splendour and greatness of the crown which God has given you."

As soon as the perusal of the remonstrance was finished, the magistrates received orders to retire into an adjoining apartment, until the king had deliberated on the answer he should give them. On their return, said Lewis, "I have heard your remonstrances, and am by no means pleased with them; the queen my mother will explain my sentiments to you." The parliament had observed great delicacy in their strictures on the conduct of Mary, though they could not refrain from censuring many acts of her regency. Their forbearance, however, in the former instance, was overlooked by the queen, or lost in the sentiments of indignation and rage, which their strictures had inspired. "The king"—said this imperious princess—"has just grounds for displeasure at the conduct of the parliament. You have taken cognizance of matters of state, notwithstanding the prohibition you had received. Do you pretend, then,
"to

“ to reform the kingdom ? Do you wish to prescribe laws to us on the government
“ and administration of the finances ? I plainly perceive your intention : my regency is
“ the object of your attack, though it has been approved by all the orders of the king-
“ dom at the assembly of the states-general, and even spoken of in terms of commen-
“ dation by the parliament itself. To demand a remedy for pretended disorders intro-
“ duced since the death of the late king, is to say, in terms sufficiently clear, that I have
“ not governed the state as I ought to have done. I am well informed how matters
“ were carried on in the parliament : your remonstrance, far from being generally approv-
“ ed was carried only by a trifling and factious majority. In future such attempts will
“ not be allowed. I say it boldly, and I wish the whole world to know it ; France never
“ knew a regency so propitious as mine.”

Her rage was so great at this part of her speech that she was obliged to stop, and order the chancellor to finish what she had to say. Assuming an air of gravity, which however was insufficient to conceal his vexation, Silleri told the magistrates, that France was a monarchy in which the king had an exclusive right to command. “ It is true” —said he—“ that his majesty ought to govern according to the established laws and
“ ordonnances ; but he is not obliged to account for his actions to any other than
“ God.”—The chancellor repeated what he had said some time before, that the parliament ought to be contented with the jurisdiction allotted it by the crown ; and that it had no right to interfere in matters of state, much less to control the government. “ We grant”—said he—“ that our kings have been accustomed to ask the advice of
“ their parliament on certain important occasions ; but they were by no means obliged so
“ to do ; it was merely a matter of choice ; you have no right, of your own accord, to
“ give advice to the king ; it is your duty to stay till his majesty asks for it. When
“ he shall send you the edicts and declarations he means to issue with regard to the ca-
“ hiers presented to him by the states-general, then will be the proper time for you
“ to remonstrate with the king, and to give him such advice as you may judge most
“ conducive to his service, and the welfare of the state. It is wholly unprecedented,
“ and you will not find a single example of the parliament having ever convened the
“ princes of the blood, the peers of the realm and the officers of the crown, while the
“ king was at Paris.”—Silleri concluded his speech by saying—“ No one can with
“ reason complain of the queen’s administration during the minority. Her’s was the
“ most glorious regency that has yet been seen, and history cannot furnish one equal
“ to it. Under the good conduct of her majesty, the people enjoyed all the advan-
“ tages they could reasonably expect : the queen is responsible for her conduct to God
“ alone. If she choose to render an account of it to the king, he will be obliged to
“ her for her care. It does not belong to us to dictate to his majesty what persons he
“ ought to admit into his councils ; he admitted those who had faithfully served the
“ late king, and he has found reason to be satisfied with their conduct. You will
“ receive

“ receive the king’s answer to your remonstrance, as soon as it shall have been communicated to his council.”

After this absurd rhapsody of fulsome adulation the magistrates were going to retire, when they were addressed by the president Jeannin, comptroller-general of the finances. “ I, and not the queen,” said he “ am the object of your attacks. I have been at the head of the finances for some years, and am ready to submit my conduct to the investigation of the most rigid judges. My astonishment would not at all be excited by the exclamations of a credulous and ignorant populace, who should censure my conduct without knowing why ; but I think it very strange, that a company of wise and enlightened persons should condemn me, without previously examining whether the reports circulated to my prejudice were true or false.” As soon as Jeannin had finished, the dukes of Guise, Montmorenci and Vendôme, offered the king their lives, their fortunes, and their swords against any who should refuse to obey him. They protested that they would not go to the parliament unless his majesty should send them thither in order to support the royal authority ; “ the magistrates”—said the duke of Epemon—“ have no power to call on the peers nor to assemble them without the king’s permission. I have the honour of a seat in the parliament ; but God forbid that I should ever take cognizance of affairs of state.”

The conduct of these noblemen was highly impolitic, since, by endeavouring to render the king absolute, they furnished him with arms against themselves and their families. Mary of Medicis, in the sequel, found herself reduced to the necessity of imploring the assistance and authority of that very parliament she was now so studious to oppress. But her present conduct served to render that application ineffectual. The parliament might have been of some use in protecting that princess, as well as the dukes of Guise, Vendôme, Montmorenci and Epemon, from the violence of a vindictive minister, if they had had sufficient sense to foresee that they might be one day reduced to a situation in which the power of the parliament to interfere in matters of state would be of the highest advantage to them.

The first president, Verdun, wished to reply to the duke of Epemon and the rest of the nobles who had, contrary to their own interest and conscience, basely condemned the conduct of the parliament : but some high words ensuing, the queen interposed her authority, and put a stop to the debate. The duke of Nevers was more reasonable than the other members of the councils : “ I have not given the parliament a commission”—said he—“ to speak for me ; I know what I owe to the king ; but there are some good things in their remonstrance, and if there be others that are bad the king may reject them.” The intimacy which subsisted between this nobleman and the prince of Condé prevented the council from paying any respect to his observation ⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. p. 275.

The very next day—The twenty-third of May—the king, in his council of state, published an arrêt, which annulled that of the parliament. In this arrêt the young monarch was made to say that “ The parliament had exceeded the power given to it by “ the laws of its institution ; and that it was merely a tribunal established for administering “ justice to the people : that Francis the First had annulled and erased from the registers an arrêt by which the parliament endeavoured to limit the power of the regent, “ mother to the king : that the parliament having attempted something of less importance at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Ninth, that monarch had “ annulled the arrêt, and ordered it to be torn into pieces, that all remembrance of it “ might be lost : that the parliament had itself publicly acknowledged, in the reign of “ Charles the Eighth, that it had no right to take cognizance of affairs of state : Lewis, “ then duke of Orleans—(said the arrêt)—and afterwards king of France, discontented “ with the administration of madame de Beaujeu, sister to Charles the Eighth, pressed the parliament to join the princes and nobility, who wished to find a remedy for “ the pretended disorders which prevailed in the government : but the first president, “ de la Vacquerie, told the duke of Orleans that the parliament was established for the “ purpose of administering justice to the king’s subjects, and that it had no right to “ interfere in what concerned the affairs of state⁴⁵.”

It was farther stated in the arrêt that the remonstrance of the parliament had been drawn up at the instigation of a few evil-designing persons, and that the wisest and most judicious members of that company had disapproved of several articles at the time they were read in the assembly of the different chambers. After this long preface, the king annulled the arrêt of the parliament of the twenty-eighth of March ; forbade that company to interfere in future in matters of state, unless they received orders for that purpose ; and “ that the “ remonstrance of such an act of disobedience might be totally extinguished,” his majesty ordained that the arrêt and the remonstrance should be erased from the registers of the court. In order to avert the discontent which a refusal, so decisive and so public, to listen to a salutary remonstrance, might excite among the people, Lewis promised, that he would pay attention to the cahiers which the different orders of the kingdom had presented to him at the assembly of the states-general ; that he would send the edicts which he was preparing in consequence thereof to be verified in the parliament ; and that he would then lend a favourable ear to any remonstrance which the magistrates might think it their duty to offer.

The crown-lawyers, who had been sent for to the Louvre, were ordered to present the arrêt of the council to the parliament ; in vain did they represent the impropriety of fixing on them, who were members of that court, to convey tidings so disagreeable to the magistrates ; the queen was positive—“ it is the king’s will”—said she with dis-

⁴⁵ *Mercure François*, 1615.

dain—" he means to maintain his authority : his commands and mine ought to be executed without excuse or delay." The attorney-general then threw himself at the king's feet, and entreated his majesty to have some respect for the rank which he and his brethren enjoyed in the parliament ; but he exerted his eloquence in vain ; Lewis remained inexorable—" It is my will, and the queen's also"—said he.

When the arrêt was carried to the parliament, it became the subject of a serious discussion ; and, after much debate, it was determined that a deputation should wait on the king, in order to *explain away* the offensive part of their remonstrance. But Mary of Medicis, apprized of their proceedings, sent for the crown-lawyers to the Louvre :—" The king"—said she—" will hear nothing until his orders shall have been previously executed, and the arrêt passed in his council read and registered." In vain did Servin, the advocate-general, employ the language of flattery and misrepresentation, assuring Mary that, so far from blaming her administration, the parliament were loud in their commendations of her majesty's wisdom and prudence, and grateful for the pains she had taken to promote the welfare and tranquillity of the state. " It is the king's will and command"—said the proud and imperious Mary—" that his orders be executed, and that the arrêt of the council be read and registered, under pain of disobedience." When the different chambers were assembled by the president in order to deliberate on the measures to be pursued at this critical conjuncture, opinions were so divided, that several days passed in unavailing debate, and no resolution could be adopted. " Thus"—said a noble contemporary writer—" the remonstrance had the desired effect : the parliament was treated with contempt ; and by that means became more strongly attached to the party of the prince of Condé ⁴⁵."

During this dispute with the magistrates, a difference of opinion prevailed in the council, on the subject of an excursion which the king, at the instigation of his mother, wished to make into Guienne, in order to meet the Infanta, who was to be conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom, and to escort his sister, the princess Elizabeth, who was contracted to the prince of Asturias. Condé and the noblemen of his party exerted their utmost efforts to postpone this journey, and, urged several reasons against the precipitating the marriage of a king so young and so weak in constitution ⁴⁶. Their remonstrances, however, were wholly disregarded by Mary, who accelerated, with the utmost diligence, the preparations for the journey. Condé and his partisans then adopted the resolution of retiring from court, well-pleased at having engaged, as they thought, the parliament in their interest. The prince at first went no farther than his seat at Saint-Maur near Paris ; from whence he caused a report to be circulated that Bullion and Dolé, two counsellors of state, had proposed to their majesties to send several no-

⁴⁵ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. 1.

⁴⁶ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

blemen of his party to the Bastile, and to hang such as gave their advice contrary to the will of the king. From Saint-Maur, Condé proceeded to Clermont in Beauvoisis, the ancient patrimony of the house of Bourbon.

After the departure of the prince and his friends, a royal declaration was published on the thirtieth of July, by which the king ordered all the governors of towns and provinces to provide for the safety of the places entrusted to their care ; to prevent the levying of troops except for his own service ; and to refuse admission to any prince or officer, except such as had a positive and written order from him. This declaration gave great offence to the prince of Condé, whose friends immediately began to raise troops ; and the general rendezvous of the party was, by the duke of Bouillon, appointed at Sedan.

The queen, meanwhile, had begun to perceive that by treating the parliament with too much pride and haughtiness, she had fallen into the snare which her enemies had laid for her. She became apprehensive that the name and authority of a company which the people regarded as the firmest rampart of their liberty would engage them to declare for the prince of Condé, if it should appear that his highness acted in concert with the parliament. She was therefore anxious to devise some expedient that might satisfy the magistrates, without calling the king's authority in question ; and, after various messages had passed between the parliament and the court, an accommodation was at length effected ; a deputation from the parliament went to the Louvre, where they expressed their concern at having displeased their majesties ; protesting that they had never intended to cast any reflections on their actions, much less on their persons ; that they highly commended the prudent conduct of the queen, and her anxiety for the tranquillity of the state and the preservation of the king's person : that the intentions of the parliament in framing their remonstrance had been honest and upright ; that it had been drawn up by the common consent of the magistrates ; and had been unanimously approved by them. Mary of Medicis appeared satisfied with these protestations, because she could not do otherwise. They were indeed highly disgraceful to the parliament, and were universally reprobated by all honest men. The contents of the arrêt published in consequence of this reconciliation, were much better adapted to the purpose of confirming that authority and distinction which the parliament wished to preserve in the state. Their majesties were there reminded that, the first time the king went to the parliament, the queen publicly declared, that it was the king's intention *to follow the good advice of his parliament*, and that she had conjured the magistrates, by what they owed to their sovereign, to their country, and to the memory of the late king, to give her son such advice as they should deem most conducive to the service of the king and the good of the kingdom. They concluded by entreating the queen to consider the prejudice which the arrêt passed in the council of state might do to their authority, and to believe that the remonstrance of the parliament was founded on truth and justice. Such was the end of a business which had

caused so much noise in the kingdom, and in which the parliament exhibited a strange mixture of manly firmness and obsequious condescension. Mary gave herself no farther trouble about the remonstrance, or the arrêt issued for the convocation of the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, and the officers of the crown. The magistrates, on their part, desisted from their enterprize; and the arrêt of the council of state, which annulled the whole of their proceedings, was never rigorously enforced.

The king's declaration was soon followed by a manifesto from the prince of Condé, addressed to all the municipal bodies in the kingdom, in which he expatiated on the restraints imposed on the debates of the states-general: he insisted that the members were not at liberty to act according to their consciences; and that the third-estate, which he represented as most free from corruption, had been constrained to yield to the intrigues of the clergy. He also loudly complained of the marshal D'Ancre, whom he accused of several atrocious crimes. But none of the sovereign courts opened the letters that were addressed to them. The parliament of Paris in particular constantly refused to join his party. The assembly of the Protestants, which had then met at Grenoble, likewise declared their determination to take no part in these commotions; which prudent line of conduct they had been induced to adopt by the wise remonstrances of Du Plessis-Mornay, whose good offices, however, were but ill requited by the queen⁴⁸.

During these transactions Mary laboured to secure the city of Paris. She appointed a council of war, composed of the principal officers and magistrates of the town, and of some few counsellors of state, who had orders to remain in the capital. She exhorted them to be faithful to the king, to pay obedience to Liancourt, governor of the city and chief of the council, and to Moron, provost of the merchants; and to take care of Monsieur, the king's brother, whom she confided to their care:

Having taken every necessary precaution, and assembled an army, the command of which was entrusted to the marshal de Bois-Dauphin, of the ancient and illustrious house of Laval, the queen fixed her departure for the seventeenth of August; and to defray the expences of the journey she took from the Bastille eight hundred thousand crowns, which remained of the treasure amassed by her husband⁴⁹. Bois-Dauphin had orders to cover Paris, and to stop the march of the rebel army, but not to risk an action. The dukes of Guise and Epemon undertook to conduct their majesties in safety to Bourdeaux: and the former was appointed to conduct the princess Elizabeth to the frontiers of the

⁴⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 90. 91.

⁴⁹ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis—Vie du Duc d'Epemon, liv. 3—Journal de Bassompierre.

kingdom, there to receive the Infanta, and escort her to the capital of Guienne, where the king and his mother were to wait for her.

The marquis of Cœuvres had advised the queen to appoint the town of Creffi upon Serre for the general rendezvous of the royal army. By taking possession of this important post, the communication of Picardy and Normandy with Champagne would have been cut off; and the prince of Condé reduced to the necessity of remaining in the environs of Sedan. In that quarter the duke of Nevers, who had not yet joined the malecontents, had several fortresses; and as the prince could not advance into Picardy until he had gained him over to his interest, much time must necessarily have been lost. And even when the difficulties which occurred in Champagne had been surmounted, the king's army posted at Creffi would have prevented the enemy from proceeding any farther. But the prudent advice of de Cœuvres was neglected by Mary, and the prince of Condé profiting by her neglect, hastened to seize the post of Creffi, which he made the general rendezvous of his own troops. Content with having made the marechal de Bois-Dauphin advance as far as Dammartin in order to cover the capital; the king, the queen-mother, and the princess Elizabeth, left Paris on the morning of the appointed day.⁵⁰

Their majesties arrived at Poitiers on the ninth of September, and their stay in that city was considerably protracted by the illness of the princess Elizabeth, who was there seized with the small-pox. This circumstance gave the prince of Condé an opportunity to strengthen his party; and having collected a body of from four to five thousand infantry, and about two thousand five hundred horse, he directed his march towards Paris. But though the king's army was more numerous and better equipped, the marechal de Bois-Dauphin, true to his orders, avoided an action; while the prince, profiting by his inactivity, made himself master of Château-Thierry, and thus secured the passage of the Marne.

When the prince of Condé reached Meri upon Seine, he learned that the king, on his arrival at Poitiers, had issued a declaration, on the tenth of September, against him and his partisans, whom he stigmatized as rebels and traitors. In answer to this, Condé published a manifesto, in justification of his own conduct, declaring that he had only taken up arms to prevent the introduction of foreigners into the kingdom; and that, in his party, were all those persons who composed the only true council of state. He then crossed the Seine, and advanced towards Sens, which he hoped to take by surprize; but Bois-Dauphin, and his marechal-de-camp, the marquis de Praslin, had anticipated his designs, and, by a forced march, prevented their execution. In the vicinity of Boni the two

⁵⁰ Mémoires de M. de Sirot, tom. i.

armies were so near each other that an action appeared unavoidable. That of the king consisted of ten thousand veteran troops, and two thousand horse; while the enemy were in such bad condition, that if the royalists had only advanced to the attack, they would have fled without fighting. Several of his officers pressed Bois-Dauphin to profit by this favourable opportunity; but deaf to their advice he pursued his own plan, and, after a few slight skirmishes, retreated, observing, "That he was master of his profession; he had received the king's orders, and would strictly obey them." The prince, released from the danger that threatened him, pursued his march with diligence, and having discovered a ford, at the distance of a league from Boni, he transported his troops to the opposite banks of the Loire. Though obedience to orders be the soul of military discipline, yet the marshal de Bois-Dauphin was highly censured by the court for his extreme circumspection; to suffer the prince to enter the province of Berri was deemed a shameful instance of neglect, since it tended greatly to raise the hopes of the party; of which no better proof could be afforded than the conduct of six hundred Germans, who immediately crossed the province of Champagne, and effected a junction with the prince; after which the army of the malecontents proceeded, without farther delay, to the confines of Touraine and Poitou.

The duke of Rohan, who had also taken up arms, was less successful than the prince; on his arrival in Guienne, he found that the count of Saint Pol, and the Catholic nobles of his party, had already made their peace with the court. The count had been led to the adoption of this measure by the earnest entreaties of his wife, whose confessor threatened her with the torments of hell, unless she exerted her utmost endeavours to break the engagements which her husband had contracted with the heretics, against the service of God and the king⁵¹. This sudden change disconcerted the projects of Rohan and his friends; they still, indeed, continued their preparations, and endeavoured to raise an army sufficiently strong to intercept the duke of Guise on his road to the frontiers, whither he was to conduct the princess Elizabeth; but their exertions proved inadequate to the purpose, and they could muster no more than two thousand men.

The dissensions and misconduct of the malecontents facilitated the accomplishment of the queen's designs; and, meeting with no obstruction on the road, she arrived with her son at Bourdeaux, the capital of Guienne, on the seventh of October. The inhabitants of that great city displayed unusual pomp on the occasion, and the ears of Mary were unexpectedly regaled with the acclamations of the people. The first step taken by the court, after their arrival, was to send an officer to the duke of Rohan, the marquis de la Force, and other leaders of the reformed, (who had been seduced by the intrigues of Condé and Bouillon) to order them to lay down their arms; and their refusal

⁵¹ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. i.

to comply with this demand being construed into a declaration of war, it was resolved in future to consider them as enemies to the state.

Meanwhile the courts of France and Spain had agreed that the celebration of the two marriages should take place on the same day, the eighteenth of October, the one at Bourdeaux, and the other at Burgos in Castille. The duke of Uceda, son to the duke of Lerma, was the proxy appointed to marry the infanta in the name of Lewis; and the duke of Guise to espouse the princess Elizabeth in the name of the prince of Asturias. The ceremony was performed, in France, by the cardinal de Sourdis, archbishop of Bourdeaux, and in Spain, by the archbishop of Burgos. The French princess left Bourdeaux three days after, under the escort of a small army, commanded by the duke of Guise and the marechal de Briffac: she arrived at Bayonne on the first of November, and reached Saint John de Luz on the seventh.

The Catholic monarch having conducted his daughter to Fontarabia, the exchange of the two princesses was made upon the river Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain. The new queen reached Bourdeaux on the twenty-first of November: the king, anxious to see his destined bride, had advanced three leagues from the city in order to gratify his curiosity; but as the etiquette of the court forbade him to speak to her, he was obliged to content himself with looking at her from a window, while the duke D'Epernon conversed with her at the door of her carriage⁵².

The nuptial benediction was given by the bishop of Xaintes; and nothing was omitted that could add to the magnificence of the ceremony. The fatigue which Lewis had experienced in the course of the day induced him to sup *in bed*, whence he rose at nine, and was conducted to the chamber of his bride, with whom he continued till one in the morning, when he was disturbed by the marechal de Souvré, his late preceptor, who led him back to his own apartment⁵³.

Although the prince of Condé's army, on his entrance into Poitou, was neither formidable from its numbers or condition, yet his vicinity to the court, and his different motions, gave considerable interruption to the joy experienced by Mary de Medicis on the celebration of the double marriage. The prince's party was strengthened by the accession of the duke de la Trémouille, and of Soubise, brother to the duke of Rohan⁵⁴, who brought with him a large reinforcement of troops. Saint John D'Angeli opened her gates to Condé, and the inhabitants of Rochelle declared in his favour.

The count of Candale, son to the duke of Epernon, who, to enrage his father, had

⁵² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 957

⁵³ Idem. *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Le Va^llor.

joined the opposite party, and embraced the religion of the reformed, seconded with zeal the views of Condé, at the assembly of the Hugonots, holden at Nîmes; where this false convert had sufficient address to persuade the Protestants, that the interests of their religion required they should openly embrace the cause of the malecontents. In vain did Chatillon, the mareschal de Lefdiguieres, and the friends of Du Pleffis-Mornai, oppose this advice; their remonstrances were treated with contempt, and Candale was appointed lieutenant-general of the reformed in the Cevennes. The assembly resolved to send fresh deputies to court, in order to lay before the king the just reasons which the reformed church had to complain of the frequent infractions of the edict of Nantes, and to demand justice of his majesty.

This was a mere matter of form; since it was well known that the court would grant nothing more than they had promised to the states-general. Indeed, at the very time that the members of the assembly at Nîmes seemed determined to have recourse to no other means than those of remonstrance in order to effect an accommodation, they sent agents to the prince of Condé, with necessary instructions and full powers to conclude a treaty of union: "Persuaded as we are in our consciences"—said they, in a circular letter which they sent to the different churches—"that the prince's party is the most lawful, and that his highness has no other object in view than the promotion of the king's service, and the preservation of his authority." The conduct of Du Pleffis-Mornai, on this occasion, was much more prudent and praise-worthy than that of the assembly: he strenuously opposed all their proceedings, and justly maintained that the dispute was founded on political and not on religious motives⁵⁵.

At length a formal treaty was signed between the Hugonots and the prince of Condé, on the twenty-seventh of November, at the camp of Sanzai in Poitou. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed "to act in conjunction for the safety of the king's person, " and the preservation of his authority, in the manner prescribed by the famous article of " the third estate; to oppose the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent; to " prevent the evil consequences which might be expected to ensue from the accomplish- " ment of the double marriage with Spain; to insist on the establishment of a state " council composed of proper persons; to enforce a strict observance of the edict of " Nantes; and to ensure to the Protestants the full enjoyment of all the concessions " made to them by the late king." They reciprocally pledged themselves to remain inseparably united, and not to lay down their arms, until they should have obtained the proposed conditions; and also not to make peace but by common consent.

The conduct of the reformed in signing this treaty with the prince of Condé, was the

⁵⁵ Vie de du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. iii.—Lettres et Mémoires de Du Pleffis-Mornai, 1615.

more unjustifiable, as the king had, but a few days before, published a declaration, in which he assured his Protestant subjects of his determination to maintain the edicts of pacification, in order to remove any suspicions they might have been led to entertain on account of the late marriages in the royal family; at the same time he invited such of the reformed as had joined the malecontents to return to their duty. This declaration was drawn up with great judgment; it made a proper discrimination between the different description of Hugonots that had declared for the prince; between those men of ambitious minds, who used religion as a pretext to cover their projects of personal aggrandizement; and such as, being deceived by the arts of the designing, and seduced into a belief that in this treaty of marriage the king had, by a secret article, promised the total destruction of the Protestants, pretended they had a right to take up arms in their own defence.

Lewis strongly denied the existence of any such article, and even invoked such of the leaders of the malecontents as had been privy to the transaction, to attest the truth of his assertion. “Far”—said the king—“from wishing to render France the theatre of such a bloody war as a contest for religion must necessarily occasion, we are fully of opinion that the decision of such disputes should be left to the Almighty, who will doubtless employ, whenever it shall seem good to him, for his glory and our salvation, the most efficacious remedies to make him served and adored by all Christians, according to the purity of his doctrine.” He then professed his resolution to enforce a rigid observance of the edict of Nantes, and all subsequent grants and concessions; he ordered all infractions of that edict which might have been made contrary to his will and pleasure, to be immediately repaired; and lastly, from regard for *an infinite number of his good subjects* of the reformed religion, among whom were persons distinguished for their birth and employment, whose services entitled them to expect that his majesty would exert his clemency toward others of the same faith, he granted a free pardon to all who had taken up arms, on condition that they should return to their duty. But, in case they should persist in their refusal of the proffered indulgence, he declared them traitors to their king, disturbers of the public tranquillity, and deprived of all privileges which had, at any time, been granted them⁵⁵.

A. D. 1616.] Although the royal army had become much stronger and more numerous than the prince's, by the junction of the troops under Bois-Dauphin, and by the reinforcements which arrived from different provinces, the union of the Hugonots with the malecontents excited the most serious alarm in the mind of the queen-mother. Mary was also suspicious of the fidelity of Cesar, duke of Vendôme, who was raising troops in the king's name, which, it was feared, he destined for the service of the prince.

⁵⁵ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 6. p. 168, 169.

In order to put his fidelity to the test, Lewis sent him orders to join him with what soldiers he had levied: Vendôme feigned obedience, but instead of marching towards Guienne, he retired to his government of Brittany⁵⁷. This confirmed the king's suspicions, nor could the offer made by Jeannin, to become a hostage for the duke's fidelity, in the least tend to remove them. Some letters produced by Bassompierre, in the council, clearly proved that the dukes of Mayenne and Longueville had written to their friends to join Cesar, who, soon after, openly declared himself. Having received orders, delivered by a herald, to lay down his arms, dismiss his troops, and repair to court, under pain of being treated as a rebel and a traitor, the duke replied, that he had taken up arms, in conjunction with the prince, for the purpose of revenging the death of the late king, his father, a cause to which he would devote his life, his property, and friends. Vendôme was too late in his measures; young, inexperienced, and imprudent, he did not perceive that his declaration would only tend to ensure more advantageous terms to the prince of Condé, who would consult his own private interests, and leave him to encounter the hatred and resentment of the king and his mother.

Towards the end of the preceding year the court had left Bourdeaux and gone to Poitiers, whence they proceeded to Tours, where the king entered into a negociation with the prince of Condé. Mary of Medicis had determined to pursue the same plan which had been adopted by Lewis the Eleventh for effecting a dissolution of the *League for the Public Good*; viz. to weaken the opposite party by sowing dissention between the leaders. With this view, offers were privately made to the dukes of Mayenne and Bouillon; and the prince of Condé, convinced that the opportunity was favourable for ensuring advantageous conditions for himself, was easily prevailed on to write a respectful letter to the king. The answer of Lewis was conveyed in language the most conciliatory; and a conference was appointed to take place at Loudun, on the tenth of February.

During these negociations, the queen-mother had nearly lost her life by a singular accident which happened at Tours. The floor of an apartment in which she was conversing with several of the nobility, suddenly gave way, but her chair being placed on a beam, she fortunately escaped the danger. Many persons were severely wounded by the fall, particularly the young count of Soissons, the duke of Epemon, and the mareschal de Bassompierre.

On the day appointed for opening the conferences at Loudun, the count of Soissons; the duke of Nevers; the mareschal de Brissac; Villeroi, and Pontchartrian, secretaries of state; and the president De Thou and De Vic, counsellors of state, appeared on the

⁵⁷ Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoires de Duc de Rohan, liv. i.

part of the king. The prince of Condé attended in person, accompanied by the princesses, his mother; the duchess-dowager of Longueville; the dukes of Mayenne, Vendôme, Longueville, Rohan, Luxembourg, La Trémouille, Sully, and Bouillon; the count of Candale; and the deputies from the Protestant churches; the English ambassador assisted in the capacity of a mediator. The prince of Condé presented thirty-one articles, many of which had been drawn up for the purpose of conveying an idea that, in all his proceedings, he had only been actuated by motives of concern for the public welfare⁵⁸. As it would necessarily require some time for the examination of these articles, it was mutually agreed to prolong the truce which had been settled previous to the opening of the conference.

Meanwhile the two armies suffered so much from the extreme severity of the weather, and the consequent scarcity of provisions, that upwards of ten thousand men are said to have perished on both sides⁵⁹. The regiment of guards, in particular, lost so many men, that the king was obliged to send for the Swiss to guard his person.

The council having, at length, investigated the articles presented by the prince, the king's commissioners were enabled to give them a final answer. Some of them were granted, either wholly, or with certain restrictions and modifications, and others referred for more ample consideration. The court consented without difficulty to those which contained a requisition, that a speedy and effectual search should be made after the persons who had been concerned in the death of Henry the Fourth: and that an injunction should be issued to the bishops to enforce the immediate publication of the canon of the council of Constance, and the decree of the faculty of Paris, against such as should make an attempt on the lives of sovereigns. But greater difficulties occurred with regard to the two following articles, which required that the proposal of the commons, concerning the safety of the king's person, and the independence of his crown, should be acceded to, and that the necessary orders should be issued for that purpose; that his majesty should revoke his suspension of the arrêts granted, on that subject, by the parliament of Paris; that those arrêts should be solemnly renewed, and all the declarations framed and sent out of the kingdom, to the prejudice of the king's personal safety, and of his sovereign authority, should be declared null, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm.

To the article which related to the demand of the commons, it was answered, that his majesty would hold a consultation on the subject with the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, the great officers of state, the principal members of his council, and certain members of the parliament, who should be invited to deliberate on the cahiers

⁵⁸ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

⁵⁹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 99.

presented by the states-general. As to the suspension of certain arrêts of the parliament of Paris, the commissioners observed, that it had been ordained, after mature deliberation, by the king's council, in order to preserve the good intelligence which subsisted between his majesty and the Roman pontiff, who had expressed his displeasure at those arrêts; and that the king had never made any declaration contrary or prejudicial to his sovereign authority, and the independence of his crown. By this subterfuge, these two articles, which had been so often proposed and discussed, were again eluded, through complacency for the court of Rome.

The court promised, in general terms, a compliance with several other articles, in which the prince of Condé demanded the confirmation of the liberties of the Gallican church; the revocation of the decrees of the clergy with regard to the publication of the council of Trent; the strict observance of the edicts of pacification, and all subsequent concessions to the reformed; the preservation of the authority and jurisdiction of the sovereign courts; the regulation of the Gendarmerie, in conformity to the ancient ordonnances; the diminution of the tailles; and some other objects of less importance. But what concerned the remonstrances of the parliament, for obtaining just and favourable answers to the cahiers presented by the assembly of the states, the court eluded, by saying that the king would give them, three months after the publication of the treaty. The demand made by the prince of Condé, of the suppression of the sale of offices was eluded in a similar way. The king, having granted the *droit annuel* for three years, to date from the dissolution of the states-general, the commissioners replied that the article should be enforced at the expiration of that term. To the article, which required a strict observation of the ancient laws, by which it was enacted, that no foreigner should be permitted to hold offices under the crown; governments of provinces or cities; or any dignity, ecclesiastical or secular, in the household of the king or of the queen, it was objected, that his majesty could not part with the power of rewarding every description of persons, according to their merit, their services, and their quality. This article particularly alluded to the marshal D'Ancre, who, besides the protection of Mary of Medicis, had farther strengthened his interest by effecting a reconciliation with the prince of Condé, at the expence of the duke D'Epernon, who, disgusted with the treatment he received from the queen-mother, had recently retired from court. The prince, therefore, did not insist on a compliance with this article, content with procuring satisfaction on those points which most affected his own private interest. At his request, the government of Amiens was conferred on the duke of Longueville, and for himself he demanded and obtained the privilege of *La Plume*, that is, of signing all the arrêts of the council, and all the accounts of the royal treasury; in other words, the appointment of chief of all the councils. The queen was sensible of the diminution which her authority must experience from a concession of this nature; but she was of opinion that the continuation of the war would prove still more fatal to her power⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 102.

The dukes of Mayenne and Bouillon, having likewise obtained almost all their demands, endeavoured to persuade the other noblemen, and the assembly of the reformed, now transferred to Rochelle, to accept the treaty. Notwithstanding matters were so far advanced, insurmountable obstacles to the conclusion of the peace would still have occurred, but for a violent fit of sickness, with which the prince of Condé was seized at this critical conjuncture, that greatly alarmed his followers, who were fearful of losing their chief. Every person endeavoured to make the best terms he could for himself, and the treaty was signed, without listening to any remonstrance, or even waiting for an answer from the Hugonots whose interests were totally abandoned.

This peace, instead of restoring tranquillity to the kingdom, laid the foundation of fresh disorders; which occasioned suspicions that the ministers by whom it had been concluded, had not been actuated by the most laudable motives. Villeroi and Jeannin procured the dismissal of the chancellor Sillery, and the bestowal of the seals on the president *Du Vair*. Some time after this, the king, at the solicitation of the marshal D'Ancre, appointed Claude Mangot as an adjunct to Villeroi in his office of secretary of state; so that the disputes of the courtiers rendered the court a scene of intrigue and confusion.

The prince of Condé, having recovered his health, retired to the province of Berri, the government of which had been given him, instead of that of Guienne. The duke of Sully repaired to Poitou, and the duke of Rohan to Rochelle. The only leaders of the party that ventured to court were the dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne, who repaired thither for the double purpose of watching the motions of Mary of Medicis and of receiving the rewards which had been promised them for abandoning their friends.

The first act performed by Du Vair, after his attainment to the dignity of chancellor, was the annexation of the great seal to an edict, published at Blois, on the fifth of May, for the purpose of putting a total stop to the commotions, which had yet scarcely subsided in different parts of the kingdom. By this edict the king confirmed all the articles agreed upon at the conference of Loudun, and granted a general amnesty, for all transactions that had occurred since the prince of Condé and his partisans had taken up arms. Some secret articles were added, which were registered in the sovereign courts at the same time as the edict itself. A declaration was also published with regard to the coronation oath, by which the king specially excepted his Protestant subjects from the consequences of that part of the oath, which related to the preservation of the Catholic religion, in his dominions; and ordered that all the concessions which had been made to the Hugonots should be inviolably observed.

The grand object of the intrigues of the courtiers, at this period, was the humiliation, or, rather, the total ruin of the marshal D'Ancre, who still preserved the first place in the
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the confidence of the queen-mother. Conchini, did not dare to go to court, to congratulate the king on his marriage, but remained at his seat at Lezigni, either from dread of the resentment of the Parisians, who were greatly incensed at his conduct, or from the indignation he experienced at the orders he had received from the queen-mother to exchange the post of lieutenant-general in Picardy and of governor of the citadel of Amiens, with the duke of Montbazon, for that of lieutenant-general in Normandy. Although the marshal ought cheerfully to have consented to this regulation, he was extremely unwilling to leave his estates in Picardy at the discretion of the duke of Longueville, governor of the province, who was his mortal-enemy, and whose absolute power would afford a thousand opportunities to harass and mortify Conchini. The hatred which the people of Paris, publicly expressed, against the favourite, also proved a most sensible mortification to Conchini, who had less pliancy and more pride in his temper than his countrymen, in general, possessed.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the grounds for resentment against this nobleman were indisputably strong. When he first entered the service of Mary of Medicis, he owed, according to his own account ⁶¹, eight thousand crowns more than he was worth; but during the regency of that princess, he had amassed a fortune of three millions of gold; and he and his wife were, at this time, in possession of places supposed to be worth two millions of livres. Raised to the first dignities in the state, he displayed the pomp and power of a prince; and was continually attended by a number of poor gentlemen, to whom he granted pensions of one thousand livres each. As his insolence increased in proportion to his authority, he could not fail to become an object of universal detestation.

The conspiracy formed by the principal nobility for promoting his ruin, and the rage of the populace of Paris, who pillaged his house, and destroyed his effects to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns, induced the marshal D'Ancre to think of returning to Italy, with the wealth he had amassed, before the storm which he saw gathering should burst over his head. But the proposal which he made for this purpose was rejected, with indignation and disdain, by his wife, who reproached him with ingratitude to his benefactors, and expatiated with great warmth on the baseness of forsaking the queen at a time when she stood in the greatest need of their assistance, in order to counteract the machinations of her enemies ⁶².

Thus compelled, by the courageous perseverance of his wife, to face the threatening storm, he sought to avert its most dangerous effects, by the adoption of such measures

⁶¹ Journal de Baffompierre—Gramond: *Hist. Gallix*, lib. 2.—*Mercur. François*, 1616.
tom. liv. ii. 8. p. 472, 473.

⁶² Le Vassier,

as prudence seemed to dictate. He particularly courted an union with the dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne, for the avowed purpose of promoting the ruin of the dukes of Epemon and Bellegarde: and he flattered himself that the two former would gladly accept his offer, in the hope of profiting by the spoils of the latter, one of whom was possessed of immense wealth. But whether the disgrace of Villeroi and Jeannin, who were highly esteemed by Mayenne and Bouillon, had irritated them against Conchini, at whose instigation it had taken place, or whether they were fearful of rendering themselves odious to the nation, by connecting themselves with a foreigner who was universally detested, they profited by his advances to acquire new friends for themselves, and, at the same time, to encrease the number of his enemies⁶³. They disclosed their intentions to the duke of Guise, whose friendship for Epemon and Bellegarde induced him to give his concurrence to a plan the object of which was the total ruin of Conchini. No pains were spared to excite a general combination against the favourite, and to stimulate the populace to acts of violence; The dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne even forgot their dignity so far as to form a scheme for blowing up his country house, during the time that he resided there⁶⁴: a scheme which reflected infinite dishonour on the persons who conceived and afforded strong grounds for suspecting that they were actuated by envy rather than patriotism.

Meanwhile, Mary of Medicis, apprized of the cabals that were forming against her favourite, and fearful lest his ruin might lead to the destruction of her own authority, endeavoured to weaken the strength of her opponents by gaining over the principal leaders to her side. The duke of Rohan, sensible that the efforts of the duke of Bouillon were only intended to promote his own private advantage, anticipated the wishes of the queen-mother, and made her an offer of his services; in return for which he was appointed governor of Poitou, on the resignation of the duke of Sully in his favour⁶⁵. But to gain the prince of Condé was a matter of great difficulty: both Mary and the marshal d'Ancre pressed him with great earnestness to return to court, and offered to accede to almost any proposition he should make: for some time the negotiations, on this subject, proved fruitless; at length, however, the bishop of Luçon was dispatched to the prince, and his arguments prevailed on him to return to court. This prelate, disgusted with theological studies, had attached himself to the marshal D'Ancre, who procured for him the post of grand almoner to the young queen: Mary, convinced that his political talents might be advantageously exerted in her service, employed him on this occasion, and bestowed on him many marks of her favour⁶⁶.

The bishop pleaded so powerfully in favour of his patrons, that the prince of Condé

⁶³ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis—Journal de Bassompierre.

⁶⁴ Le Vassor, tom. ii. liv. 2. p. 474.

⁶⁵ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.

⁶⁶ Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

assured him the queen-mother might depend on his assistance, and the marshal D'Ancre, on his protection; in return for which he claimed the office of chief of the council of France, and the privilege of being admitted to a share in the government, to the exclusion of all other noblemen of his party. Having obtained the promise he required, Condé repaired to Paris, on the nineteenth of June, and was received, by the people, with the loudest acclamations of joy, and, by the court, with the warmest professions of regard. No sooner was his arrival made public, than he was followed by the dukes of Vendôme, La Tremouille, and Sully; the count of Candale, and many others of the nobility; in short the levée at the Louvre was not more numerously attended, than the levée at the hôtel de Condé.

But the prince took no pains to render himself worthy of the influence and popularity he enjoyed: in his opinions, irresolute and indecisive, the determinations of one day were superseded by those of the next: though he had promised his protection to Conchini, he made no scruple to listen to the suggestions of his enemies, and frequently attended the secret councils that were holden by the dukes of Guise, Mayenne, and Bouillon, for the purpose of effecting the downfall of the favourite.

But, though intent on the same object, the confederates differed essentially as to the mode of its accomplishment: some of them proposed to present a request to the parliament, desiring that the marshal D'Ancre might be brought to trial; this was certainly the most decent mode of proceeding, and, indeed, the only lawful way of getting rid of a man, whose conduct, they alledged, afforded the most serious grounds for accusation. But others, who were averse from the tedious proceedings of a court of justice, and were fearful that the authority of the queen-mother would prevail in the parliament, were of opinion that the marshal should be carried off by force, and confined in some strong place, in possession of the party. There was one so destitute of principle as to go still farther, and to advise the assassination of the man who was the object of their envy and apprehensions. The duke of Mayenne, at a private conference, at which the prince was not present, offered to become himself the instrument of their vengeance, and to run his sword through the body of the favourite, provided Condé would sanction the villainous deed by his presence⁶⁷. The duke of Bouillon suggested the impolicy of mentioning the subject to the prince, and engaged, after the deed was done, to secure his approbation: this advice, however, being rejected by the duke of Mayenne, the proposal was submitted to the consideration of the prince.

There is too great reason to believe that Condé would, notwithstanding his promise

⁶⁷ Mémoires de Duc de Rohan, liv. 1.—Le Vaisor, tom. ii. liv. 8. p. 511, 512.

Conchini, which he had lately renewed, have consented to the base and criminal act of violence which Mayenne offered to commit, could he have prevailed on all the enemies of the favourite to assist him in despoiling the queen-mother of her authority, without which it was better for the prince that Mary should be governed by a man who was totally at his disposal. At one of the secret interviews which he had with the friends of Mayenne, who were afraid that the tardiness of their proceedings might expose them to the danger of discovery, Condé said, "I am ready to do all that you require; but be assured the queen-mother will be revenged of us all, if we leave her in possession of her authority; we must therefore find some means of keeping her at a distance from court, or, at least, of preventing her interference in affairs of state⁶⁸:" every one present immediately acquiesced in the sentiments of Condé, except the duke of Guise, whose hereditary hatred to the house of Bourbon superinduced his refusal to promote the elevation of a prince whom he considered as the enemy of his family. Preferring the government of Mary, who treated the Guises with respect, he observed, that the difference was essential between the project of getting rid of a foreigner who was their common enemy, and that of effecting the ruin of the queen-mother—"God forbid," said he, "that I should ever consent to involve her majesty in the ruin of the marshal D'Ancre!" The prince of Condé was highly displeased at this observation, though he had sufficient address to conceal his displeasure. He was fully aware, that, in case Conchini was assassinated, the whole weight of Mary's resentment would fall upon himself, and that the duke of Guise would be the only person that would profit by the crime; he therefore sent for Barbin, the friend and confidant of Conchini, as soon as the conference was over, and to him revealed a great part of the secret; at the same time renewing his promises of protecting the marshal D'Ancre against all the machinations of his enemies.

Charles of Valois, natural son to Charles the Ninth, count of Auvergne, and afterwards duke of Angoulême, had been confined in the Bastille ever since the year 1605, for having engaged in a conspiracy against Henry the Fourth. This prince is represented by the historians of those times, as possessed of strong sense, great courage, and political talents far from contemptible; but these good qualities were counterbalanced by his excessive love of money, which is said to have betrayed him into an act of treason, by inducing him to turn *coiner*⁶⁹. Mary of Medicis, anxious to strengthen her party, that she might be the better enabled to counteract the designs of the prince of Condé, took the resolution of releasing Angoulême, and attaching him to her service. The farther to secure his friendship, she restored to him the post of colonel general of the light horse, which, on his commitment to prison, had been given to the duke of Nevers⁷⁰.

⁶⁸ Mémoires de Duc de Rohan, liv. i.—Le Vassor, tom ii. liv. 8. p. 511, 512.
 Marie de Medicis—Le Vassor, liv. viii. p. 513.

⁶⁹ Mémoires de la Regence de
⁷⁰ Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoires de la Regence de
 Marie de Medicis—Mercure François, 1616.

On the other hand, the confederates found means to attach the duke of Longueville, the avowed enemy of Conchini, to their party; and that nobleman, having repaired to his new government of Amiens, had the audacity to commence hostilities against his sovereign, and to take the city of Peronne by surprize. It was even feared that he would complete the reduction of Picardy, a province of the utmost importance, from its vicinity to the Spanish Netherlands. The king, being advised to attempt some means of accommodation with the duke, rather than have recourse to violence, sent Bouillon to negotiate with him; but this faithless agent, instead of obeying the orders he had received, engaged Longueville to persevere in his revolt, and to join in the conspiracy against the marechal D'Ancre. The prince of Condé, at the same time, sent the archbishop of Bourges to Conchini with a revocation of the promise he had given to protect him, and to tell him that he could not possibly abandon the duke of Longueville ⁷¹.

The marechal on the receipt of this intelligence, ought certainly to have consulted his own safety, by an immediate retreat; but, unable to persuade his wife to return to Italy, he determined to brave the storm. He therefore, went to the queen-mother, and represented to her that the prince of Condé set her at defiance; that Bouillon deceived her; and that all the other nobles of the party were anxious to deprive her of her authority; and the only means he said, of counteracting their designs, was to secure their persons ⁷². This advice, at first, appeared to Mary of Medicis too bold to be pursued; but she was speedily induced to change her opinion. Barbin, whom she had appointed comptroller-general of the finances, a man on whose opinion she greatly relied, and whose abilities and foresight seemed to justify the confidence she reposed in him, had often represented to her that she must not flatter herself with the hopes of curing by mild and common remedies the evils to which the intrigues of the duke of Bouillon had given rise: and he insisted on the necessity of arresting the prince of Condé as the only means of effecting, without danger, the speedy dissolution of the whole cabal: Mangot and the bishop of Luçon likewise contributed their efforts to lead her to the adoption of this vigorous measure.

The prince of Condé, meanwhile, had endeavoured to persuade the duke of Sully to concur in the schemes of his party, and to urge the Protestants to follow his example; but the duke rejected all his solicitations, and preserved his attachment to the king pure and inviolate. Ever solicitous for the good of the state, this worthy nobleman, and true patriot, maintained himself in the esteem and respect of both parties, and endeavoured to set them right, so long as they could subsist in the state in which they were, by sending information sometimes to the queen-mother, and sometimes to the prince;

⁷¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 105.

⁷² Idem. *ibid.*

and, on the twenty-sixth of August, the duke demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to such an extremity, that it was not possible they could continue a week longer in the same situation; that, as the balance then stood, the whole authority must necessarily fall into the hands of the prince; but that it was in her power to retain her share of it. He declared, that she was not secure in Paris, and that she and her children would be safer in the field, with a thousand horse, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobility and people were in a state of fermentation. He observed, that his duty, and the obligations he had received from the late king, imposed on him the necessity of making these remonstrances to her; and that, if there were no other remedy for the present evils than the loss of his life, he would cheerfully sacrifice it for the preservation of the king, herself, and the state: then, taking leave of her, he implored her seriously to reflect on the subject of their conversation; adding, that if she neglected to apply, to the commotions which troubled the state, the only proper and becoming remedy, she, having received due warning, would be answerable for the consequence ⁷³.

Regardless of this advice the queen-mother resolved to pursue her own line of conduct; and the determination to arrest the prince of Condé being adopted, an opportunity soon offered of putting it in execution. On the first of December, the prince, though apprized by his friends of the danger which awaited him, went in great pomp to the Louvre; where he was arrested, in the king's name, by Themines and his two sons. Enraged at the public indignity thus offered him, Condé asked if there were none present possessed of sufficient courage to defend the first prince of the blood. Perceiving du Vair, keeper of the seals—"You sir,"—said the prince—"are a virtuous man: have you advised the violation of those solemn promises which have been so repeatedly made me?"—Du Vair replied, that he had not been consulted on the occasion, and that he would exert himself to procure a speedy and effectual correction of the error that had been committed. But the efforts of this magistrate proved fruitless, and the queen-mother punished him for his disavowal of her conduct, by depriving him of the seals, which were given to Mangot ⁷⁴. The duke of Sully also expressed the strongest disapprobation of this violent proceeding, and urged the queen-mother to the adoption of measures more moderate and conciliating.

While the prince was conducted to prison, Mary, highly pleased at having her most formidable enemy in her power, was profuse in the distribution of honours and rewards. The zeal of Themines was rewarded with a marshal's staff; Montigny was honoured with the same dignity; St. Geran received a promise of promotion on the first vacancy; and Crequi,

⁷³ Mémoires de Sully.

⁷⁴ Gramondi Historia Gallix, lib. ii.

who guarded the gate of the Louvre while the prince was arrested, obtained a brevet of duke and peer of France⁷⁵.

As soon as the dukes of Mayenne and Bouillon were apprized of the detention of the prince, they endeavoured to instigate the Parisians to revolt; but the inhabitants evinced no disposition to follow their advice, and they confined the display of their indignation to the shutting of their shops. In the suburb of St. Germain, indeed, the populace rose and pillaged the house of the marshal D'Ancre, but no other acts of violence were committed in the capital. In fact, the prince of Condé had lost the affection of the people by abandoning the interests of the public in the treaties of Saint-Menehould and Loudun. The French Hugonots, having the same subject of complaint against him, were no better disposed in his favour.

Mary of Medicis was fully aware of these circumstances, and spared no pains to turn them to her own advantage. The first objects of her attention were the formation of a council of war, and the adoption of proper measures for detaching the duke of Guise from a party which he had embraced without reflection: that nobleman had retired to Soissons, whither he was followed by the dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne, who exerted themselves to raise a powerful army, and to render themselves formidable to the court. Their conferences were holden at Coucy, where they were joined by the dukes of Vendôme and Longueville; but when they came to draw up a plan of operations, they soon perceived that the duke of Guise was by no means prepared to go the lengths they required. Bouillon earnestly exhorted him to attempt the liberation of the prince of Condé, and the destruction of the marshal D'Ancre; and he advised him to burn all the mills in the vicinity of the capital, as a sure means of increasing the indignation of the people against Conchini. To superinduce a compliance with his requisitions, he offered to make Guise the head of the party; but finding all his efforts to persuade the duke, who had begun to entertain serious thoughts of reconciling himself to the court, that he might have the command of the royal army, ineffectual, he proposed to the duke of Mayenne to secure his person: this proposal was certainly politic, and, if adopted, must have proved of great utility to the party; but it was instantly rejected by Mayenne, and the queen-mother did not fail to profit by the opportunity, in order to gain over the duke of Guise and all his dependents. Longueville accompanied Guise to court; but while the party was weakened by this desertion, it was strengthened, from another quarter, by the accession of the duke of Nevers, and some other nobles.

The court, still anxious to avert the horrors of civil war, sent commissioners to

⁷⁵ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 107.

Soissons to persuade the rest of the malecontents to return to their duty; but, alarmed at the removal of the prince of Condé to the Bastille, and at the declaration which the king had just caused to be registered in the parliament, containing various accusations against him, they rejected the proffered terms, proceeded to levy troops, and fixed upon Noyon as their place of general rendezvous. Having laid their plan, which was to advance to Paris, in order to see what commotions their presence would excite in the capital, they separated for the purpose of encreasing the number of their partisans. Mayenne remained at Soissons; Bouillon and Vendôme repaired, the first to Sedan, and the last to La Fere; the marquis of Cœuvres retired to Laon, of which he was governor; and the duke of Nevers endeavoured to excite a revolt in different towns, within his government of Champagne.

In order effectually to oppose the machinations of her enemies, the queen-mother determined to have three armies in motion at the same time; the first, under the command of the duke of Angoulême, was destined to attack the malecontents in Picardy; the second, under the conduct of the mareschal de Montigny, was intended for the reduction of Berri, which province had declared in favour of its governor, the prince of Condé; and the mareschal de Souvré received orders to lead the third into Touraine; but this disposition was afterwards changed. The government had no difficulty in finding troops, but the money necessary for their pay and subsistence was not so easily procured. The prodigality of the present reign had totally dissipated the savings of the last; the royal treasury was empty; and the malecontents had, in several provinces, seized the money which belonged to the king. A sufficient sum, however, for present use was raised by means of an edict published by the king, and registered by the parliament; and the people were thus obliged to bear the burdens of a war undertaken to promote the interests, and to gratify the ambition, of a few individuals. The discontents excited by this proceeding were almost general; but the insurgents, intent on the accomplishment of their schemes, and the queen-mother on the preservation of her power, were alike inattentive to the murmurs and to the sufferings of the people.

The absence of the mareschal D'Ancre from court, far from effecting a diminution, had tended to promote an augmentation of his credit and influence. On his return, he resumed the helm of government, and directed the affairs of state with unlimited sway. The chancellor Sillery had retired; Bullion, counsellor of state, was dismissed; and Dolé, intendant of the finances, was dead. The services of Villeroi and Jeannin were no better recompensed than the integrity of Du Vair: they were all objects of suspicion to the favourite, who was resolved to suffer none to remain in power but such as were wholly devoted to his will. Thus the bishop of Luçon, Mangot and Barbin, who paid him the most implicit obedience, had the whole management of affairs, which they regulated according to his directions, and those of his wife.

The duke of Epernon, during these transactions, had retired to his governments of Saintonge and Angoumois, where he endeavoured to form a third party in the state, with a view to effect the ruin of the marshal D'Ancre. He could not enter into a connection with the discontented nobles, since they were most of them his enemies; he, therefore, cast his eyes on the duke of Montmorenci, and the marshal Lesdiguières. As he wanted a pretext for raising troops, he profited by the conduct of the Rochellers, who, dreading the effects of a civil war, had, for the security of their city, made themselves masters of the castle of Rochefort. Under a pretence of repelling the dangerous attempts of a Protestant town, which the court had always considered as ripe for sedition and prompt to revolt, he levied, with great expedition, four thousand infantry, and six hundred horse, and, having secured the castle of Surgeres, he stationed his little army in the country of Aunis, where it lived at discretion. This unexpected movement threw the court into great consternation, as they were fearful all the Hugonots would be induced to take up arms, and fly to the assistance of Rochelle. In order to avert this danger, the most positive assurances were given to the Rochellers that the duke's conduct was wholly disapproved by the king; and the most positive orders were sent to that nobleman to desist from his enterprize, and disband his troops. Epernon was obliged to comply; but in a letter which he wrote to the king he made a merit of his obedience, and represented the marquis D'Ancre as a tyrant who oppressed the people, and infringed on the authority of his sovereign.

The enemies of that favourite daily increased, and their malignity seemed to augment in proportion to their numbers. The cardinal of Guise had lately formed an intimacy with Luines, for the purpose of accelerating the destruction of Conchini; and he gave the king to understand, that the discontented nobles would hasten with joy to pay their court to his majesty, were they assured that they would no longer be exposed to the insults of an arrogant and imperious foreigner, to whom the queen-mother wished to transfer the whole power of the crown. Lewis had never been attached to Conchini, and since the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, his aversion from him had greatly increased: he was moreover displeased at being kept by his mother in a state of subjection, and had formed a resolution to assert his authority, and retire to Compiègne. He told Luines, that he wished the disinterested nobles would remain firmly united, and never consent to a reconciliation with the favourite whom he hated.

A. D. 1617.] The duke of Bouillon and his associates continued their preparations for war, and determined to open the campaign with spirit and vigour: but the queen-mother, apprized of his intentions, by a letter which he wrote to the king, lined the frontiers with troops, and prepared to take the field as soon as the season would permit⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 114.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, she caused a declaration to be published, and registered in the parliament, in which all the noblemen who had taken up arms were represented as rebels and traitors. The count of Auvergne, with an army of fourteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commenced hostilities by the reduction of Senonches in Tivernais, which surrendered at discretion, on the twenty-sixth of January. He then took the castle of La Ferté, belonging to the vidame of Chartres, and extending his march to Nogent-le-Rotrou, reduced that town, threw a garrison into La Ferté-Bernard, and entered Mans on the eighth of February.

Some troops, under the marquis of Cœuvres, having made incursions into Champagne, the king sent orders to the duke of Guise to oppose them, with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse. At the beginning of March, the duke took and demolished the castle of Richecourt upon the Aine; after which exploit, he proceeded to Rozois in Thierrache: the garrison, at his approach, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, which he invested in form. While he was engaged in this siege, the dukes of Vendôme and Mayenne, with the marquis de Cœuvres, assembled their troops, with a view of relieving the place; but the duke having dispatched the advanced guard of his army to attack them, they gave up their design, and retired with precipitation. The castle surrendered the next day, and Château-Porcien experienced a similar fate, notwithstanding a reinforcement of troops which the duke of Nevers had contrived to throw into the town.

After some other military achievements of little importance, the duke of Guise was sent to oppose the entrance of the German auxiliaries into the kingdom, who were preparing to join the malecontents. Meanwhile the marshal de Montigny had orders to lay siege to Nevers, where the dukes of Nevers had contrived to assemble a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, and evinced a resolution to defend the place to the last extremity. The marquises of Villars, Thiange, Bessé, Château-Renault, and Berri; the viscount of Aunay; the barons of Aiguilly and la Riviere, with a great number of private gentlemen, hastened to join the dukes, in order to second her efforts, and command her troops.

With fourteen thousand foot, three hundred horse, and a small train of artillery, the count of Auvergne entered the province of Picardy, and reduced the strong castle of Pierre-Fons, situated on an eminence of difficult access, near the forest of Compiègne. He thence marched to Soissons, and having received the necessary ammunition and cannon from Paris, laid siege to the city of Soissons, which was defended by the duke of Mayenne with a garrison of fifteen hundred foot, and three thousand horse. Notwithstanding two successful sallies, in which the royalists sustained some loss, the siege was pressed with vigour by the count; the walls of Soissons could not long have resisted his ardour, and he had given the signal for a general assault, when the duke of Mayenne

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was preserved from the destruction with which he was threatened, by an event as unexpected as it was decisive.

The ambition of Luines, the new favourite of Lewis, had increased in proportion to the confidence which his sovereign reposed in him, and he considered the marshal D'Ancre not merely as a formidable competitor, but as an insuperable bar to his advancement. He had also another motive for enmity, besides the powerful one of interest; for the marshal had rejected with disdain his offer of alliance, by uniting his brother to the niece of Conchini.

In the unguarded hours of social intercourse, Luines impressed his youthful sovereign with a lively dread of the dangerous designs of the aspiring Florentine, on whose destruction he had now finally determined: he represented to him, that his father, Henry the Fourth, had ever regarded, with peculiar aversion, the influence of the marshal and his wife, Leonora, over the mind of the queen: that he had only been prevented, by the tears of his consort, from compelling them to repass the Alps; that the evils which he had foreseen from their ascendancy over that princess were now realised; the first prince of the blood was imprisoned; the principal nobility were banished from court; and the kingdom was plunged into the calamities of civil war, to satiate the revenge, or to soothe the arrogance of a supercilious foreigner: that while this insolent minion disposed at his pleasure of every employment of trust and importance, the sovereign himself was little better than a captive to the queen and the marshal; and the avowed preference and attachment of the former to his younger brother, Gaston, duke of Orleans, ought to inspire him with sentiments of prudent distrust.

The impressions made by these suggestions on the youthful mind of Lewis, already distinguished by that jealousy of the royal authority which so strongly marked his conduct through life, were artfully strengthened by an intimation that on the death of Conchini the preservation of his own life materially depended. In short, the most insidious and treacherous measures were adopted in order to extort from the king a consent to a deed which tended to load his memory with indelible disgrace²⁷. After much hesitation and delay, the fatal mandate of destruction was given; and the revengeful favourite, actuated by the most base and unworthy motives, prepared for its execution with alacrity proportioned to his joy. Having summoned to his aid his own brother, Cadenet, Luines fixed on Vitri, the captain of the guard, as the instrument of his vengeance; and that officer associated in the enterprize his brother, du Hallier; his brother-in-law, Persan, and a few more friends, on whose courage and fidelity he could rely.

²⁷ Relation de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre, à la fin de l'Histoire des Favoris—Mémoires de Déageant—
Le Vallor.

The marechal D'Ancre was in Normandy at the time that the resolution to assassinate him was taken. His wife had sent for him in great haste, at the instigation of the queen, who, convinced of the necessity of the measure by the arguments of the bishop of Carcassonne, and some other persons, had at length persuaded Leonora to retire to Italy⁷⁸. Pleased that his wife had consented to a measure which she had repeatedly rejected when proposed by himself, Conchini returned to Paris, in order to make the necessary preparations for his departure, and to take such steps as would enable him to quit the kingdom with honour to himself. But his enemies were too much interested in his destruction to let him escape so easily: his sudden return to the capital was represented to the king as the consequence of some new plan for the invasion of his authority; and Luines gave him to understand, that if he did not effectually prevent the accomplishment of Conchini's fatal designs, he would lose not only his power but his life.

At this critical conjuncture the bishop of Luçon took a step which reflects no great honour on his memory. His penetration enabled him to foresee that some great revolution in the court of France was near at hand; as he had attached himself to the marechal D'Ancre, in the hope of rising above that patron, whose creature he now was, he was anxious to avoid being involved in his ruin. But as he could not possibly expect to keep his place of secretary of state, or even to retain his seat in the council, without the concurrence and protection of Luines, who, after the death of Conchini, would infallibly have the disposal of all offices of trust or emolument, he commissioned his brother-in-law, Pontcoulrai, to make a tender of his services to the new favourite, and to obtain for him an audience of the king. "The bishop of Luçon"—said Pontcoulrai to Luines—"accepted the office of secretary of state, with a determination to serve the king in preference to all other persons. He sees, with extreme concern, that affairs are not carried on in a manner pleasing and satisfactory to his majesty. His father, M. de Richelieu, served the predecessors of the present king with zeal and fidelity; and if his majesty will accept the services of the bishop of Luçon, and receive him as one of his ministers, you, sir, shall be faithfully apprized of all the resolutions that may be taken in the secret council of the queen-mother⁷⁹." Déageant afterwards procured an interview for Richelieu with the king and his favourite, at which that prelate confirmed and renewed the protestations which had been made in his name, and promised to give intelligence of all the most secret designs of Mary and Conchini. Lewis having been previously instructed by Luines, gave the bishop reason to expect that he should be continued in the enjoyment of his post.

Confident of success, Luines made no secret of his intentions; and the queen-mother

⁷⁸ Mémoires de Déageant, pages 58, 59, 60.

⁷⁹ Mémoires de Déageant, p. 48—*Rélation de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre—Lumieres pour l'Histoire de France dans les Defenses de la Reine Mere.*

and Conchini himself were apprized, by different persons, of the danger that awaited them. But they relied too much on the strength of their own authority to take those precautions which the occasion would have justified. A proposal, indeed, had been made to Conchini, some time before, to assassinate Luines; and six thousand pistoles were required as the reward of a service, which the person who offered to perform it considered to be of infinite importance to the marshal. But the latter, either from a contempt for his rival, or from abhorrence of the crime, rejected the offer with disdain⁸⁰. Luines himself was less scrupulous and delicate, and, having concerted his plans, he resolved to put them in execution without farther delay.

On Monday, the twenty-fourth of April, the marshal D'Ancre went as usual, about ten in the morning, to pay his respects to the king at the Louvre, attended by forty gentlemen, who derived their support from his liberality, and who accompanied him wherever he went. He was earnestly engaged in reading a letter, when Vitri, the captain of the guard, with his brother, Du Hallier, Persan, and several of their myrmidons, appeared. Vitri laid hold of Conchini's arm, and arrested him in the king's name: before the marshal could recover from his astonishment, three pistols were discharged at him by the assassins, and the balls all entering his body, he sunk, lifeless, on his knees, when Vitri thrust his sword through his heart, and extended him on the ground⁸¹. The captain of the guard immediately exclaimed, as if he had achieved some glorious exploit, "Long live the King!" and the servile herd that followed his steps proclaimed, by a repetition of the sounds, their sovereign an accomplice in the base act of assassination.

Thus miserably perished, by the hand of assassins, Conchino Conchini, who had risen from indigence and obscurity to a state of splendor, opulence, and power, equalled by few, and scarcely exceeded by any. His pomp, his arrogance, and unbounded ambition, procured him many powerful enemies. Those passions, which he was unable to repress, or, at least, to conceal, were the cause, or rather the pretext, of his destruction, which was eagerly sought by the courtiers, to whom his wealth and authority were objects of envy and desire. But though his vices were great, they have been greatly exaggerated; and it appears to be a matter of doubt, whether those who most censured his conduct, would have displayed greater moderation or greater virtue in a similar situation. The marshal D'Estrees, who was long in habits of intimacy with Conchini, though he afterwards embraced the cause of his enemies, gives the following account of him, at the end of his *Memoirs of the Regency of Mary of Medicis*. "When I reflect"—says the noble author—"on the death of the marshal D'Ancre, I can only ascribe it to the prevalence of his evil stars. He was naturally beneficent, and had given cause for offence but to very

⁸⁰ *Mémoire reconditte di Vittorio Siri*, tom. iv. p. 47.

⁸¹ *Relation de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre—Mémoires de Déageant*, p. 64, 65—*Contin. de Mezerai*, tom. i. p. 125.—*Le Vassor*, tom. ii. liv. 10. p. 707.

“ few persons. I am at a loss to comprehend why the whole kingdom should rise against him, nor can I discover any other reason for so extraordinary a circumstance, than the unfortunate situation of affairs at court, after the death of Henry the Fourth. The marshal had an agreeable person, and was deeply skilled in all martial exercises: he loved pleasure, and was particularly addicted to gaming: his conversation was mild and easy: his ideas were lofty and ambitious, though on certain occasions he endeavoured to conceal them; and he affected never to enter the council chamber. Lewis the Thirteenth has been often heard to say that he never could conceive what reason there was for killing the marshal D'Ancre.” Lewis, when arrived at years of discretion, must certainly have condemned the measure; but it is no less certain that, at the time, he sanctioned it by his countenance and approbation.

The appearance of Lewis, at a window which overlooked the bloody scene, had repressed the ineffectual zeal of D'Ancre's adherents. His infant son, the marquis de Pene, and his wife, the unfortunate Leonora, were immediately secured. The body of Conchini, stripped of every thing that was valuable, was carried to a room next the guard-house, whence it was conveyed at night to the neighbouring church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. The priest began to read the usual service for the dead, but the attendants interfered, and forbade him to pay any respect to “ a wretch who did not deserve that prayers should be offered to God in his behalf.” The populace, having learned the place of his interment, went the next day, during the celebration of divine service, and took the body out of the grave. They suspended it for some time at the door of Barbin, Conchini's friend; who lived close by, and compelled that minister to behold, from the window, the corpse of his patron. It was then dragged, with every mark of indignity, to the Pont-Neuf, where it was suspended by the feet to a gallows already prepared. While it remained in that situation, the populace plucked out the eyes, and cut off the nose, ears, head, arms, and the distinctive marks of the sex, which they divided among them. They then separated into troops, each of which dragged through the streets some part of the body of the murdered favourite. One man, decently dressed, opened the belly, and having dipped his hand in the blood, licked it with his tongue. Another tore out his heart, and broiling it on the fire, eat it with vinegar. The mutilated trunk was exhibited at the Grève, at the Bastille, before the prince of Condé's mansion, and before the late residence of the unfortunate marshal himself. As soon as the populace had satiated their savage fury, and proved themselves the worthy descendants of the murderers of the *Armagnacs*, and of the heroes of *Saint Bartholomew*, they burnt one part of the body on the Pont-Neuf, and the other on the Grève: Some of them collected the ashes, and sold them by the ounce: while the man who performed the part of the executioner held out his hat, and claimed a reward from the passengers “ *for having hanged the marshal*”⁸².

⁸² Le Vaffor, tom. ii. liv. 10. p. 745, 746.

But the death of his competitor was not sufficient for the reigning favourite, who aimed at the possession of his wealth, which could not be acquired without the observance of certain forms. Unfortunately, he found the parliament obsequious to his will: without the smallest proof of any crime having been committed, they pronounced Conchini a traitor, declared his estates to be confiscated, and his only son to be degraded from his rank, as a nobleman, and incapable of possessing any office or dignity in France²³. To complete this iniquitous business, a judicial process was commenced against the widow; her property was taken from her; and she was condemned to expiate with her life an imaginary crime, invented by the malice or ignorance of her enemies. She was accused, and pronounced guilty of having gained the affections of the queen-mother by magical arts. She was burned on the Place de Gêve; and the constancy she displayed in her last moments extorted the admiration of those enemies whose rage her innocence proved inadequate to disarm. They contrasted her conduct, in the hour of death, with that of the marshal Biron, and observed, "That Biron had died like a woman, and Galigai like a man"²⁴.

The destruction of her favourites was followed by the disgrace of the queen-mother herself; she was divested of her guards, and the ensigns of royalty; denied an interview with her son, and exposed to the insults of his officers. Finding all her efforts for the recovery of her former ascendancy vain and ineffectual, she, at length, withdrew from court, and retired to Blois. Immediately after her departure, all the old ministers who had been dismissed by the marshal D'Ancre, were recalled; and those whom he had protected were deprived of their places. The seals were restored to Du Vair: the bishop of Luçon, notwithstanding the king's promise, lost his office of secretary of state; and Barbin, the friend of Conchini, and patronized by the queen-mother, was arrested. The power which had been enjoyed by D'Ancre was transferred to Luines; the dignity of marshal was conferred on Vitri; and his brother, Du Hallier, was raised to the vacant post of captain of the guards.

The void occasioned at court by the departure of Mary of Medicis, was soon filled up by the return of the discontented nobles; who, the moment they were apprized of the death of the marshal D'Ancre, ceased all hostilities, and sent a person to the king to request his permission to pay their respects to him. This was easily granted; and Lewis, highly pleased at this happy termination of a revolt which began to wear a threatening aspect, received them with the utmost cordiality.

The party hoped and expected that the prince of Condé would now be restored to liberty; but he derived no other advantage from the death of the marshal, and the dis-

²³ Relation de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre.

²⁴ Le Vassor.

grace of the queen-mother, than a relaxation of the rigours of imprisonment, and a permission for his wife to become the partner of his captivity: the king, indeed, amused him with fair promises and specious professions; but after he had passed four months in the Bastille, his liberation not coinciding with the interest of Luines, he was, at the instigation of that favourite, transferred to the castle of Vincennes.

Luines had, by this time, acquired an absolute ascendancy over the mind of Lewis, whose attention he was studious to divert from business by engaging him, alternately, in private amusements and acts of devotion. He suffered no one to approach his person, much less to have any private conversation with him, without his permission. Although this favourite had but little support from the people, and still less experience in matters of state, he nevertheless undertook to direct the helm of government, and, having enriched himself with the spoils of Conchini, put himself in a condition to enforce respect from the first nobles in the realm. The envy he excited was great, and the raillery he endured still greater, but he gave himself no uneasiness on that account, being perfectly willing that people should be allowed to talk, so long as they would suffer him to act. He endeavoured to strengthen his influence by contracting a marriage with a daughter of the duke of Montbazon, of the house of Rohan, afterwards so well known by the title of duchess of Chevreuse.

During these transactions, an assembly of the clergy met at Paris, and demanded the re-establishment of the Roman-Catholic religion, with a restitution of ecclesiastical property, in the principality of Bearn. The court was at Fontainebleau; and the propriety of granting the requests of the clergy became a subject of debate in the council. The late king, incessantly importuned by the pope, had given some hopes that he would grant what was now asked of his son. Yet that wise monarch was prevented from realizing these hopes, by the remonstrances of his mother, Joan of Albret, a prudent and enlightened princess, who reminded him that the Bearnois were governed by their customary laws, by one of which it was enacted, that the prince could not by his own authority change any thing which had been established by the assembly of the states of the country: the Roman religion, therefore, having been abolished, and the property of the church seized, in virtue of a solemn act passed by the states themselves, Henry the Fourth did not think proper to do what was forbidden by the laws of his principality of Bearn, with which he was well acquainted, and which he had ever religiously observed. These considerations, however, had no weight with the council of his son, who, deceived by interested ministers, and particularly by du Vair, keeper of the seals, who was anxious to insinuate himself into the good graces of the pope, in the hope of obtaining a cardinal's hat, published an arrêt subversive of the laws; and destructive of the liberties of Bearn. This edict was the origin of all the calamities experienced by the Protestants during the present reign.

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The people had not forgotten the promise they had received that the disorders which prevailed in the government should be effectually remedied. Luines amused them with hopes; but when some of the members of the council ventured to propose a new assembly of the states-general, he professed his determined opposition to such a measure; and could with difficulty be persuaded to consent that an assembly of nobles should be convened at Rouen on the twenty-fourth of November. The king, at the appointed day, appeared in the capital of Normandy, but the time that should have been devoted to the redress of grievances was consumed in frivolous disputes about rank and precedence. Not a measure was adopted that could in the smallest degree answer the purpose for which they were convened; no edict tending to promote the relief of the people was passed; no salutary regulation enforced; and after the assembly had sat a month without coming to any resolution, the favourite, under pretence that the king was indisposed, dissolved it, on the twenty-sixth of December, and conducted his majesty back to the capital.

While the destructive flames of civil commotion had preyed upon the vitals of France, the duke of Savoy was exposed to the formidable arms and restless ambition of Spain. The marshal duke de Lesdiguières flew to the succour of that prince whom he had formerly attacked with equal ardour. Neither the commands of the queen-mother nor the splendid offers of Spain, could restrain him from the enterprize in which the glory and interest of his country were deeply concerned. The late revolution suspended his operations for a moment, but on the destruction of the marshal d'Ancre he resumed them with the sanction of the royal authority. In successive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined the fire of youth to the experience of age; and at the instant that he prepared to carry his victorious arms into Milan, and render Italy once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was stopped by the intelligence of a peace, which Spain, baffled in her efforts, and humbled in her pride, had condescended to propose, and which the exhausted coffers of the duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

A. D. 1618.] It was expected that the king, on his return to the capital, would give his people that satisfaction which they had failed to obtain from the assembly of the notables at Rouen. But the only effort that was made to appease them, was the publication of two arrêts of the council, which had no other effect than that of alarming the magistrates, and giving offence to the university of Paris. By the first, which was dated the sixteenth of January, the abolition of the *droit annuel* was irrevocably pronounced; but the king unwilling to sustain the diminution it occasioned in the revenue, revoked the arrêt, in a very short time. By the second, dated the fifteenth of February, the Jesuits were permitted to teach the sciences in the different universities. This regulation was strongly opposed by the university of Paris, as an infringement on its rights and privileges; but the opposition proving ineffectual, and the Jesuits having
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procured an establishment in the college, afterwards known by the name of the college of Lewis the Great, the university was obliged to be contented with enacting that all such as received instruction from the Jesuits should be incapacitated from taking any degree at Paris⁸⁵.

Meanwhile the queen-mother was kept in a state of captivity at Blois, where she was even debarred the privilege of walking without the walls of the city, in the environs whereof several troops of horse were stationed, to watch her motions, and prevent her escape. Notwithstanding the difficulty of eluding the vigilance of her guards, she was persuaded, by the arguments of the duke of Bouillon, to make the experiment; but it was first necessary to secure a party in her favour, and to engage in her interest some nobleman of great influence and spirit. The duke of Epemon seemed the most proper person for the occasion; and the disgust he had lately conceived against Luines, who had opposed the promotion of his son, the archbishop of Toulouse, to the rank of cardinal⁸⁶, induced him to lend a favourable ear to the applications of Mary. After much negotiation, the plan was settled for facilitating the evasion of the queen-mother, conducting her to Loches, and from thence to Angoulême, or some other place in the government of Saintonge⁸⁷.

During this time the king and his favourite were thrown into the greatest consternation by the resolute conduct of the Bearnois, who had come to a solemn determination to sacrifice their lives to the preservation of their laws and customs. They positively rejected the edict granted for the restitution of ecclesiastical property; and their opposition gave rise to some serious debates in the council. The most judicious members proposed a revocation of the edict, assigning as the motive of such proposal the rational grounds for apprehending that the French Hugonots would be led to espouse the cause of their brethren in Bearn, from a conviction that the attempt to subvert their privileges was only intended to facilitate the abolition of the edicts of pacification. But these suggestions were deemed too moderate for adoption in a transaction in which the authority of the king had been incautiously committed; the remonstrances of the Bearnois were, from the same erroneous motives, treated with contempt; and a commissioner was dispatched to Bearn to enforce the execution of this unjust and impolitic edict.

The sovereign council of the province still persisted in their opposition, and came to a resolution, importing that the edict in question had been surreptitiously obtained, and declaring that it was contrary to the established laws and customs of Bearn. Undismayed by a second order from the king, more positive and peremptory than the first,

⁸⁵ Contin. de Mazerai, tom. i. p. 135.

⁸⁶ Vie du Duc D'Epemon, liv. 7.—Mémoires de Rohan, liv. 1.

⁸⁷ Contin. de Mazerai, tom. i. p. 138.

they refused to suffer the execution of the arrêt, and appointed a deputation to wait on his majesty, to beseech him to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of his Protestant subjects, in conformity to the edicts granted by the kings, his predecessors, as well as to those which had been published by himself. They then convened a general assembly of all the churches, as the only means of stopping the violent proceedings of the court, who now began to be afraid that this affair would excite in France as great commotions as prevailed between the Protestants and Catholics in the kingdom of Bohemia.

The intrigues of the queen-mother had not been conducted with such secrecy as totally to escape the observation of the court. It was known that a reconciliation had taken place between the dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, who had long been considered as irreconcilable enemies; that they both maintained a correspondence with Mary of Medicis; and that the latter, who had quitted the court in disgust, and retired to Metz, had introduced fresh troops into that city, under pretence of putting it into a proper state of defence. These circumstances were sufficient to arouse the jealousy, and awaken the apprehensions of Luines, who increased his exertions for conciliating the affections of the nobility, by a judicious distribution of honours and rewards. The duke of Mayenne was gratified with the government of Guienne, wrested from the prince of Condé; the marshal Ornano was appointed to that of Normandy; and Luines reserved to himself the Isle of France, the situation of which allowed him to exercise the duties of a governor, without neglecting those of a minister.

But all the precautions he could adopt were insufficient, to dispel the fears of the favourite, who dreaded the returning influence of the queen-mother. These apprehensions the duke of Rohan, who was sincerely attached to Mary, undertook to remove: at an interview he had with Luines, he gave him to understand that it would be more to his interest to be reconciled to the queen-mother, than to the prince of Condé, both of whom, he maintained, must sooner or later, return to court: he represented to him, that though the prince had been thrown into prison before he had the management of affairs, and that therefore he could not be considered as the author of his sufferings, it was still to be dreaded that his highness would stand more in the way of his elevation, than Mary. That whatever precaution might be taken to prevent the evasion of this princess, it was still possible she might escape, and find means to bring about a reconciliation with her son: and that even should he promote Mary's return to court, there would ever subsist a certain jealousy and mistrust between the mother and son, by which Luines might profit.

The favourite seemed to acknowledge the validity of these reasons, and secretly authorized the duke of Rohan to effect an accommodation with the queen-mother; but the matter becoming public, the king was apprized of it, and Luines was reduced to the necessity

necessity of changing the plan of his proceedings. Arnoux, a Jesuit, was sent to Blois, in order to persuade Mary, *by an appeal to her conscience*, to submit patiently to the restraints it had been found necessary to impose on her for the present, and not, by any attempt to escape, frustrate the favourable intentions of the king, who would doubtless, ere long, permit her to return to court. He exerted his utmost efforts to persuade her that the misunderstanding that prevailed between her and her son would immediately cease, if she would only convince that prince that she had never entertained any thoughts hostile to his power, and that she had no intention of forming any party in the kingdom, nor of quitting Blois, without his permission. “Madam”—said the artful Jesuit—“give me some proof, to convince the king that such is your disposition; and I’ll answer for it you will obtain from his majesty whatever you please⁸⁸.” The queen-mother, who earnestly desired to return to court, complied with his request, and the Jesuit immediately drew up a deed, by which Mary of Medicis engaged to swear before God and the Holy Angels “never in future to harbour any thought or desire, hostile to the prosperity of the king’s affairs; to pay him, during her whole life, the duty and obedience which she owed to his majesty, as her sovereign lord, giving up her will in every thing to his: to maintain no correspondence, either within or without the kingdom, which could, in any way, be prejudicial to his service: to disavow all persons, of whatever quality or condition, who should make use of her name to carry on practices or intrigues contrary to the will of the king: to apprise him without delay of any overtures that might be made to her for such purposes, and of the names of the persons who should make them: to inform against all persons whom she knew to be disaffected to his majesty; and to express no desire to return to court, until it should please the king to give orders for that purpose.”

When this deed was carried to court, Luines exhibited the most extravagant symptoms of joy. Flattering himself that the oath which Mary had taken not to leave Blois without the king’s permission would deter her from taking any farther means for effecting her evasion, he resigned himself to a dangerous security: but the queen-mother, perceiving that no measures were adopted for accelerating her return, and that not one of the promises which had been made her was observed, determined to profit by the inactivity of the favourite. At the persuasion of her confessor, who released her from the apprehensions she entertained of the consequences of violating her oath, she resolved to effect her escape as soon as possible. She was guarded with less vigilance since her negotiation with the Jesuit; and a letter which he had brought her from Lewis, containing a permission to visit any part of the kingdom, served to facilitate the accomplishment of the plan she had before settled, and contributed not a little to bring over many of the nobility to her interests⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ Mémoire recueillie di Vittorio Siri, tom. iv. p. 558, 559—Vie du Duc d’Epernon liv. vii. Mezerai, tom. i. p. 156, 157.

⁸⁹ Contin. de

A. D. 1619.] The duke of Epemon had taken all his measures with the Abbé Rucellai, the queen-mother's agent, for restoring that princess to liberty. He had, at first, resolved to send his son the archbishop of Toulouse to receive Mary of Medicis, in the vicinity of Blois, while he himself should pass the river Loire, the same day, and advance towards Loches to meet them. But on reflection he deemed it expedient, in an enterprize so difficult and perilous, to attend himself, that he might be ready to give such orders as circumstances might require, and to supply an immediate remedy to any unforeseen accidents that might occur; he therefore resolved to repair to Loches in person, there to receive the queen-mother, and conduct her to Angoulême⁹⁰. The court were wholly unacquainted with this intrigue; and the indolence and inattention which Luines displayed on the occasion proved him totally unfit for the station he occupied. But one of Rucellai's servants who was sent with a letter for the queen-mother from the duke of Epemon, to apprise her of the day on which the duke intended to leave Metz, conceiving the packet he was charged with to be of great importance, went straight to Paris, and offered to disclose to one of the favourite's attendants a secret of consequence, on condition of receiving an adequate reward. Luines, neglecting the intelligence, made the servant wait two or three days before he admitted him to an audience. In the mean time, Du Buiffon, a counsellor of the parliament, who was attached to the queen-mother, being apprized of the circumstance, found out the servant, and took the letter from him. Thus the favourite, by his indolence, lost the opportunity of discovering an intrigue which it only depended on himself to disconcert.

The duke of Epemon left Metz, at the head of a hundred horse, or according to some writers of *four* hundred, and hastened to the appointed spot. But the queen-mother, through the treachery of Rucellai's servant, had received no intelligence of his motions or designs, for the magistrate into whose hands the duke's letter had fallen, had not given himself the trouble to forward it to her. In this state of uncertainty Mary began to apprehend that she was forsaken by the whole world; fortunately, Du Pleffis, the duke's confidant, arrived very opportunely at Blois to extricate her from the embarrassment in which she was involved. All her apprehensions vanished on hearing that the duke was waiting for her at Loches, and, in the night of the twenty-first of February, she descended from a window, by means of a ladder of ropes, and accompanied by the count of Breune, du Pleffis, and three or four other persons, took the road to Montrichard, where she was met by the Abbé Rucellai, and the archbishop of Toulouse, who conducted her to Loches, with all possible expedition. The duke of Epemon gave her the meeting, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse; and, after waiting two days at Loches for her retinue, she retired to Angoulême, where se-

⁹⁰ Vie du Duc D'Epemon, liv. 7.—Relation du Cardinal de la Valette.

veral persons who were disgusted with the conduct of the reigning favourite went to make her a tender of their services.

The court meanwhile were fully occupied with the amusements of the carnival; and the rejoicings consequent on the marriages of Mademoiselle de Vendôme (natural daughter to Henry the Fourth) with the duke of Elbeuf, elder son of a younger branch of the house of Guise; and of Christina, second sister to the king, with Victor Amadeus, prince of Piedmont. Satiated with the tumultuous diversions of the capital, Lewis had retired to Saint-Germain en Laye, in search of repose: but he had scarcely arrived there when he received intelligence of his mother's evasion. This news gave the greatest uneasiness to the favourite, and the courtiers beheld, with malignant pleasure, the embarrassment into which he was thrown merely by his own neglect. Convinced that Mary of Medicis and her partisans were bent on his destruction, he proposed an immediate commencement of hostilities, and suggested the propriety of placing the king at the head of a powerful army in order to wage war against his mother. But this violent measure being strenuously opposed by all the old ministers, it was at length resolved to have recourse to the arts of negotiation.

The count of Bethune was therefore dispatched to Mary, to treat with her on the part of Lewis the Thirteenth. At his first interview the count was convinced that she never would be persuaded to abandon the duke of Epemon. The favourite wished to bring that nobleman to trial on an accusation of having carried off the queen-mother, but the duke had taken the precaution to obtain the king's letter to his mother, by which he gave her permission to visit any part of the country, whenever she might deem such an excursion necessary for her health. He had also procured a letter from Mary herself, written, indeed, after, but dated before, her evasion, in which she begged his assistance in effecting her escape, entreating that he would receive her at Loches, and accompany her to Augoulême. Thus any accusation preferred against the Duke of Epemon for carrying off the queen-mother must necessarily fall to the ground. That princess refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, so long as the count of Bethune persisted in requiring her to give up a man whom she considered as her deliverer. The archbishop of Sens (brother to the cardinal du Perron, who had died the year before) was sent as a coadjutor to the count, in the hope that, by acting in concert, they would the sooner prevail on Mary to yield to the will of her son; but the months of March and April were consumed in fruitless negotiations, and the eloquence of the prelate proved equally inefficacious with that of the count.

Luines still continued to press the king to proceed to extremities, and a formidable military force was ordered to chastise the temerity of the duke of Epemon, who beheld himself disappointed by the supine indifference of the nobles, from which no exhortations either of his own or his royal ally could arouse them. The duke was sensible that alone and unsupported he must soon sink in the unequal conflict; yet though both

parties now wished for peace the negotiations were still slow and undecisive. To accelerate the termination of a business, which gave Lewis great uneasiness, a new negociator was employed. This was Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who from the place of his exile, sent du Pont-Courlai, his brother-in-law, to court, to offer his services to the king, and to request permission to visit Mary of Medicis. Some writers affirm, that the prelate addressed himself to Luines, who was very glad to employ a man whom he knew to have great influence over the queen-mother; others say, that he applied to Déageant, who anxious to secure the support of Mary, secretly proposed the business to the king, who did not even impart it to his favourite²¹. Be that as it may, Richelieu obtained a passport from Lewis, together with a letter for Mary, at the bottom of which the king wrote these words with his own hand—"I beseech you to give credit to all that's written above; to consider it as expressive of my will, and to believe that you cannot do me a greater pleasure than by conforming to it." The bishop had no sooner received the necessary instructions than he hastened to Augoulême, where he experienced a most gracious reception from Mary, who considered him as the most faithful of her servants; and his arguments operated so powerfully on her mind that in a few days he greatly weakened her confidence in the duke of Epemon and the archbishop of Toulouse. His influence also proved sufficient to procure the dismissal of the Abbé Rucellai, and to render the marquis of Themines and Mosny suspected by the queen-mother, who had hitherto placed considerable confidence in them; so that he remained the only person whose opinion she consulted, and to whom she opened her mind on affairs of the greatest importance. By this means the bishop preserved, at once, the favour of the court, and that of Mary, so that he was sure to profit by the accommodation, in whatsoever manner it should be terminated.

Those articles were easily settled which related to the liberty of Mary of Medicis; the re-establishment of the duke of Epemon and the other nobles of the party; the payment of the debts contracted by the queen-mother, since her evasion from Blois, and the security of her revenue. But there was one other article which occasioned great difficulty. Mary was willing to resign her pretensions to the government of Normandy, and to take in lieu of it that of Anjou, which, indeed, suited her convenience better; since it would place her in the vicinity of those provinces, of which the dukes of Rohan, Epemon, Mayenne, and Vendôme were governors. It was not probable that those noblemen would long submit with patience to the excessive influence and authority enjoyed by Luines and his brother; and Mary relied on their assistance in case she should be driven to extremities by the insolence of the favourite. But as she wished to secure a safe passage over the Loire; she required that the town and castle of Amboise, or the town

²¹ Mémoires de Déageant, pag. 208, 209—Lumières pour L'Histoire de France—Mémoire reconduite di Vittorio Siri, tom. i. p. 623, 624,

and castle of Nantes, should be ceded to her; and the king would only consent to put her in possession of Pont de Cé. At length all difficulties were removed, and it was agreed that the king should cede to his mother, besides the government of Anjou, the town and castle of Angers, Pont de Cé, and the town and castle of Chinon in Touraine. He engaged to pay four hundred men to guard these fortresses, besides a company of gend'armes, another of light-horse, and the queen-mother's usual guards.

The article which concerned the duke of Epemon also gave rise to great difficulties. The king wished to have it mentioned in his declaration, that he pardoned that nobleman, and restored him to the possession of every thing he enjoyed before the queen's evasion from Blois. But the duke positively refused to admit the insertion of the word *pardon*; far from considering himself in the light of a criminal suing for mercy, he insisted that the king should formally declare that in serving the queen-mother he had served his majesty. It thus became necessary to concert with the duke the expressions that should be employed; and the following were, after much altercation, agreed on: "The king promises to treat in the same manner as his other subjects, the duke of Epemon, his children, and all those who have served the queen-mother." And, in the declaration which was registered in the parliament, the king said, that "being well informed that those who had served the queen his mother, had acted from the conviction that he would approve of their conduct; his majesty would not have such a conduct imputed to them as a crime, or become a subject of accusation against them⁹²."

The king went as far as Tours, in the hope of having an interview with his mother; but the bishop of Luçon, perceiving no probability of obtaining his wish of being restored to his seat in the council, persuaded that princess not to venture any farther than Angers. Lewis, soon after this disappointment, sent a letter to Mary, by the duke of Montbazon, expressive of his earnest desire to maintain a good understanding with her in future, and requesting she would lay aside all suspicion and mistrust; but still she remained inflexible, which gave the court reason to ascribe her conduct to the artifices of the bishop of Luçon, who, they imagined, wished to render himself the longer necessary to the king, by retarding his entire accommodation with the queen-mother.

The ministers were confirmed in this belief by the duke of Montbazon, who, on his return from Angoulême, gave the king to understand that the difficulties which Mary of Medicis suggested as sufficient to justify her refusal to comply with the wishes of his majesty, were, in themselves, of little importance. She insisted, for instance, on the re-establishment of two captains of the guards who had followed her from Blois, and on the insertion of their names in the declaration published by the king. Although Lewis

⁹² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 168.

had made a promise to this effect, in general terms, he did not think it expedient to confide the care of his person to men who had just carried arms against him. The queen also made a difficulty of giving her son the meeting, under pretence that, instead of inviting her in an obliging manner, he assumed the tone of command: and she talked of not going to court until she had taken possession of Angers. The mistrust and artifice displayed in these frivolous objections were attributed to the bishop of Luçon. The firmness of Mary, however, prevailed, and the two captains were reinstated, although they had, without permission, followed the duke of Epemon to Metz, with the greater part of their men. It was some time before the king would consent to this; but he, at length, suffered himself to be persuaded by Luines, who wished to convince the queen-mother, that he was ready to serve her to the utmost of his power, and thereby to secure her support against the prince of Condé, who had reason to complain of being so long detained in confinement.

At length the queen-mother left Angoulême, on the twenty-ninth of August, with a retinue of five hundred persons, and repaired to Cousieres, a seat of the duke of Montbazon's, in the vicinity of Tours, where she had an interview with the king. Both mother and son exhibited the strongest marks of affection at this meeting, and all past differences appeared to be consigned to eternal oblivion. Lewis granted Mary all her demands, and received the archbishop of Toulouse, who had accompanied her on her journey, with kindness and attention. The whole court then repaired to Tours, where they staid till the end of September, when the king returned to Paris, and the queen-mother repaired to Angers.

Previous to Mary's departure, Luines, on whom the king had recently conferred the title of duke, had a private conference with her, in the hope of discovering her sentiments with regard to the release of the prince of Condé. But as she refused to enter into any explanation on the subject, and as the duke could not detain Condé any longer in prison without exciting a general murmur throughout the kingdom, he thought it would be politic to gain the friendship of the prince, by promoting his liberation. He was the more easily persuaded to adopt this resolution, as it was reported that the Protestants were about to present a remonstrance to the king, on the subject of the prince's captivity; besides, he now thought the authority of Condé would be necessary to counterbalance that of the queen-mother, on whose professions of friendship he placed but little reliance. He, therefore, went to Vincennes, about the middle of October, and delivered to the prince a letter from the king, informing him that he was at liberty: at the same time Luines made Condé an offer of his services, and asked for his protection in return, which the prince readily promised. The latter was reinstated in his government of Berri, and had all his places and pensions restored to him: he was even admitted into the privy-council, at the instigation of Luines, who seemed to pay him the greatest deference and respect. Both the prince and the duke were of opinion that Mary of Medicis
should

should be drawn to court as soon as possible, that she might be prevented from forming a fresh party in the state. But the more that princess was pressed to return, the more pretexts did she find for remaining where she was.

A. D. 1620.] That discord which had interrupted the tranquillity of France, was diffused more widely, and was productive of more fatal consequences in the several principalities of the German empire. The opposition to the house of Austria was inflamed by religious enthusiasm; the states of Bohemia having taken arms against the emperor Mathias, continued their revolt against his successor, Ferdinand the Second, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, together with the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution. The surrounding principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, and the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and each, in its turn, experienced all the horrors and calamities of civil war.

Ferdinand, bold and haughty, disdained to conciliate, by lenient measures, those disaffected spirits he aspired to chastise by arms. With the assistance of his own subjects, who professed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring Catholic princes, he beheld his armies swelled by the accession of the Protestant elector of Saxony, the swift cavalry of Poland, and the veteran infantry of Spain. To resist so formidable a confederacy, the states of Bohemia determined also to implore the protection of foreign powers, and they cast their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine, who, as son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces, might, from his own ample dominions, and the greatness of his connections, be able to defend the Protestant cause, and the liberties of Bohemia against the hostile attempts of the house of Austria.

The elector palatine, stimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the states, in the hour of distress, had been induced to offer him, and marched into Bohemia to the support of his new subjects. But his rash resolution was disapproved by James and Maurice; and the former restraining the ardour of his people, and impressed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, refused to countenance the revolted subjects of the house of Austria⁹³. The elector, defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola entering the palatinate, notwithstanding the efforts of the Protestant princes of Germany, and a regiment of two thousand four hundred English, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere⁹⁴, in a short time made himself master of the greatest part of that principality.

⁹³ Hume's History of England, vol. vi. p. 103.

⁹⁴ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 15—Kennet, p. 723.

Luxury had made such a rapid progress in France, that most of the nobility were overwhelmed with debts; the king, therefore, in order to remedy this evil, renewed the sumptuary laws enacted by his predecessors, and forbade the use of embroidered cloaths, and all superfluous embellishments of dress. The ordonnance passed for this purpose was dated the eighth of February, and registered in the parliament the sixteenth of March⁹⁵.

As the king's coffers were as empty as the purses of the nobility, it became necessary to adopt some means of re-filling them. Several *pecuniary* edicts, therefore, were framed for this purpose, and among others one by which all attornies were compelled to purchase their places. Such a regulation could not fail to produce a considerable revenue; but the ministry were afraid that great obstacles to its verification would be raised by the parliament. The event justified their apprehensions. The magistrates, conceiving the edict to be partial and oppressive, positively refused to register it, notwithstanding the most peremptory orders from the king. Enraged at their resistance, Lewis went to the parliament in person, on the eighteenth of February, attended by his brother, the duke of Anjou, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, in order to enforce, by his presence, that obedience which his mandates had failed to secure⁹⁶.

The magistrates, on this occasion, displayed that firm courage and unshaken integrity which so well became their stations. Du Vair, keeper of the seals, was the only person who deviated from that line of conduct which duty prescribed; thereby forfeiting his reputation for probity, to which he was indebted for the elevated post which he now enjoyed. In order to acquire a better title to a bishoprick which he held without performing any ecclesiastical function, Du Vair aspired to obtain a cardinal's hat; for which purpose he had devoted himself wholly to the duke of Luines. Farther to ingratiate himself with the favourite, he expatiated, with great energy, in the parliament, on the absolute power of kings, and censured, with great freedom, the resistance of the magistrates.

“ You may present one or two remonstrances, if you please,”—said Du Vair to the magistrates—“ but if the king does not chuse to attend to them, it is your duty to pay him implicit obedience. The parliaments are established for the purpose of rendering the sovereign authority of the king more supportable to the people, and not for the purpose of resisting his power. Whoever asserts the contrary, proclaims himself a fool or a rebel. As our kings, by a prudent condescension, have submitted their ordinances and their edicts to the examination of the parliament, they may deprive it of that privilege whenever they deem it expedient. Your obstinate refusal to register

⁹⁵ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 180.

⁹⁶ Gramond, *Historia Gallie*, lib. v.—*Pièces Curieuses durant le Règne du Connétable de Luines*, p. 35, 36, 37—*Mercurius François*, 1620.

“ the edict which his majesty has sent you, sets a pernicious example. Is it your wish
“ to teach the people that the king’s will may be resisted, and that the edicts derive all
“ their authority from the consent of the parliament?” Du Vair finished his speech
by threatening with the effects of the king’s indignation, all who should persist in their
refusal to obey his orders.

These threats, however, proved insufficient to restrain the honest indignation of Verdun, first president of the parliament of Paris, who convinced the world, on this occasion, that the generous sentiments of the ancient Gallic freedom were not yet extinct in the hearts of the principal magistrates. He frankly declared that the compliance of the parliament was the effect of violence. “ Sire,”—said he, with becoming firmness and gravity—“ it is with extreme regret we see you disposed, from the necessitous state of
“ your affairs, to deprive your parliament of its ancient right to take cognizance of the
“ wants of the state, and to deliberate on the edicts submitted to its examination. As
“ your refusal to submit to this law, inviolably observed by your predecessors, at every
“ period of the monarchy, is a presage of the decline and diminution of your royal authority, we shall, in future, redouble our vows for the prosperity of your reign. We
“ shall pray to God, sire, to render you sensible of the prejudice done to the majesty of the
“ sovereign by the authors of these violent councils. And since it is not in our power
“ to prevent their pernicious consequences, we shall insert in our registers, in discharge
“ of our duty to God and our king, the names and quality of those persons who have
“ advised you to disregard our just remonstrances.”

This spirited harangue was ably supported by the advocate-general, Servin, who, after establishing the incontestible right of the parliament to examine the king’s edicts, and to oppose, with becoming respect, such as to them appeared contrary to the public welfare, thus addressed his youthful sovereign :—“ Those who have advised your majesty to register this edict, notwithstanding the remonstrances of your parliament, have only shewn
“ you, Sire, the greatness of your power ; a point on which we agree with them. But
“ they ought, at the same time, to have pointed out what justice and clemency require
“ of you. It is a strange thing that these men should have neglected to represent to
“ you the misery of the people, in whose behalf we present our remonstrances ! What
“ pretence is there for augmenting the subsidies and imposts at a time when they ought
“ to be diminished ? Does your majesty wish to oblige your subjects to quit their property and their country, in order to repair to foreign kingdoms, where they may meet
“ with more tranquillity and indulgence ?” Luines, who had accompanied the king to the parliament, had the farther mortification to hear the advocate-general observe, that the persons who advised the king to impose these extraordinary taxes were anxious to profit by them.

The duke of Luines enraged with the parliament for speaking with such freedom, and still more for their reflections upon himself, persuaded the king to send for the leading members the next day, and give them a severe reprimand. When the magistrates came into the royal presence, the keeper of the seals, who had previously received his instructions from the favourite, said—"The annals of history afford not a single instance of
" magistrates having spoken to their sovereign with such boldness and temerity as you
" displayed in your speeches of yesterday. The patience with which his majesty bore it
" ought to convince you that he has more clemency and goodness than any of his predecessors. But let me remind you that the ancient magistrates never forgot themselves
" so far as you have done. The parliament has no other authority than what the king
" pleases to give it. If you once separate your interests from those of the king, your
" weakness will be exposed, and you will become objects of contempt." The first president was about to reply to this speech so replete with false maxims, fulsome adulation, and gross insolence, but he was interrupted by the keeper of the seals, and the magistrates were all compelled to retire.

The power and influence of the duke of Luines seemed daily to acquire fresh force; but the unlimited favour he enjoyed increased the murmurs of discontent among the great. The queen-mother, too, offended at a declaration made to the king, in favour of the prince of Condé, which seemed to cast a censure on those who had been instrumental to his imprisonment, and at the creation of five-and-fifty knights of the Holy Ghost, without her participation or knowledge, still persisted in her refusal to repair to court. The dukes of Nemours and Vendôme left Paris in the month of June, and hastened to Angers to join the party of the queen-mother. The favourite was apprized of the intention of the countess of Soissons to follow them, with her son, Lewis of Bourbon, and the count of Saint Aignan; but, confident of his power, he neglected the intelligence, and gave them ample time to secure their retreat. The dukes of Nevers, Rohan, and Retz likewise offered their services to Mary: the duke of Epemon once more declared in her favour; and the queen-mother, assuming the tone of independence, and stimulated by the artful and interested suggestions of Richelieu, proclaimed her resolution never to consent to any future treaty, unless guaranteed by the parliament of France, or some foreign power.

By the retreat of the principal nobility, the prince of Condé remained, almost alone, at court, where there was no one but Luines to counter-balance his authority. The king paid no attention to business; he had neither sufficient resolution to adopt any decisive measure, nor sufficient firmness to make himself respected. He wanted a minister possessed of those qualities in which he himself was defective. All the nobility who were acquainted with his weakness, aspired to the post; and it was this universal spirit of emulation which occasioned those divisions that continued to prevail in the kingdom, till such time as a minister appeared, who, by his absolute ascendancy over the mind of his

his master, found himself in a situation to destroy all those who laid claim to a participation of the supreme authority.

The queen-mother's party, at this period, appeared to be the strongest. All the maritime provinces, from Dieppe to the Garonne, were in the hands of the malecontents, who had at their disposal many places of consequence in the kingdom, and a great number of officers of approved courage and experience. The duke of Longueville was master of Normandy: Dreux, La Ferté-Bernard, Perche, and a great part of Maine acknowledged the authority of the count of Soissons: the mareschal Bois-Dauphin held Château-Gontier, and Sablé, with all the country near the banks of the rivers Sarthe and Mayenne. The duke of Vendôme commanded the course of the Loire to a considerable distance, and Angers, and Pont de Cé, both situated on that river, were holden by the queen-mother. The dukes of Trémouille and Retz were in possession of Poitou and Brittany: the duke of Rohan was governor of Saint Jean D'Angeli: the duke of Epemon commanded in Augoumois and Saintonge: and the duke of Mayenne in Bourdeaux and the province of Guienne. Many other noblemen, of the first distinction in the kingdom, who founded the most sanguine hopes of preferment on the weakness of their sovereign, held various strong fortresses, and were disposed to profit by the present dissensions. But the very circumstance which seemed to constitute the principal support of the party, proved the cause of its ruin. So many persons were engaged in it, that it was found impossible to reconcile such a contrariety of interests⁹⁷.

Nor was the cause which Mary espoused uninjured by the confidence she reposed in the bishop of Luçon: that prelate, intent on the accomplishment of his own ambitious projects, paid but little attention to the real interests of his mistress. He had strenuously opposed her return to court: he now prevented her from listening to any farther terms of accommodation; and by his insidious persuasions she was induced to reject the salutary council of the duke of Epemon, who strenuously advised an immediate junction of her troops with those of the duke of Mayenne, which, forming an army of five-and-thirty thousand men, might afford effectual protection to the queen-mother at Angers, and extort from the favourite some reasonable terms for the malecontents. Richelieu appears to have adopted the plan of promoting his own elevation by betraying his patroness, and by reducing to the discretion of the king, or, rather, of the minister, all the nobility who had declared in her favour. Actuated by this motive, he dreaded the sagacity and penetration of the dukes of Mayenne and Epemon; and resolved, if possible, to keep them at a distance from Mary: sovereign arbiters of the resolutions of her council, they would inevitably have frustrated the insidious machinations of this interested prelate. The queen-mother had engaged not to negotiate with the king without

⁹⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 185, 186.

the consent of these noblemen; whereas the object of Richelieu was to compel her to conclude a peace as soon as the favourite should promise to restore her a part of her authority at court, and to procure for him a cardinal's hat. Despairing to effect the downfall of Luines, he aimed at the acquisition of his friendship; flattering himself that, as soon as he should have attained to the dignity of cardinal, the queen-mother, intent on introducing her own dependents into the council, would assist him in supplanting the cardinal of Retz; and that the favourite, whose sagacity was not very profound, would consent to his elevation, on condition that he would unite his interests with those of Luines. Richelieu might have gained some of his ends, by supporting the measures concerted for effecting the humiliation of the duke of Luines: but his designs were so extensive, that he was fearful of rendering himself odious to the young monarch; and he thought to please Lewis by sparing his favourite. An intrigue thus intricate, by which so many persons were to be deceived, required the exertion of superior talents, and those talents of a peculiar cast: such Richelieu possessed; but though he displayed uncommon address in the management of this business, the jealousy of Luines prevented him from reaping all the promised advantages.

Luines, ever indecisive in his resolutions, and timid in his conduct, would have suffered the fair opportunity of humiliating his enemies, which now presented itself to his acceptance, to escape, but for the judicious remonstrances of the prince of Condé, who represented, in the council, the necessity of diligence and activity in crushing a faction at its birth. He was of opinion that his majesty should enter Normandy before the duke of Longueville had time to fortify himself: that after securing a province so truly important, as well from its wealth and extent, as from its vicinity to the capital, he should immediately advance against the queen-mother: that, by seizing the only pass that princess possessed on the Loire, the king would reduce her to the necessity of throwing herself upon his mercy. The prince adopted a singular mode of enforcing his advice: "It is with infinite regret"—said Condé—"that I find myself obliged to recall to your majesty's recollection a circumstance which I could wish for ever to efface from your mind. Seduced by evil advice, I withdrew from court with some others of the nobility, with the intention of taking up arms; and we must inevitably have been lost without resource, if your majesty had advanced towards the province of Champagne, unattended by any other troops than those of your household, as M. Villeroi and other members of the council proposed. The queen-mother, I confess, is more powerful than we were at that time; but she has not concerted her measures with greater prudence. Those who have declared against you are far from being united among themselves; and one bold stroke, on your part, may effectually disconcert their plans⁹⁸."

⁹⁸ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.—Vie du Duc D'Epemon, liv. viii.—Mémoire reconduite di Vittorio Siri, tom. v. page 127.

These arguments proving convincive to the favourite, he persuaded the king to follow the prince's advice.

Orders were immediately dispatched to the duke of Chevreuse, and the mareschal de Themines, to oppose the duke of Epemon in the Limousin, and the duke of Mayenne in Guienne. The count of Rochefoucaut, governor of Poitiers, was appointed to make head against the duke of Rohan in Poitou. The marquis of Courtenvaux was sent into Lorraine to watch the motions of the queen-mother: the duke of Nevers and the mareschal de Vitri were ordered to act against the marquis de la Valette, who commanded in Metz, during the absence of his father, the duke of Epemon; and to prevent the entrance of the troops, raised for the service of Mary, into Champagne. The duke of Guise was sent into Provence, with orders to cooperate with the mareschal de Lesdiguières, in case the duke of Montmorenci should declare, in Languedoc, in favour of the queen-mother. Lastly, Bassompierre, colonel-general of the Swiss, had instructions to collect the troops that were dispersed in the different towns of Champagne, and to join, with the utmost expedition, the main army which the prince of Condé was destined to command, under the king, in the capacity of lieutenant-general.

The king having taken these precautions, sent for all the magistrates of Paris; and, after declaring his intention of marching into Normandy, strongly recommended to them the preservation of the metropolis, in which he meant to leave the queen, the chancellor, and a part of the council; while the keeper of the seals, and a select number of state-counsellors, and masters of requests, were destined to accompany him. Verdun, first president of the parliament, and Servin, advocate-general, persuaded that the chief object of the war was the defence of a worthless favourite, after thanking his majesty for the confidence he placed in his parliament; and making fresh protestations of fidelity, said—"We have only to intreat you, sire, to take such measures as are most conducive to the tranquillity of the state, and the welfare of your subjects; to avert, as far as possible, the disasters of civil war, and to consider that the queen, your mother, a prince of your blood, and several officers of your crown, are involved in this calamitous business."

Lewis left Paris, on the seventh of July, accompanied by Gaston, duke of Anjou, the prince of Condé, and many of the nobility; and followed by an army, consisting of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse⁹⁹. He was received at Rouen, amidst the acclamations of the people; and the day after his arrival in the capital of Normandy, he went to the parliament, where the keeper of the seals harangued the magistrates; explaining every transaction which had occurred since Mary's retreat to Angoulême; expatiating on the king's kindness to his mother, and on the tender affection which he

⁹⁹ Histoire de Louis XIII, par Bernard, liv. 3.—*Memorie recon dite*, p. 128, 129,

still bore her. Du Vair then observed, that as the duke of Longueville had failed to comply with his majesty's orders to meet him, on his entrance into Normandy, he had deprived him of his government till such time as he should appear in his presence and justify his conduct. Several other officers, who had followed the fortunes of the duke, and retired with him to Dieppe, were dismissed at the same time.

Dieppe was so strongly fortified that the king did not even think of attacking it, but led his troops to Caen, the inhabitants of which city were greatly harassed by the attacks of an officer named Prudent, on whom the grand-prior of France had bestowed the government of the citadel. The marquis de Praslin was dispatched with the vanguard of the army, to summons the citadel to surrender; but Prudent, unseduced by promises, and unawed by threats, made a long and obstinate resistance, nor, till the king had summoned him for the third time, could he be prevailed on to give up a place which had been confided to his honour.

As the king was on his march to Caen, a letter was brought him from his mother, which he refused to open, saying he knew the contents, as well as by whom and for what purpose it was composed. This letter was drawn up in the stile of a manifesto: "The real cause of the civil war"—said Mary—"is the arrogance and temerity of the duke of Luines, which have become insupportable to every body. He distributes, at his pleasure, the first offices of the state; he promotes the elevation of the vilest dependents; in short, he has the absolute disposal of every thing. Not content with treating with contempt the first nobles of the realm, he has had the audacity to censure me in the declaration he extorted from you in favour of the prince of Condé. I am not displeased with you for having released from confinement the first prince of your blood, nor does the circumstance of his being indebted for his liberty to the duke of Luines afford me the least mortification. The duke wishes to excite the indignation of the prince of Condé against me; and that indignation might appear just, had the charge which gave rise to it any foundation in truth: but you know, and the duke of Luines is well apprized of the fact, that all the members of your council were of opinion it was necessary to arrest the prince of Condé. Why, then, should I be made responsible for a transaction, which took place by the unanimous consent of all your ministers of state?"

"I was no wife concerned"—pursued Mary—"in the flight of the princes and noblemen who have withdrawn themselves from court. Their views and mine are, probably, very different. In one thing, however, we agree: in our complaints of the conduct of the duke of Luines. Since he wishes to oppress me, as well as the rest, I am obliged to join them for our common defence. Far from fulfilling the promise you made me of prescribing limits to the fortune of Luines, you suffer him to assume an authority equal to your own. It is not just that a *new comer* should undertake to hum-
ble

“ ble the first persons in the state, in order to raise himself over their heads. I entertain
 “ for you those sentiments of affection and respect which it is my duty to entertain for
 “ my son and my sovereign. The grand object of my wishes and my prayers is, the
 “ prosperity of your reign and the welfare of your subjects. One thing alone drives
 “ me to despair. My just desires will never be accomplished so long as you shall con-
 “ tinue to resign all your authority to another. I have many things to say to you on
 “ that subject; but it is impossible to enter into an explanation, until the duke of Luines
 “ is removed from about your person¹⁰⁰.” Mary of Medicis also wrote letters to the
 different parliaments, but they were all sent by the magistrates to the king.

The reduction of the citadel of Caen proved highly detrimental to the affairs of the queen-mother. The whole province of Normandy submitted to the king, with the single exception of Dieppe, whither the duke of Longueville had retired; and even that nobleman himself wrote a respectful and submissive letter to Lewis, promising not to undertake any thing prejudicial to his service. It now became a matter of dispute in the council, whether Lewis should return to the capital, or endeavour to improve his success. The prince of Condé maintained the latter opinion; he insisted that the king should immediately march towards Alençon, take the places belonging to the count of Soissons in the province of Maine, and then proceed to the reduction of Pont de Cé, which would enable him to cut off all communication between the queen-mother and the dukes of Rohan, Epemon and Mayenne.

The cardinal de Retz, having observed that decency required the king should at least refrain from attacking Alençon, which belonged to his mother, the prince of Condé replied, that the cardinal, in his affected delicacy towards Mary, was actuated by a concern for the interests of his kinsman, the duke of Retz, who had declared in her favour. “ You are afraid”—said the prince, in presence of the king—“ that if the queen-mother’s party be once ruined, your nephew will share the fate of the other malecontents.” “ Sir,”—retorted the cardinal—“ I am the king’s servant; nor do I deny that I am
 “ also the servant of the queen-mother. But, at the same time, I know the difference
 “ between the fealty I owe the former and the respect which I am obliged to preserve
 “ for the latter. And I shall never subject myself to the reproach of having joined any
 “ party hostile to the king, nor of having been too indulgent to those who have taken up
 “ arms against him, whatever consanguinity may subsist between them and me.”—The pride and imperious manner of the prince of Condé proved highly prejudicial to his designs. The cardinal de Retz and the other confidents of the duke of Luines persuaded that minister that it was his interest to prevent the too great humiliation of the queen-mother, on whose ruin the prince of Condé, they averred, had founded his hopes

¹⁰⁰ Gramond: *Hist. Gallia*, lib. 5,

of attaining to the possession of absolute power; and they advised him to court the favour of the bishop of Luçon, who would not fail to procure for him the friendship of Mary.

The favourite seemed to relish this advice, and to make no objection to entering into a secret negociation with Richelieu, and to give that prelate fresh assurances of obtaining for him a cardinal's hat. Alike timid in certain parts of their conduct, and alike ardent in the pursuit of personal aggrandizement, a spirit of rivalry had engendered a spirit of hatred between them; yet were they led by their passions to court an union with each other: the duke being anxious to make a friend of the queen-mother, and the bishop, to attain to the dignity of cardinal¹. The latter was apprehensive that as soon as Mary should find herself incapable of resisting the arms of her son, she would throw herself upon the protection of the dukes of Mayenne and Epemon; and, in case a peace should ensue, that he should lose the reward of his services. The former was loth to stake his authority on the uncertain events of a war; convinced, that any check the king might receive would be solely imputed to him, while the prince of Condé would not fail to claim all the honour that would result from a successful termination of the contest. The only consideration which restrained the favourite from making an immediate application to Richelieu, was the dread that that prelate, after he had obtained the rank of cardinal, would aspire to the post of prime minister. But this apprehension was soon removed by his friends, who represented the importance of gaining time by an accommodation with Richelieu; and the facility of retarding his promotion, by secret intrigues at the court of Rome. The negociation, therefore, was immediately opened; the favourite engaged to procure the cardinal's hat; and the bishop promised to deliver up his mistress on the king's arrival at Pont de Cé.

Meanwhile Lewis, having received a strong re-inforcement of troops under the command of the marshal de Bassompierre, who had taken the town of Dreux on his march to join the king², published a declaration, in which the conduct of the queen-mother was ascribed to the evil advice of the malecontents; and in which the count and countess of Soissons; the duke of Vendôme and his brother, the grand-prior of France; the dukes of Mayenne, Nemours, Longueville, Rohan, Tremouille, Epemon, Retz, and Roannez; the marshal de Bois-Dauphin; the count of Candale; the marquis de la Valette; the archbishop of Toulouse; and all other persons engaged in the party of Mary of Medicis, were declared rebels and traitors, unless they should lay down their arms before the expiration of a month, and desist from all leagues and associations as well within as without the kingdom. This declaration was registered with great solemnity in the parliament, on the sixth of August.

¹ Lumières pour l'Histoire de France.

² Histoire de Louis XIII, par Bernard—Journal de Bassompierre.

Mary, greatly astonished at the perseverance of her son in his resolution of attacking her, submitted to the discussion of her council, whether it would be best for her to wait his approach with the force she had still left, consisting of eight thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and which she daily expected to be strengthened by the junction of a body of troops under the count of Soissons, and the duke of Rohan; or, leaving a strong garrison in Angers and Pont de Cé, to join the dukes of Epemon and Mayenne, who could muster an army of thirty thousand men. The great superiority of the king's forces was sufficient to shew the necessity of deciding in favour of this latter measure; but Richelieu, intent on the accomplishment of his own designs, artfully dissuaded the queen-mother from passing the Loire. "So long as you remain here, madam,"—said he—"you will be the arbiter of peace and of war; but if you throw yourself into the arms of the dukes of Mayenne and Epemon, they will give law to you, and compel you to submit to their own terms³." These insinuations had the desired effect on the mind of Mary, who was naturally imperious and fond of independence: and the bishop of Luçon was thenceforth entrusted with the absolute management of her affairs. He had taken care that Pont de Cé should be wholly unprovided with ammunition; and he had placed his own friends, relatives, and dependants, at the head of the troops. Meanwhile, the duke of Bellegarde, the archbishop of Sens, and father Berulle were sent to inform the king that his mother was willing to open a negociation with him: one obstacle, however, occurred, which at first appeared insurmountable. Lewis consented to grant favourable conditions to his mother, and to pardon the count and countess of Soissons; but he insisted that all the other malecontents should submit themselves to his mercy: whereas Mary demanded that all who had embraced her party should be included in the terms of the treaty.

It now became an object of discussion in the council, whether the king should immediately besiege the city of Angers, or first attempt the reduction of Pont de Cé; but Lewis himself, apprized of the intrigues of his favourite with the bishop of Luçon, put a stop to the debates, by declaring, that the respect he had for his mother would not permit him to lay siege to a town which she had chosen for her residence. And while the duke of Bellegarde amused Mary by proposing conditions of peace, Bassompierre and some other officers of the king's army advanced within a league of Pont de Cé. Meeting with no resistance, they continued their march; and having driven five thousand of the queen's troops from the entrenchments, they followed them into the town; which they secured without farther difficulty. The duke of Retz, who had been entrusted with the defence of the place, first retired into the citadel, but having surrendered that fortress

³ Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoires de Duc de Rohan, liv. 1.—Histoire de Louis XIII, par Beauchard liv. 3.—Lumières pour l'Histoire de France—Mémoire recueillie tom. 5.

on the first summons, he mounted his horse, and hastened to join the queen-mother at Angers⁴.

The duke of Bellegarde arrived, at this conjuncture, with the treaty of peace, which had been concluded and signed the day before; and as he complained of the conduct of Bassompierre in attacking the queen's troops, after the conclusion of the peace, he was told by the prince of Condé that he had no one to reproach but himself, since it was his duty to have made more expedition. Thrown into the utmost consternation by the unexpected defeat of her forces, Mary immediately called a council of her friends, who advised her to pass the Loire, and effect a junction with the dukes of Mayenne and Epemon; but Richelieu immediately communicated her intentions to the duke of Luines, who sent detachments of cavalry to secure all the passes, and to intercept her on the road⁵. Finding her schemes thus frustrated, she no longer thought of resistance, but resolved to submit to the will of her son. Lewis, meanwhile, had entered Pont de Cé, where he expressed his astonishment at finding all the shops open, and the whole town as quiet and tranquil as in the midst of peace: he was not aware that the people interested themselves but little in disputes which originated in his own weakness, and the object of which was to decide whether the kingdom should be governed, in his name, by his favourite, or his mother.

The king informed Mary of Medicis that she might command her own terms, with regard to what immediately concerned herself: but that it was his intention to make her partisans feel the weight of his authority. This however was but a mere threat: as the duke of Luines, fearful of encreasing the resentment of his numerous enemies, had disposed him to grant a pardon to all the principal nobility. The Abbé Rucellai, to whose opinion he paid great deference, had persuaded the favourite that if he wished to avoid the fate of Conchini, he should be studious to enlarge the circle of his friends. Lewis, therefore, granted a general amnesty to all who should lay down their arms, ere the expiration of a week; but he refused to restore the malecontents to the places which he had taken from them during the war. The treaty of Angoulême was confirmed, and the prisoners of war, at the particular request of Mary of Medicis, were released by the king. By a secret article, Lewis engaged to apply to the pope for a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Luçon, after he should have obtained that favour for the archbishop of Toulouse, who had the first promise. Thus was one of the most powerful factions ever formed in France crushed by the intrigues of Richelieu and the duke of Luines; while Mary, so far from suspecting the integrity of her minister, was the first to sue for his promotion, and to procure him a seat in the council, a distinction to which he had

⁴ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 193.

⁵ Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoire reconduite, tom. v. p. 139, 140.
—Vie du Duc D'Epemon—Lumières pour L'Histoire de France.

long aspired. Nay, so profound was the dissimulation of that prelate, that she was even led to believe that her affairs would prosper better, if her own minister was closely united to the favourite, whose destruction, but a short time before, she had eagerly sought. To promote this union a marriage was negotiated between Combalet, nephew to the duke of Luines, and Vignerod Pontcoursai, niece to the bishop of Luçon; and Mary of Medicis promised to bestow a portion on the bride, of two hundred thousand livres⁶.

The treaty of accommodation being finally concluded, the king repaired to the castle of Brissac, there to wait the arrival of his mother. The marshal de Praslin was sent to meet her on the road; and Lewis himself, accompanied by his favourite, and the prince of Condé, advanced to receive her, at some distance from the castle. The interview between the mother and son bore the strongest marks of tenderness and affection. Lewis told Mary, with a smile, that now he had her in his power, he would take care she should not escape him; to which the queen replied, that it would have been no difficult matter to retain her near his person, could she have hoped to experience the treatment which a mother had a right to expect from so good a son⁷. The prince of Condé experienced from Mary the most favourable reception, in return for which he displayed great *prodigality* in his professions of attachment and respect. Richelieu was honoured with the smiles of his sovereign, and paid his court, with obsequious solicitude, to Lewis and his favourite. After this interview, the queen-mother went to Chinon, and the king to Poitiers, under a pretence of completing the restoration of tranquillity in the province of Guienne.

As soon as Mary had come to a determination to effect a reconciliation with her son, she had apprized the dukes of Mayenne and Epemon of her intentions. The latter, on the receipt of this intelligence, immediately disbanded his troops, and expressed his satisfaction with the conduct of Mary; so that when a courier arrived with orders from the king to disarm, it was found that the duke had anticipated his majesty's commands, and assumed the tone of submission; demanding no terms, but throwing himself entirely on the mercy and goodness of his sovereign. In fact he made a virtue of necessity, and consoled himself, for the disappointment of his scheme, with the reflection, that Mary of Medicis had, the preceding year, when defended by himself alone, acquired more honour and obtained better conditions, than when engaged in an enterprize, supported by a prince of the blood, and a great number of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom⁸. The duke of Mayenne, apprehensive that the favourite would seek to irritate the mind of Lewis against him, endeavoured to persuade Epemon to form a fresh

⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 195.

⁷ Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoire recon dite, tom. v p. 140, 141.

⁸ Vie du Duc D'Epemon, liv. 8.

league for their mutual defence ; but finding that nobleman averse from the farther pursuit of hostile measures, he listened to the suggestions of his friends, and accepted the terms that were proffered him.

The restoration of tranquillity in the province of Guienne was only the pretext of the king's journey, the real object of which was the subjugation of the Bearnais, whom he meant to despoil of their privileges. To this exertion of violence he was urged by the suggestions of his favourite, stimulated by the artful and bigoted councils of the pope's nuncio, and the minister from Spain, who strenuously insisted with Luines on the wise policy of an immediate declaration of war against the Protestants. The arguments of the nuncio were strongly supported by the cardinal de Retz ; Du Vair, keeper of the seals ; Du Perron, archbishop of Sens ; the jesuit, Arnoux, confessor to the king : and Father Berulle : and Luines, vainly imagining that a war, in which he should appear as the champion of the Catholic religion, would afford him a more favourable opportunity for the gratification of his ambition, which led him to aspire to the attainment of the constable's sword, lent a favourable ear to their interested proposals.

In order, however, to deceive the Protestants, whose intentions were perfectly pacific, one of the secretaries of state received orders to write to Du Pleffis-Mornai, to inform him of the king's intention of giving complete satisfaction to his subjects of that persuasion, by placing a Protestant governor in the town of Leitoure ; and to assure him, at the same time, that the king's journey had no other object than to enforce the registration of his edict, for the restitution of ecclesiastical property in Bearn, by the sovereign council at Pau¹⁰. Du Pleffis, in his answer to the secretary of state, judiciously observed, that the king had pledged his word, to the last assembly of the Hugonots at Loudun, first to grant certain conditions to the reformed, and then to listen to the remonstrance they had drawn up on the subject of his edict for the restitution of ecclesiastical property in Bearn. The conditions alluded to by Du Pleffis, were these—to place a Protestant governor in Leitoure ; to oblige the parliament of Paris to receive two magistrates of the same persuasion ; and to leave the reformed in possession of the cautionary towns which had been ceded to them by the late king : but in vain did he expatiate on the necessity of fulfilling his word thus solemnly pledged ; in vain did he represent that the restitution of the ecclesiastical property, without previously giving satisfaction to the general body of the reformed, might occasion a general insurrection of the Protestants : his prudent remonstrances were rejected with disdain ; while the violent councils of Luines and Du Vair, who pressed the king to avail himself of his vicinity to Bearn, to enforce obedience to his orders, were listened to with pleasure.

⁹ *Mémoire reconduite*, tom. v. p. 148.

¹⁰ *Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai*, liv. 4—*Lettres & Mémoires de Du Pleffis-Mornai*, 1620.

The Bearnois, who, as the duke of Rohan observed, neither knew how to obey with a good grace, nor to defend themselves with address, sent the marquis de la Force, and the first president of the council of Pau, to Bourdeaux, to appease the indignation of Lewis, by reminding him of the promise he had given to the assembly at Loudun ¹¹. But the king ordered them to go back immediately to Pau, and to return, as soon as possible, with the edict duly registered and verified. La Chenaie, one of the king's attendants, had orders to accompany them, and to write every day to his majesty, to inform him in what manner the Bearnois executed the will of the sovereign. Lewis, meanwhile, approached nearer to the frontiers of Bearn, in order to convince the inhabitants of his determination to enforce obedience in person, in case of any farther resistance.

After a short absence the deputies returned, and with great humility entreated the king not to insist on the reception of an edict, destructive to the ancient privileges of their country. "Since you are determined"—replied Lewis—"to give me the trouble of enforcing, in person, the verification of my edict, I will even go to Pau; and I promise you the edict shall be more amply verified than you imagine." It was supposed that the Bearnois persisted in their refusal, from the conviction that the season was too far advanced for the king to continue his journey; and that his majesty's baggage having been conveyed to Blaie, he had no intention of going any farther. But they were unacquainted with the disposition of Lewis, to whom the duke of Luines and Du Vair were perpetually representing the necessity of rendering himself an object of terror to his subjects.

Lewis, though his resolution was already fixed, assembled his council for form's sake, and apprized them of his intended expedition to Bearn. The duke of Mayenne, in a long speech, endeavoured to dissuade his majesty from pursuing his journey: he represented, as objections highly worthy of consideration, the inclemency of the season; the scarcity of provisions in the districts through which the army must pass; and the danger of exciting a revolt among the Protestants, who profiting by the king's absence, might make a greater progress in the heart of the kingdom than his majesty could make in Bearn. Mayenne also insisted on the impracticability of passing the Garonne in less than a fortnight, in which case the season would be so far advanced that the roads would be impassable ¹². But all the other members of the council being of a different opinion, Lewis exclaimed—"I neither mind the weather nor the roads; nor do I fear the Hugonots. As for my army, I shall find means to make it cross the river in less time than a fortnight. Bassompierre, there, contrived to bring me, in a very short time, the army which enabled me to quell a powerful faction. To him will I entrust the care of passing the troops over the Garonne; from the conviction that he will serve me as well

¹¹ *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan*, liv. ii.—*Journal de Bassompierre*.

¹² *Journal de Bassompierre*.

“ on this occasion as the former.” Bassompierre was careful to justify the good opinion which his sovereign entertained of his zeal and abilities; and he transported the troops to the opposite banks of the river in much less time than was expected. The mareschal had hopes that a service of this importance would be the means of encreasing the favour which the king had shewn him since the affair of Pont de Cé; but the duke of Luines, jealous of his growing influence, exerted the ascendancy he enjoyed over the mind of his master, to frustrate the well-founded expectations of Bassompierre.

Lewis pursued his march towards Pau, which opened its gates at his approach. He then advanced to Navarreins, a strong fortress in Bearn, where he dismissed the Protestant governor, and replaced him by Poyenne, a zealous Catholic. Returning to Pau, he took the great church from the Hugonots, re-established the bishops and abbots of Bearn, restored to them the right of sitting in the states of the country, which they enjoyed before the reformation, and enforced a restitution of the ecclesiastical property. Lastly, in consequence of the re-annexation of Bearn and the Lower Navarre to the crown, Lewis created a new parliament, after the manner of the other parliaments of France¹³. “ It was then”—observes the duke of Rohan in his *Memoirs*—“ that the court began to laugh at the obligation of keeping their word. They had pledged themselves to maintain the Bearnois in the possession of their privileges; but they despoiled them of those privileges, by the annexation of their country to the crown; and the governor of Navarreins was changed, in violation of a solemn promise.”

Favas, one of the new deputies from the reformed churches of France, anxious to obtain the government of Leitoure for his son, and finding the court averse from complying with his wishes, endeavoured, by rendering himself necessary to the minister, to extort from fear what he could not procure from favour. He sent private intelligence to the citizens of Rochelle, observing that, as the court evinced no intention of fulfilling the promises they had made to the assembly of Loudun, it would be necessary to convene another meeting, unless they were disposed to become dupes to the favourite and his coadjutors. The magistrates of Rochelle consulted Du Pleffis-Mornai on the proposal of their deputy; and were told by that worthy gentleman, that as the six months prescribed by the king for the performance of his promise were not yet expired, they must exert their patience, and content themselves with making firm, but decent, remonstrances. The king was then at Poitiers; after the reduction of Bearn, Favas again wrote to the Rochellers, in more strong and pressing terms, advising them to lose no time in providing for their safety, by strengthening the fortifications of their city, lest the king should attack them unexpectedly, before his return to the capital¹⁴.

¹³ Gramondi *Historia Gallix*, lib. vi.—*Mémoires de Duc de Rohan*, liv. ii.
Rohan, liv. ii.—*Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai*, l. iv.—*Lettres et Mémoires du même*, 1620.

¹⁴ *Mémoires du Duc de*

Du Pleffis-Mornai again endeavoured to dissuade them from the adoption of a measure that might be construed into an act of revolt; and advised them rather to conciliate the friendship of their sovereign, by studiously avoiding an ostentatious display of their power, and by conducting themselves with propriety towards their fellow-citizens of the Romish persuasion. But neither the prudent advice of Du Pleffis, nor the strenuous remonstrances of the duke of Rohan, and others of the Protestant chiefs, could deter the inhabitants of Rochelle, alarmed at the violent proceedings of Lewis in Bearn, and irritated by the inflammatory suggestions of their deputy, from summoning a general assembly of the reformed, to be holden at Rochelle, on the twenty-fifth of November.

The fresh subjects for discontent which the king afforded to the Hugonots gave the deepest concern to Du Pleffis-Mornai, who was fully aware of their fatal effects. Anxious to avert the storm which he saw gathering over the Protestant Church, he wrote a long letter on the subject to the duke of Montbazon, father-in-law to the favourite. The affair of Bearn, and the assembly convened, in consequence thereof, at Rochelle, must be considered as the true causes of the calamities which befel the Protestants under the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth; and in order to show whether they were really as culpable as their enemies have represented them, it will be necessary to notice Du Pleffis-Mornai's account of their conduct. The testimony of such a witness, though a Protestant himself, cannot with propriety be rejected by the most rigid Catholic: his probity and virtue were super-eminently conspicuous: his piety sprang from the heart: devout without affectation, firm without obstinacy, learned without pedantry, Du Pleffis deserved and obtained the admiration and esteem of his contemporaries: he was looked up to by the Protestants as the protector of their rights, and the guardian of their privileges; and the Catholics bestowed on him the appellation—highly honourable in their minds—of "*The Pope of the Hugonots.*" In short his was a character which the envenomed tongue of calumny never dared to attack.

" You must remember, Sir,"—says Du Pleffis to the duke of Montbazon—"the express command which I received from the king, by your mouth, on the last day of April, to assure the members of our assembly, then met at Loudun by his majesty's permission, that all the promises which had been made them should be faithfully performed. Since my word is pledged—said M. de Luines—I will render it as valid as a bond. These are his own expressions, and I am not sure but that he made use of others still stronger, and more pointed. I immediately dispatched a messenger to the assembly, and represented to the members that it was our duty to trust implicitly to the first promise the king had ever made us. This consideration removed all difficulties; no farther surety was required; and every member returned contented to his province, from the idea that the royal word was sacred.

" You

“ You know, Sir, that the promise related to three points, viz. The reception of two
 “ Protestant magistrates in the parliament of Paris; the restitution of Leitoure; and
 “ a positive arrangement with regard to the cautionary towns. It was to have been
 “ fulfilled within six months at latest, and the affair of Bearn was not to have occa-
 “ sioned the smallest delay. The accommodation was negotiated by Messieurs Lefdi-
 “ guieres and Châtillon; and the prince of Condé and the duke of Luines bound them-
 “ selves by an oath to enforce a compliance with the terms of the agreement, within the
 “ time specified: and they observed, that in case of a violation of the promise, the as-
 “ sembly might meet again, and they pledged themselves to procure the necessary or-
 “ ders from the king for that purpose. The king himself ratified, with his own mouth,
 “ the engagement which the prince and the duke had contracted, and expressed his sa-
 “ tisfaction at the prompt obedience of our assembly. The six months have elapsed, and
 “ nothing has been done: and the king is gone to Bearn with his army, contrary to
 “ the obligation he imposed upon himself, though nothing has occurred, either on the
 “ part of the inhabitants of Bearn, or of the Protestants of France, to superinduce any
 “ change in his sentiments. Judge, Sir, whether all of us have not cause for complaint.
 “ and whether many of us have not grounds for mistrust, when we see the king neg-
 “ lect affairs of the greatest importance to carry his arms into a country where the
 “ only weapons opposed to him are prayers and lamentations, and against subjects who
 “ have no other defence than the sacred word of their sovereign. Are not the Protec-
 “ tants of Rochelle, who were charged by the assembly of Loudun to convene another
 “ meeting at the expiration of six months, in case the terms of the agreement remained
 “ unfulfilled, justified, by the king’s word, in convening another assembly? And permit
 “ me, Sir, to observe, that they may also plead, in their justification, the promise of
 “ the duke of Luines, which was to have proved as good as a bond ¹⁵.”

Du Pleffis concluded his letter by the following judicious observations: “ I served the
 “ late king four-and-thirty years, and I always observed that nothing proved of such es-
 “ sential service to him, in the management of his affairs, both foreign and domestic,
 “ as the reputation he enjoyed for fulfilling, with religious scrupulosity, every promise
 “ he made. There is not any thing which redounds more to the credit of those who
 “ have the happiness of being placed about the person of a great prince, than sincerity,
 “ candour, and good faith: in short, these are the qualities by which a king may be-
 “ come the living image of the Deity. God made the world by his word; and sovereigns
 “ govern it, in one sense, by their words. Yet, Sir, reflect whether the word of our
 “ king is treated with that veneration which is due to it.”

This letter having been shewn to different persons, several copies were taken, and some
 of the zealous Protestants eagerly seized the opportunity of circulating, by means of

¹⁵ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. iv.—Lettres et Mémoires de Du Pleffis-Mornai.

the press, so able a justification of the conduct of their party. The duke of Luines was enraged at finding himself publicly accused of violating his promise, by a man holden in such general estimation as Du Pleffis-Mornai. To screen his honour from reproach, he instantly procured the immediate reception of the two Protestant magistrates by the parliament of Paris: he conferred the government of Leitoure on a person of the same persuasion, though more attached to the court than to the interests of his religion; and the reformed obtained an apparent satisfaction on the subject of the cautionary towns. After he had taken these conciliatory measures, the favourite published a long answer to the letter of Du Pleffis, in the name of the duke of Montbazon, whose complaisance for his son-in-law induced him to father the production, though it was pretty generally known to have proceeded from the pen of Arnoux, the king's confessor¹⁶. The abuses it lavished, and the threats it denounced against the reformed, proclaimed the writer a violent bigot; while the gross adulation it contained proved him a courtier. "The truth and the word of the duke of Luines"—said he—"keep pace with each other: the prophecies are not better fulfilled than his promises."

Du Pleffis-Mornai's reply was prudent, respectful, and moderate, though in it the truth was maintained with manly firmness, and becoming dignity. Speaking of the obligation of kings to fulfil their words, he observed—"You have explained to me, Sir, the nature of the king's authority and power; you maintain that his pleasure is the sole rule of his conduct. For fifty years have I served the sovereigns of France; I should be ignorant, indeed, if I knew not the extent of their power; and ridiculous if I thought of restraining it. But still I am fully convinced of the truth of this sentence, of the good and great emperor Theodosius, inserted in the Roman law: It is worthy of the majesty of a sovereign to hold himself bound to observe the laws he has made. And what are the laws which a prince prescribes to himself? the promises he gives."

Although the influence of the Spanish council at the court of France had hitherto prevented the young monarch from opposing the dangerous aggrandizement of the house of Austria, yet some news that was transmitted, at this period, from Vienna, awakened his jealousy, and roused his apprehensions. The commotions excited in the Valteline by the artifices of the duke of Feria, governor of Milan, alarmed the Italian powers almost as much as the late reduction of the palatinate by the emperor had intimidated the Protestant princes of Germany. The republic of Venice, ever attentive to the motions of the Spaniards, had remonstrated, in the strongest terms, with the French council, on the necessity of preventing the court of Madrid from accomplishing their design of reuniting the Valteline to the duchy of Milan, or, at least, of rendering it wholly dependent on their will. Aware of the consequences of this affair, Lewis resolved to send an

¹⁶ Le Vassor, tom. iii. liv. 6. p. 168, 169.

ambassador extraordinary to Madrid, in order, if possible, to quell, by the means of negotiation, a revolt that was capable of setting all Italy in a flame, and of causing an open rupture between the two crowns: for the king of France could never suffer the Spanish monarch to make himself master of the Valteline¹⁷.

The small country of the Valteline, watered and fertilized by the river Adda, was most conveniently situated for the Spaniards, who considered it as an excellent passage for their troops from Germany into Italy, and back again. It is bounded, on the east, by the county of Tirol, and, on the west, by the duchy of Milan, of which it was a fief, before the hardy natives of that part of Switzerland, distinguished by the appellation of *Grisons*, took possession of it, at the instigation of pope Julius the Second, when he undertook to expel the French from Italy. Valteline was formally ceded to the Grisons by Maximilian Sforza, in reward for the assistance he received from that people in the recovery of his duchy of Milan; and the donation was confirmed by Francis the First, king of France, when he conquered the Milanese, after the famous battle of Marignano. Since that period a close alliance had subsisted between the French and the Grisons, who had engaged to suffer no other troops than those of France to pass through the Valteline. Henry the Fourth renewed the alliance, which, according to the terms of the treaty, was not to cease till eight years after the death of his son, Lewis the Thirteenth. This wise precaution tended in a great measure to defeat the attempts which the Spaniards had frequently made to re-annex the Valteline to the duchy of Milan, since Charles the Fifth had bestowed the investiture of that duchy on his son.

That able minister, the count of Fuentes, had incessantly represented to Philip the Second the necessity of securing the possession of Final, Monaco, and the Valteline, in order to hold all Italy in subjection. As the project had only succeeded in part, the count, in order to facilitate its total accomplishment, at a more favourable opportunity, caused the fort of *Fuentes* to be built on a rock at the extremity of the Valteline; the erection of which superinduced a general belief that the Spaniards intended to make the Grisons renounce their alliance with France, to connect themselves with Spain, and, in case of a refusal, to seize upon their country. This new fort spread a general alarm throughout Italy, and gave great umbrage to France: although built on the Spanish territories, it appeared so incompatible with the preservation of the liberty of the Italian potentates, that Henry the Fourth was tempted to compel the Spaniards, by force of arms, to demolish it entirely; and he would, probably, have effected his purpose, had the Swiss and Venetians evinced a disposition to second his plans. But their unwillingness to bear even a part of the expences of a war, of which they were to reap the whole advantage, induced him to forego his design.

¹⁷ Nani Historia Veneta, l. iv.—Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri, tom. v. p. 175, 176, 177.

A free passage through the Valteline appeared to be an object of much less importance to the French, than to the Spaniards and Venetians; it was a constant maxim with the Venetian senate, to keep their territories on the continent in a state of extreme subjection, and to employ none but foreign troops; for which reason the privilege of securing a passage for those troops through the Valteline, had become almost a matter of necessity with the Venetians. At the time of their grand dispute with pope Paul the Fifth, they distributed their sequins with so much judgment among the Grisons, and particularly among the Protestants of that country, that an alliance was concluded for ten years between the two republics; by which the Grisons engaged to grant a free passage through the Valteline to the Venetian forces. The Spaniards then made a similar attempt; and by a judicious distribution of their pistoles, gained so far on the affections of the Catholic inhabitants, that they declared in their favour. The intrigues of these powers occasioned dissensions among the Grisons, one part of whom espoused the cause of Venice, while the other embraced the interests of the house of Austria.

During the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth, France had exerted her utmost efforts to prevent the renewal of the treaty between the Venetians and the Grisons, at the expiration of the ten years: but the Venetians, being engaged in a war with the archduke of Gratz, spared neither pains nor expence to counteract the intrigues of the French. On this occasion, the dissensions which had prevailed between the different parties of the Grisons, were renewed with additional animosity. Gueffier, the French resident at Turin, received orders to repair to Coire, and to persuade the Grisons to contract no alliance in future, prejudicial to that which they had before contracted with France; and to confirm to the French monarch the exclusive privilege of a passage, for his troops, through the Valteline. Gueffier was to promote a reconciliation between the hostile factions, by placing them on their former footing, and by depriving both Spaniards and Venetians of the privilege which was the object of their dispute. But the Spanish interest prevailed to such a degree at the court of France, at that time, that Gueffier, following the inclinations of Mary of Medicis, and, probably, acting in conformity to the instructions he had received from her, was always more favourable to the Spanish, than to the Venetian party, under pretext of maintaining the Catholic religion, which the friends of the latter were said to have attacked on various occasions. The Venetians, however, prevailed so far, that many of the opposite faction were banished; and this severity enraged the Catholics to such a degree, that they applied for redress to the governor of Milan, requesting the king of Spain would take the Valteline under his protection; since the Grisons, they said, not content with exercising an arbitrary sway over that country, were anxious to introduce the Protestant religion, with a view to extend it from thence into the Milanese, and perhaps still farther into Italy.

The duke of Feria, a man of a vain and ambitious mind, anxious to distinguish himself by some signal achievement, resolved to embrace the present opportunity of making

himself master of the Valteline. The conjuncture, he thought, was highly favourable to his designs. The Protestants of Germany were greatly embarrassed: the king of France was occupied in the repression of domestic feuds: and the English monarch, amused by the hope of marrying his son to the infanta of Spain, had little inclination to assist his fellow Protestants in opposition to the court of Madrid. Feria, therefore, entered into an alliance with the malecontents of the country, under pretence of relieving them from the oppression they sustained, and of preventing the Protestant ministers, whom the Grisons had introduced into the Valteline, from extirpating popery. On the nineteenth of July, 1620, Pianta and the chevalier Robustel entered the country with a small party of soldiers, which they had assembled in the Tirol, or in the duchy of Milan, and massacred the ministers and officers belonging to the Grisons. The insurgents had endeavoured to block up every passage, so that the Grisons could not go to the assistance of their friends in the Valteline; but having failed in the attempt, a great number of them entered with a body of soldiers, from the United Provinces, who had served in the Venetian armies. The duke of Feria, then throwing off the mask, immediately sent a strong detachment of Spanish troops into the Valteline, headed by experienced officers, with a view, as he asserted, to maintain the Catholic religion, in a country where those who professed it were persecuted by the Protestants. And, lest the Venetians should march to the assistance of the Grisons, he sent a military force to the frontiers of the republic, as if he meant to commence hostilities against them, in case the senate should interfere with the affairs of the Valteline.

The Grisons were now thrown into the utmost consternation; and were induced to consider the support of the French as their only resource. Lewis, who was, at this time, engaged in dispelling the powerful faction formed by Mary of Medicis, gave orders to the marshal de Lesdiguières to attend to the affairs of the Valteline, and to concert, with the duke of Savoy and the republic of Venice, the necessary measures for opposing the dangerous designs of the court of Madrid. Bullion, councillor of state, was appointed to accompany Lesdiguières to Turin; but after much discussion, the allies appeared to be actuated by such different views, that it was found impossible to adopt any fixed and decisive resolutions¹⁸.

The republic of Venice, however, sent Priuli, as ambassador extraordinary, to France, to renew their solicitations to the king, and to urge him to oppose, with vigour and effect, the ambitious projects of Spain. Lewis, released from the embarrassing which the faction of his mother and the resistance of the Bearnois had occasioned him, lent a favourable ear to the prudent remonstrances of the senate. Puisieux, secretary of state, made the most specious promises to the Venetian minister; and assured him,

¹⁸ Histoire du Connétable de Lesdiguières, liv. x. chap. 2.—Nani Historia Veneta, lib. iv.

that if his Catholic majesty should refuse to pay attention to the representations of Bassompierre—now appointed ambassador extraordinary to Spain—on the restitution of the Valteline, the king of France would employ that power which God had placed in his hands, to assist the allies of his crown, and to maintain the repose and liberty of the Italian states¹⁹.

A. D. 1621.] But Lewis was less anxious to render himself formidable to the neighbouring powers, than to extend the limits of the regal authority in his own dominions. The yoke imposed on the Bearnois had proved insupportable; and the indiscreet zeal of the missionaries, and of the Catholic inhabitants of the province, soon roused the latent embers of discontent into a flame. The Protestants of France had already taken the alarm; and the acts of violence committed by the populace, who burnt their temples at Tours, at Poitiers, and some other towns, led them to believe that a design was formed for despoiling them of the privileges secured to them by the edict of Nantes²⁰. If, indeed, there was no design actually formed by the court for that purpose, it will appear manifest, from the subsequent events, that the declarations which they occasionally issued in favour of the Protestants, were the result of their apprehensions of exciting a civil war, and did not proceed from any principle of equity. On the other hand it must be acknowledged, that the first war of religion in the present reign was brought on by the imprudent conduct of the reformed, in hastily convening a general assembly at Rochelle, and in obstinately persevering in their refusal to separate, at the suggestion of men who had their own interest more at heart than the good of their religion. But as different conclusions are frequently drawn from the same facts, we shall proceed to give an ample detail of the conduct of either party, and leave the reader to decide for himself.

The king was in Guienne when he first heard that the reformed were preparing to convene a general assembly at Rochelle; and he immediately dispatched orders to the mayor and magistrates of the town, not to suffer the proposed assembly to take place, nor to admit into the city any persons who should repair thither, from the provinces, as deputies to the assembly. The answer given to the officer who delivered these orders was couched in such terms as gave the court reason to believe they would not be obeyed. A declaration, therefore, was issued by the king, and registered in the parliament, by which his majesty prohibited all persons whatever from attending the assembly, under pain of being treated as rebels and traitors²¹. These threats were despised by the reformed, who averred that the declaration had been surreptitiously obtained, since it was contrary to the positive promise given by the king to the assembly at Loudun: and they maintained that it was lawful for them to assemble, since the articles so solemnly

¹⁹ Nani Historia Veneta, liv. 4.—Journal de Bassompierre.

²⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 205.

²¹ Vie de Du Plessis-Mornai, liv. 4.—Lettres et Mémoires du même, 1621.

promised had never been fulfilled. The deputies continued to arrive at Rochelle, and, after the celebration of a solemn fast, the assembly was opened on the twenty-fourth of December, 1621.

Du Pleffis-Mornai, invariably desirous of maintaining the peace of the kingdom, hastened to communicate his sentiments to the assembly, exhorting them to devise some means of opening a negociation with the court, and of preventing an open rupture, which many restless and turbulent spirits were eager to promote. These prudent exhortations were ably seconded by the duke of Rohan, who endeavoured, in concert with Du Pleffis, to avert the fatal effects of a measure which they conceived to have been adopted with too much precipitation. Encouraged by this appearance of dissention among the members of the reformed church, the young count of Soissons, and the princess his mother, who had quarrelled with the court, made overtures to Du Pleffis, and offered to connect their interests with those of the Protestants; not doubting but their proposal would be joyfully received by a party, who wanted the sanction and authority of a prince of the blood, to keep the inferior nobility in awe, and to preserve a rational subordination among the numerous supporters of the cause.

As soon as the reformed had ceased to have a protector of the blood royal, every nobleman of the party either aspired to the supreme command, or claimed an absolute independence. An assembly of provincial gentlemen, ministers, and magistrates, had neither sufficient credit nor authority to render their party formidable: they had no means of retaining persons incessantly liable to be affected by the hope of reward or the fear of disgrace. The assembly had no favours to distribute: so that there was much to be gained, and nothing to be lost, by those who abandoned their cause. The court displayed great address in availing themselves of the state of anarchy to which the Hugonots were reduced, in order to encrease the dissentions that prevailed among their leaders, and to gain them over to their interest, one after the other. Under the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé the party was in a very different situation; since in war as in peace they had ample opportunities of procuring solid establishments, for the nobility, gentry, and officers, in their service. When Henry the Fourth embraced the Catholic religion, certain members of the Protestant church rejoiced at their release from the authority of so powerful a protector; and flattered their assemblies with the idea of establishing a separate republic²², governed by a body similar to the states-general of France, composed of deputies from the Protestant nobility, clergy, and commons, which they represented as infinitely preferable to the government of a prince who might have private views and interests of his own to consult, in opposition to those of his party. But soon after the death of Henry they discovered the fallacy of

²² Le Vassor, tom. iv. liv. xvi. p. 1, 7, 8.

such an opinion, and found that a party, without a leader of sufficient weight to enforce obedience to his commands, could not possibly subsist for any length of time.

The count of Soissons and his mother, discontented with the court, wished to render themselves formidable by appearing at the head of the Protestant party; and as the count was anxious to obtain the hand of the princess Henrietta, third sister to the king, it was conceived he could not adopt a better means of enforcing a compliance with his proposals. Du Pleffis-Mornai, being applied to on the subject, answered that the assembly of Rochelle would always be studious to cultivate the good opinion of their highnesses, but that they would never think of confounding with religious affairs those which only related to matters of state and the private interests of princes. “The negociation,”—said Du Pleffis,—“which the count wishes to open with us, would only answer the purpose of mutual deception. His highness will conclude an accommodation as soon as the king will offer him the hand of his sister; and our assembly will be satisfied, as soon as they shall have obtained some more solid security for the punctual observance of the edict of Nantes”²³.

On the second of January the assembly of Rochelle drew up the following remonstrance to the king, containing the motives which had led them to assemble, and the just grounds of complaint they had received from the court, in repeated infractions of the edicts of pacification.

“When we last assembled at Loudun, with your majesty’s permission, it was for the express purpose of examining the nature and extent of our grievances, and of asking, with all humility, an immediate reparation of such as were hostile to our safety, and contrary to the edicts which constitute the fundamental laws of your kingdom. The long continuation of various evils, an encrease of which we had every reason to apprehend; the audacity of our enemies, which seems to acquire fresh strength from our patience; and lastly, the express commission we had received to represent to your majesty that a continual infraction of the edicts was capable of overturning the state:—These reasons, sire, induced us to persist, during six months, with a degree of perseverance proportioned to our sufferings, in our efforts to obtain from your majesty some testimony of your favourable disposition towards us. When you commanded us to separate, you instructed the prince of Condé and the duke of Luines to pledge their word to the duke of Lesdiguières and the marquis of Châtillon, that, in case we obeyed your orders, you would, within the space of six months at farthest, enforce a compliance with some of our principal demands, and give a favourable answer to our cahiers.

²³ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. 4.

“ We also received a promise that your majesty would listen to the remonstrances of
“ the deputies from Bearn, within a month after the stipulated conditions with regard
“ to ourselves should be fulfilled; and that, in case of any neglect to fulfil these condi-
“ tions, we should be at liberty to reassemble. This promise was solemnly confirmed as
“ well by the prince of Condé as the duke of Luines; who observed, that as it was the
“ first we had received from his majesty, we ought to regard it as sacred. This confi-
“ deration, Sire, outweighed every other, and superinduced our prompt obedience.
“ Your majesty afterwards repeated the same promises to us with your own mouth. On
“ the dissolution of our assembly we drew up a deed, expressive of our obedience, in the
“ very words that were dictated to us by the ministry: and the deputies had a commit-
“ sion to meet again, in case the articles were not fulfilled, at the expiration of six
“ months. This is a fact, well known to your majesty, and to all the members of
“ your council.

“ Notwithstanding these stipulations, the six months having elapsed, and your pro-
“ mise remaining unfulfilled, your majesty was instigated to march into Béarn, before
“ the seventh month, allowed to the Bearnois for presenting their remonstrance, was
“ expired, and without attending to the confirmation of your promise, contained in
“ your letter to the parliament of Pau, of the twenty-first of September. To this vio-
“ lation of good faith must be ascribed the total destruction of the privileges, and sub-
“ version of the freedom of your subjects in Bearn, who profess the same religion with
“ ourselves. These, Sire, are the reasons which have induced us to meet in this city;
“ whither we have repaired in consequence of the assurances received from your ma-
“ jesty, and with a view most humbly to beseech you to fulfil your promises, and to af-
“ ford us redress for the additional grievances we have sustained since our last meeting.
“ We must repeat, Sire, that we are not guilty of having treated your authority with
“ contempt: the cause of our re-assembling is just and lawful; and our conduct is irre-
“ proachable, since it has for its support your sacred word.

“ May it, therefore, please your majesty, to consider our innocence, and to prevent
“ our enemies from oppressing us in your sight. We are accused of infringing on your
“ authority, but it is easy to judge whether we or they have the preservation of your
“ power, and the security of your crown, most at heart. When we seek to obtain, by
“ legal methods, and with that respect which is due to your majesty, the execution of the
“ edicts, redress for the repeated infractions thereof, and the means of our own preser-
“ vation, we receive orders to be silent, and your authority is opposed to our perseve-
“ rance. Yet, in violation of that authority, and of the public tranquillity, sermons
“ have been preached, and seditious libels circulated in all quarters, with a view to ex-
“ cite the people against us. The bodies of our brethren are taken out of their graves; our
“ temples are burned; our ministers expelled; and the places of worship granted us by
“ treaty in the vicinity of Tours, have not been delivered to us. Similar acts of outrage
“ have

“ have been committed against us, at Lyons, Moulins, Dijon, Bourges, and other places,
 “ and all our efforts to obtain satisfaction have been rendered fruitless.”

After inveighing against the malicious conduct of the Jesuits, whom they represent as alike enemies to the Hugonots, and to the real interests of the crown; as emissaries employed by a foreign power, to overturn all the states of christendom, they thus conclude their remonstrance.

“ These alarms, Sire, compel us to supplicate your majesty not to listen to the calumnies of our enemies; to respect the justice of our cause; to revoke the declaration that has been published against us; and to permit us to carry our complaints and entreaties to the foot of the throne. By securing to us our liberties, our property, and our lives, your majesty will enable us to devote them to your service. We solemnly protest, before God and man, as well for ourselves as for those whom we represent, that in asking for the liberty of serving God according to our conscience, it is our intention to remain inviolably attached to your majesty, to promote the welfare of the state, and the prosperity of your reign. Heaven send we may meet with favour from you; and that you may be convinced that, of all your subjects, there are none more faithful, nor more submissive than ourselves ²⁴.”

Lewis, at first, refused to receive this remonstrance, but Favas, the deputy-general of the reformed, having found means to present it to the council, it was at length read; when the members of the council declared that it ought to be burned by the hands of the executioner, and that the only amends the assembly could possibly make the king for such an insult was instantly to separate: Arnoux, confessor to Lewis, strenuously exhorted that prince to effect the total destruction of the reformed; and the duke of Luines was also anxious for a war, that he might have a specious pretext for reviving the office of constable, to the possession of which he had long aspired. But all the old ministers were extremely averse from the adoption of violent measures; and they signified their sentiments to the dukes of Rohan and Tremouille, and to Du Pleffis-Mornai, who had a conference on the subject at Loudun. All the efforts, however, of those noblemen, to promote an accommodation, and to lead the assembly of the reformed to pursue such a line of conduct as would rather mitigate resentment than provoke opposition, were counteracted by the insidious machinations of Favas, and the interested suggestions of the duke of Luines ²⁵.

The count of Soissons, the dukes of Mayenne and Longueville, and some others of the discontented nobility, renewed their applications to the assembly, who again applied to Du Pleffis for his opinion on the subject. He persisted in his former sentiments, and declared that experience ought to have convinced the reformed that an union with

²⁴ Le Vaffor, tom. iv. liv. 16. p. 12, 13, 14.

²⁵ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. 4.

princes and nobleman of a different religion was by no means to be encouraged. "All these pretended reformers of the state"—said Du Pleffis—"seek its destruction. Things are now brought to that situation that, were the king's authority to be weakened too much, we should be in danger of losing that liberty of conscience we have at last obtained."

The king and his ministers were not less enraged than the assembly of Rochelle; and the proud and imperious behaviour of Favas tended greatly to widen the breach that subsisted between them. At his instigation, the prudent interference of the dukes of Rohan and Tremouille, and of Du Pleffis himself, was rejected by the assembly, who declared their intentions of suffering no mediator, except their own deputies, between them and the throne²⁶. Even the letters, which those noblemen had written to avert the indignation of their sovereign, were subjected to the corrections of Favas, whose headstrong passions rendered him deaf to the placid voice of reason. But while Lewis declared that he would receive neither remonstrance, address, nor petition, from an assembly whose refusal to separate, at his command, he considered as an act of rebellion, he wrote to Du Pleffis, to express his approbation of what had passed between him and the dukes of Rohan and Tremouille at the conference of Loudun. When the duke of Bouillon,—who was then confined by the gout, in his city of Sedan—was apprized of the conduct of Favas, he exclaimed, "Were I in a condition to be conveyed to the Louvre, lame as I am, I would throw myself at the king's feet, and ask his pardon for the assembly. What means that madman Favas? Is it possible for our church to extricate itself from the dangerous situation into which its own imprudence has plunged it, by any other means than those of submission? It is but too true, that the forms required for the convocation of the assembly of Rochelle have not been observed."

Meanwhile the duke of Luines, in pursuit of his plan for dividing the Protestant chiefs, had opened a negociation with the duke of Lesdiguières, whom he contrived to allure from the interests of the Protestant party, by an offer to revive, in his favour, the post of constable, which had lain dormant, for the space of seven years, that had elapsed since the death of its last possessor, the duke of Montmorenci. But Luines, whose ambition led him to aspire to the attainment of that important dignity himself, found means to persuade Lesdiguières to be contented with the post of marshal-general of the camps. On the second of April, the sword of constable was bestowed on the favourite, with great pomp and solemnity; while the whole kingdom expressed their astonishment that the first military dignity in the state should be conferred on a man, who was wholly unacquainted with the art of war²⁷.

²⁶ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. 4.

²⁷ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. 8.

During these transactions Bassompierre was employed in settling the affair of the Valteline, at the court of Madrid. Every art to evade the conclusion of a treaty on this subject was exerted on the part of the Spanish monarch. But his death, which occurred during the negociation, changed the face of affairs, and soon after the succession of Philip the Fourth, a treaty was signed at Madrid, between the two crowns, by which it was stipulated that the Valteline should be restored to the Grisons; that a general amnesty should be granted on all sides; and that religious matters should be restored to the same footing on which they stood in the year 1617. By a secret article, it was agreed, that the king of France should prevent the Grisons from entering into any fresh leagues with the neighbouring powers, and confine them to their ancient alliance with the French. This article was levelled at the Venetians, whose intrigues with the Grisons displeased the court of Paris, and gave equal umbrage to that of Madrid. Soon after this period, a treaty was signed between the king of France and the states-general of the United Provinces, by which it was stipulated that, in case the latter should be attacked by the Spaniards, the former should afford them the same succours, as they had formerly received from Henry the Fourth²⁸.

Every exertion that prudence could suggest for averting the horrors of civil war had been employed by Du Pleffis-Mornai, and the dukes of Rohan, Soubize, and Tremouille, but in vain; for the king persevered in insisting on the immediate dissolution of the assembly of Rochelle; and the members positively refused to separate until they had obtained some redress for the grievances, of which they complained. The duke of Luines was glad of an occasion to push the Hugonots to extremes. The Jesuit Arnoux, confessor to the king, and the emissaries of the courts of Rome and Madrid incessantly expatiated on the weakness of the Protestant party, which they maintained might, with facility, be destroyed in less than a year.—“This, Sir,”—said these ministers to the favourite—“is a glorious opportunity for immortalizing your name, and for convincing “the world that you are worthy to be constable of France²⁹.”

Lewis, on the twenty-fourth of April, published a declaration at Fontainebleau, which served as the signal for war. After expatiating, at great length, on the obstinate disobedience of the assembly of Rochelle to his repeated orders, he declared his resolution of marching into Touraine and Poitou, and of visiting several other provinces of his kingdom, in order that, by a personal investigation of the dangers that threatened the state, he might take the necessary measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity. To facilitate the accomplishment of the project he had formed for sowing dissensions among the reformed, Lewis expressed his determination of maintaining the

²⁸ Le Vassor, tom. iv. liv. 16. p. 126.

²⁹ Histoire de Lefdiguieres, liv. x, chap. 10.—Mémoires de Déageant, p. 270, 271.—Lettres & Mémoires de Du Pleffis-Mornai, 1621.

edicts which had been published in their favour, as well in the late as during the present reign, and to take under his protection all such as should pay due obedience to their sovereign. Great pains, meanwhile, had been taken to irritate the populace against the Protestants; and, some few days before the above declaration was issued, an insurrection had taken place at Tours, where the corpse of a person who had quitted the Catholic religion to follow that of the reformed, was taken out of the grave by the people, who set fire to the Protestant church, and became so furious that neither the magistrates of the city, nor a commissioner sent by the parliament of Paris, could prevent them from committing farther acts of violence and outrage. The most riotous of the insurgents were suffered to escape with impunity, and the king, who complained of the rebellion of the reformed, found great difficulty, on this occasion, in enforcing obedience from his Catholic subjects ³⁰.

Luines, to whom the preparations for war were principally entrusted, ordered an army of forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse to be dispersed among the different provinces; he also took the precaution to gain over some of the Protestant nobility, and the governors of several of the cautionary towns. The presence of Lesdiguières at court removed all apprehensions for the fate of Dauphiné; Pardaillan engaged to secure a great part of Guines; and Châtillon maintained a correspondence with the ministry. The constable, allied to the dukes of Rohan and Soubise, endeavoured to detach them from the Protestant cause; but those noblemen, alike regardless of his promises and threats, rejected his solicitations with disdain ³¹.

The necessary preparations being made, Lewis left Fontainebleau, on the twenty-fourth of April, and successively visited the cities of Orleans, Blois, and Tours, at each of which places he passed some days. His departure was considered by the reformed as an open declaration of war, and they accordingly prepared for the most vigorous resistance. But before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they published a manifesto, containing a statement of the evils to which the Protestants of France were at that time exposed. After a solemn protestation of their attachment to the service of the king, whose supreme authority they acknowledged, the assembly conjured his majesty, as well as all disinterested Frenchmen who had the good of their country at heart, the princes of the blood, and foreign powers, not to suffer themselves to be prejudiced against people whom the court of Rome was anxious to oppress, but to attend to the representations they presented to all Europe in justification of their conduct. "The crime of high treason," said they, "has long been imputed to men of the most irreproachable conduct. It is a stale pretext employed by the malicious when possessed of power sufficient to effect the destruction of their enemies. It was used against the first

³⁰ Le Vassor, tom. iv, liv. xvi. p. 146, 147.

³¹ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII liv. 5.—Vie de Du Pleiss-Mornai.

"christians,

“ christians, in the same manner as the king’s evil counsellors now wish to use it against
 “ us. The reformed churches of France would have no occasion to publish apologies
 “ for their conduct if there were any equity in the world, and if falsehood and calumny did
 “ not, in general, command greater attention than truth. It is well known, that, at
 “ the end of the last century, the members of our church were sufficiently powerful
 “ to defend themselves, and to maintain their stations in some of the first provinces in
 “ the kingdom. Content with having obtained the liberty of serving God accord-
 “ ing to our consciences, and some security against the obstinate malice of our enemies,
 “ we submitted without hesitation to the late king, although he forsook our religion, of
 “ which he had declared himself the protector. We afterwards served him with the
 “ same zeal and fidelity as we had before displayed in maintaining his rights to the
 “ crown. Accordingly that just and grateful prince never ceased to afford us protec-
 “ tion during his whole life.

“ That life was terminated too soon for his subjects, and particularly for us. Since
 “ the death of Henry the Great, every possible means has been sought for to promote
 “ our destruction. The clergy and nobles united at the last assembly of the states-
 “ general for the purpose of obliging the king literally to fulfil the oath he had taken at
 “ his coronation to expel from the kingdom those whom the church of Rome condemned
 “ as heretics. Seditious sermons are preached, and a thousand secret artifices employed to
 “ excite the rage of the people against us. The Jesuits, deeply skilled in the art of raising
 “ troubles and confusion in states, are loud in their exclamations against us at court, in
 “ the capital, and in the provinces. No sooner had Arnoux obtained the direction of the
 “ king’s conscience, than he undertook to subvert all the privileges of the sovereignty
 “ of Bearn. He has so deeply instilled into the mind of his majesty the pernicious
 “ maxim, that princes are under no obligation to keep their faith with heretics, and
 “ that the most Christian king ought to employ all his power in the extirpation of
 “ heresy, that, when any person attempts to represent to his majesty, that these vio-
 “ lent counsels are calculated to promote the ruin of the state, he replies *he would*
 “ *rather lose his crown, than his soul.* In short, all the sanguinary insinuations of the
 “ Jesuits are supported as well by the cardinals and prelates, as by the ministers and emis-
 “ saries of the court of Rome.

“ The parliaments, though instituted for the purpose of administering justice with im-
 “ partiality, and of affording protection to the innocent, seek to crush us by their arrêts,
 “ as unjust as they are severe. If any one of the magistrates, exercising the privilege
 “ allowed to every one of pursuing the dictates of his conscience, embrace our religion,
 “ he is disowned by the rest, who pretend that he is in a state of degradation. Our tem-
 “ ples are pillaged and burned: the bodies of the members of our church are taken out
 “ of their graves, and torn into pieces. Some of them have been refused, in the hour of
 “ sickness, that assistance which humanity compels us to grant to barbarians and infidels,
 “ because

“ because they would not belie their consciences. Children are torn from the arms of their parents and friends, to be brought up in a religion different from that in which they were born. When we prefer our complaints to the magistrates, they laugh at us, and even the most moderate amongst them give us evasive answers. If we take measures for laying our grievances before his majesty, we are treated as rebels.” The assembly finished their manifesto by beseeching the king to spare the blood of his subjects; by conjuring foreign princes to succour innocence oppressed; and by entreating the Deity to have pity on those who were hated and persecuted, on account of the purity of their religious principles³².

This manifesto gave great umbrage to the king, and was even censured by the principal leaders of the Protestant party: but the assembly of Rochelle, intent on pursuing their own plan of proceedings, alike disregarded the threats of their enemies, and the advice of their friends. They divided the kingdom into districts, to each of which they appointed a general; while the office of commander in chief of the Protestant forces was offered to, and refused by, the duke of Bouillon. Du Pleffis-Mornai, unwilling to sanction, by his concurrence in the hostile measures now adopted by the assembly, proceedings of which he had frequently expressed his disapprobation, made an offer to the king of observing a perfect neutrality, provided he might be continued in his post of governor of Saumur. The offer was accepted, and the king with his army repaired to that fortress, but, regardless of his word, he resolved, at the instigation of the favourite, to deprive Du Pleffis of his government.

The constable, anxious to secure Du Pleffis in his interest, made him an offer of one hundred thousand crowns in money, and the rank of mareschal of France, on condition that he would resign the government of Saumur; but the proposal was rejected with indignation by that gallant veteran. “ Had I loved money”—said he—“ I might now have been worth millions. I am, indeed, more attached to honours and dignities; but I have ever been more anxious to deserve them, than to obtain them by importunity and dishonest means. Neither my honour nor my conscience will permit me to sell the security and liberty of others³³.

It was frequently agitated in the council, whether Lewis should or should not adhere to the resolution he had adopted of depriving Du Pleffis of his post. Some of the members expatiated on the inviolable fidelity of that ancient servant of the late king, and on his extreme moderation and prudence in all matters relating to the reformed. They insisted, that by dispossessing an officer of such acknowledged merit, with whose services the

³² Le Vassor, tom. iv. liv. 17. p. 154, 155, 156.

³³ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. iv.—Lettres et Mémoires du même, 1621.

king had every reason to be satisfied, just grounds of complaint would be afforded to the reformed, who, in that case, would be driven to despair, and would, more than ever, be confirmed in the belief, that the king was not bound to keep his faith with heretics. Others, on the contrary, maintained, that the reformed had rendered themselves unworthy of being left in possession of any of the cautionary towns. "The conduct of M. Du Pleffis"—said they—"is, we acknowledge, irreproachable. But he is a Protestant, and attached to his religion: that is sufficient. The king can no longer place any confidence in him. How can we tell that evil-designing persons will not take advantage of his age, and the facility of his disposition? The mode of dispossessing may be subject to sinister interpretations; granted: but we must suffer people to say what they please. Certain measures which appear unlawful become allowable when adopted for the purpose of preventing a greater evil. The king's service and the public good rise paramount to every other consideration.³⁴"

But though these suggestions were perfectly conformable to the sentiments of the constable, he was, nevertheless, afraid of having recourse to a measure, that must appear odious and unjust to every impartial person. A *brevet*, therefore, was delivered to Du Pleffis, by which he was left in possession of the government of the town and castle of Saumur, and promised, in terms the most positive and unequivocal, that, at the expiration of three months, he should be fully restored to the exercise of all the duties annexed thereto. During that interval, which the king deemed sufficient to reduce the assembly of Rochelle to obedience, the count de Sault, grandson to the duke of Lesdiguières, was appointed to command in the castle of Saumur, in which the king stationed a fresh garrison. Sault was selected for the purpose, because he, at that time, professed the Protestant religion, and it was intended to deceive the reformed, by making them believe that though the king had secured one of their most important towns, he had no intention of taking it from them, nor of putting it into the hands of the Catholics. Du Pleffis, finding his authority to be merely nominal, retired to one of his estates, fully expecting to be restored to his former power at the expiration of three months; so easy is it to impose on a man of candour and probity. He had the mortification to learn, in his retreat, that the members of his church suspected him of collusion with the court. Satisfied with the testimony of his own conscience, he still continued to serve them to the utmost of his power; in a short time all doubts of his fidelity were dispelled, and the most prejudiced acknowledged that the court had imposed on the candour of a man whose sincerity and rectitude were unimpeached.

From Saumur the king hastened to Thouars, which threw open its gates at his approach: Parthenai was equally submissive; and the Protestant governors of Saint

³⁴ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. v.—Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. iv.—Lettres et Mémoires du même, 1621.

Maixant, Fontenai, Maillezais, Marens, and Niort gave him possession of their respective towns. Arnaud was dispatched with letters from the king to the dukes of Rohan and Soubize, who were then at Saint Jean D'Angeli, inviting them to separate from the assembly of Rochelle; and, in case of refusal, they were assured, that the siege of Saint Jean D'Angeli should be formed before that of any other place. Arnaud was also instructed to favour the intrigues of Auriac, who was posted in the neighbourhood of the city, with two thousand men, and who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the inhabitants. But the vigilance of Rohan and Soubize frustrated the machinations of Auriac; Soubize undertook to sustain the siege, while his brother repaired to Rochelle, whence he sent a supply of provisions and ammunition to Saint Jean D'Angeli, with a reinforcement of a thousand men. Upwards of a hundred gentlemen also joined Soubize, with a determination to defend the place to the last extremity³⁵.

Before he left Niort, the king published a second declaration against the assembly of the reformed, more violent than the first. All such towns as should favour their party were to be considered as in a state of rebellion, and to be punished by the loss of their privileges. Those of Rochelle, Saint Jean D'Angeli, and Montauban were expressly mentioned in the declaration. Lewis forbade all his subjects of the Protestant religion to adhere to the assembly of Rochelle, or to any other convention, general or private, which should be holden without the king's permission, under pain of being prosecuted for high-treason. Lastly, all the reformed, of whatever quality, were ordered to sign a juridical act, confirmed by an oath, by which they should engage to serve the king against all those who should adhere to the assembly of Rochelle, to renounce all communication with that assembly, and to disavow all its transactions³⁶. This declaration occasioned the most violent agitation amongst the reformed; and Du Pleffis wrote to the constable to point out the evil consequences of such a proceeding. "Our people"—said he—"look on their ruin as inevitable, and many of them are preparing to quit the kingdom. The Catholic preachers openly threaten us with an expulsion similar to that of the Moors from Spain. They talk as if the destruction of our church was a matter determined on." In order to remove these apprehensions, in some degree, the execution of this declaration was, for a while, suspended, and the council which the king had left at Paris modified the oath it required to be taken. But most of the magistrates continued to exact it with the utmost rigour³⁷.

Meanwhile the prince of Condé, who had retired to his government of Berri, displeased at seeing the constable at the head of an army, to the command of which he had aspired himself, reduced, by stratagem and intrigue, the strong fortrefs of Sancerre. The

³⁵ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. l. vi.—Mémoires de Rohan, l. ii.
Lettres et Mémoires du même, 1621.

³⁶ Vie de Du Pleffis-Mornai, liv. vi.

³⁷ Le Vassor, tom. iv. liv. 17. p. 178.

duke of Epemon entered the province of Bearn, with two thousand men, in order to repress the attempts of the people, whose efforts to recover their lost privileges were secretly connived at by their governor, the marquis de la Force. Unprepared for resistance, the Bearnois threw open the gates of their towns, and in less than three weeks the duke had the satisfaction of reducing the whole province to obedience, and of compelling the marquis de la Force to retire into Guienne. In every other quarter the king's troops were equally successful: the Protestants were every where disarmed, and Lewis, in his progress, experienced little opposition until he came to Saint Jean D'Angeli. That place was attacked in form, about the end of May, by the king in person, attended by all the officers of state, and the chief of the Catholic nobility; after a vigorous defence for five-and-thirty days, it surrendered, on condition that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved.

About a month after the reduction of the town Lewis sent a declaration to be registered in the parliament of Bourdeaux; in which he ordered the fortifications of Saint Jean D'Angeli to be demolished, the ditches to be filled up, and the inhabitants to be despoiled of all their privileges. He then repaired to Cognac, with a view of extending his progress in the province of Guienne. The queen and queen-mother had joined him during the siege; and the former now took the road to Bourdeaux, while Mary of Medicis returned to Tours, so much discontented with the constable de Luines, that she endeavoured to excite the enmity of all the courtiers to whom she durst open her mind against him.

The king himself began to be disgusted with the conduct of his favourite, who assumed such airs of importance as rendered him insupportable to his sovereign. Lewis discovered his sentiments on the subject to Puisieux, the secretary of state, and to Arnoux, his confessor; and the courtiers were too attentive to his motions, not to perceive a difference in his behaviour to the constable³². Some of them insinuated that the favourite and his two brothers, though of obscure birth, had obtained the rank of dukes and peers; that the revenues of their places, pensions and possessions, amounted to ten millions of gold, and had rendered them so rich and powerful, that it would be difficult and dangerous for the king himself to effect their humiliation. These insinuations made a strong impression on the mind of Lewis, which his confessor, though indebted for his promotion to the friendship of Luines, took no pains to remove.

While the king was at Cognac, after the siege of Saint Jean D'Angeli, Luines one day entered the castle yard in great pomp, preceded by his guards and his Swiss, and followed by the principal officers of the army. Lewis, who was standing at a window

³² Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.

with Bassompierre, seeing him approach, said—"Look, Bassompierre; look, the king is coming." "Pardon me, Sire,"—said Bassompierre—"it is a constable beloved by his master, who displays in the eyes of the world the benefactions and power of the prince to whom he is indebted for his elevation." "You don't know him"—replied Lewis—"he thinks I am still in his debt: dazzled with the splendor of his fortune, he wishes to play the king, but I shall find the means of preventing him." "You are very unfortunate, Sire,"—returned Bassompierre—"in being tormented with such ideas; the constable is no less so in having given rise to them; and I am still more unfortunate, in being selected, by your majesty, as the object of a similar confidence. One of these days you will have a quarrel; the next you will be reconciled to each other: and what will be the consequence? It will terminate like a dispute between a husband and wife, who, after their reconciliation, mutually agree to dismiss the servants who have been witnesses to their quarrel. You will confess to the duke of Luines that you have made known your displeasure to me and some others: and we shall all become victims of your majesty's confidence." The king promised with an oath that he would never communicate the subject of their present conversation to his favourite, even should a perfect reconciliation ever take place between them. "I have only opened my mind on the subject to father Arnoux,"—said Lewis—"say nothing to him about it, and keep it secret until you have my permission to speak." "It is not necessary, Sire,"—replied Bassompierre—"to command me to be silent; the obligation of being so I impose on myself, since on that my life and fortune depend."

The duke of Epemon, to whose advice and exertions the king had been chiefly indebted for the reduction of Saint Jean D'Angeli, having too much spirit, or rather too much pride, to continue with an army, in which were two officers of rank superior to his own, requested he might be entrusted with some separate command. He was, therefore, detached with four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to commence the blockade of Rochelle, a service peculiarly agreeable to the duke, who held in abhorrence the inhabitants of that city³⁹. He reduced and placed garrisons in several of the circumjacent towns, in the course of which operations various skirmishes ensued, but no action occurred worthy of being recorded in history.

The death of Du Vair, which happened at this period, afforded to Luines a farther opportunity for the display of his boundless ambition and insatiate avarice. Unskilled in the art of war, and the management of an army, he had already asked and obtained the constable's sword; ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the forms of justice, he now solicited and acquired the care of the seals. In possession of the first military, and of the second magisterial, dignity, without any of the requisite qualifications or attain-

³⁹ Vie du Duc D'Epemon, l. viii.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. vi.

ments for discharging the duties of either office, with credit to himself, or advantage to his country, the dislike which had partially prevailed against him became general, and that which was originally the result of envy, was now sanctioned by justice.

The war into which Lewis had entered with the Hugonots drew the highest encomiums from the pope, and from the French ecclesiastics, who strenuously exhorted him to pursue the *pious* undertaking. Gregory wrote a long and flattering brief to the king on the occasion: after praising him, in the most extravagant terms, for placing himself at the head of his troops, at an age when other princes only think of pleasure and amusement, in order to reduce the *heretical* towns; “Enjoy”—said the holy father—“the glorious reputation you have acquired. Follow God, who combats with you: as you are now the thunder of war, and the shield of peace, so will you hereafter be the praise of Israel, and the glory of the universe. From the highest summit of our apostolic dignity we assist your armies with our heart and affection; by our ardent and assiduous prayers we draw down the aid of heaven upon you. Although we have no doubt but that your virtue and constancy will lead you to conclude the work you have begun, suffer us farther to incite you by our exhortations, in order that it may appear we have the advancement of the true religion, and the augmentation of your glory at heart.”

The pope, eager to promote the total extirpation of heresy, by fire and sword, advised Lewis to fit out a powerful fleet for the reduction of Rochelle; boldly promising that God would perform miracles in his favour as striking as those of the passage of the Red Sea, and of the Jordan. Gregory assured him, that after completing this object, he might easily effect the conquest of the East, provided he would imitate the conduct of his ancestors, who had “obeyed the exhortations of the pope as religiously as the commands of God⁴⁰.” The clergy of France were equally profuse of their commendations, and they deputed Cornulier, bishop of Rennes, to wait on the king, with the offer of a contribution of a million of gold, destined for the reduction of Rochelle.

The duke of Mayenne, after reducing several towns in Upper Guienne, joined the main army, which invested the strong fortrefs of Montauban, on the seventeenth of August⁴¹. The king attended in person, but the army was commanded by the constable, who had under him his two brothers, with the dukes of Mayenne, Chevreuse, and Lefdiguieres. The count of Schomberg, superintendant of the finances, acted as grand-master of the artillery, and likewise discharged the duties of a lieutenant-general. It was determined to attack the town in three different quarters: the first attack was command-

⁴⁰ Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iv. liv. xvii. p. 207. Mémoires de Puysegur et de Pontis, tom. i.

⁴¹ Gramond, Historia Gallix, lib. x.—

ed by the king, assisted by the constable and his brothers : the second by the duke of Mayenne, and the third by Chevreuse and Lefdiguieres. But the warmth of the attack was equalled at least by the vigour of the defence, conducted by the marquis de la Force, and the count D'Orval, son to the duke of Sully, who had a numerous and brave garrison under their command. The citizens, who fought for their liberty, displayed equal courage with the troops, and were stimulated to still greater exertions by the desire of preserving their privileges.

Had the constable followed the advice of Lefdiguieres, it is pretended the town would have been taken, from the want of succour, which the length of the siege had rendered necessary ; but attached to his own opinion, and unwilling to be guided by the councils of a man of whom he was extremely jealous, he pursued his own system, and persevered in the same plan of operations which experience had proved to be inefficacious. The duke of Mayenne, anxious to signalize his valour, made two desperate attacks on the suburb of Villebourbon, which is separated from the city by the stream of the Tarn : but he was vigorously repulsed in both, and the marquis of Villars, brother to the duke, and the marquis of Themines, son to the marechal of that name, fell victims to the temerity of their leader.

The duke of Mayenne is said to have frequently expressed a wish not to outlive those friends whose death he justly ascribed to his own imprudence. His cousin, the duke of Guise, who had just arrived in the camp, went to dine at the duke's, on the eighteenth of September, accompanied by the count of Schomberg. As Mayenne, who had taken his guests into the trenches, was engaged in shewing them the different works, and in pointing out to them the manner in which he intended to repair the ill-succes of his preceding attacks, he was killed by a musquet-ball, which, after piercing Schomberg's hat, entered the duke's eye ⁴².

The neglect to make lines of circumvallation around the town, in pursuance of the advice of Lefdiguieres, greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the project of the duke of Rohan for throwing succours into Montauban. Assured by deputies from the town that a reinforcement of a thousand or twelve hundred men would enable the garrison to protract the siege till the approach of winter, the duke determined to make the attempt. Though the troops had eighteen leagues to march in an enemy's country, two rivers to ford, and two divisions of the royal army, who were apprized of their approach, to pass between, seven hundred of the detachment made good their entrance into the town.

⁴² Mémoires de Déageant, p. 287, 288, 289—Journal de Bassompierre—Mémoires de Pontis, tom. 1.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. 6.

The constable, greatly embarrassed in consequence of this event, demanded an interview with the duke of Rohan, whom he endeavoured, by the most liberal offers, to detach from the interest of his party. But though he even went so far as to offer the duke a *carte-blanche* for himself and his friends, he could not prevail on him to quit the path which his honour and his conscience pointed out to him. “I should be my own enemy”—said Rohan to the favourite—“if I did not wish to secure the king’s good graces, and your friendship. I shall never refuse the benefactions of my master, nor the good offices of a kinsman so powerful as yourself. I know the danger to which I am exposed: but let me beg you also to reflect on your own danger. You are an object of hatred to every one, because you alone possess what each desires. The ruin of our church is not yet so near at hand, but that the malecontents may have sufficient time to form parties; and those who will not openly join us will at least agree with us in promoting your downfall. The former wars, on account of religion, were frequently unsuccessful, on our part, at their commencement, but the natural restlessness of the French; the discontents of those who are excluded from all share in the government; and the assistance of foreign powers, almost invariably re-established our affairs. If you engage the king to give us peace, before the scale turns, it will be honourable and advantageous for him. The party are humbled, and his majesty’s aims have not hitherto sustained the smallest check. By granting us favours, after having humbled us, the king will prove that his object is not to destroy our religion but to punish disobedience; and having disconcerted all internal factions, he will return to his capital dreaded by every description of his subjects. Your influence and power will encrease, for no one will then dare to oppose them. But if you persist in pushing matters to extremities; if this torrent of prosperity, whose progress the city of Montauban seems already to impede, should be stopped, that effervescence which past success has occasioned in the minds of the public will cease. How can you tell that you may not have difficulties to encounter, that will fet all your efforts at defiance? Recollect, Sir, that your successes hitherto have been merely the result of promises and threats: the rest of our party are fighting for the preservation of the religion we profess; and it will be no easy matter either to vanquish them, or to gain them over. As for me, I am prepared for the loss of my property and my posts: if you have retarded that loss, I am obliged to you for your interference. But my opinion is fixed, and nothing shall induce me to forsake it. Neither my conscience, or the solemn promise I have made will allow me to accept any other proposal than that of a general peace.”

Such was the issue of this conference, the result of which was expected with as much impatience by either party as was formerly displayed by the Romans and Carthaginians during the interview between Scipio and Hannibal. On the return of Luines to the camp, the proposal for a general peace was discussed by the council, when a majority of the members voted for the continuation of war. The siege of Montauban, therefore,

was pressed with vigour, but without effect; for the duke of Rohan having found means to introduce a fresh reinforcement of twelve hundred men; and the king's army having suffered a diminution of twelve thousand men, one third of whom deserted, Lewis left the camp, and repaired to Toulouse, and the siege was raised on the seventh of November ⁴³.

The nation was at a loss how to account for the failure of an enterprize, which the king commanded in person, accompanied by the most experienced officers, and the best troops in the kingdom. Although the besieged conducted themselves with great valour and perseverance, the assailants were so numerous that it was supposed the town must inevitably be reduced. Every body seemed disposed to ascribe the disappointment to the misconduct of the constable, who was accused of refusing to listen to the advice of able generals, and of being only intent on the gratification of his avarice. Whatever truth there might be in this charge it gave Luines so much uneasiness as to occasion a fever, which put a period to his existence, on the fourteenth of December, three days after the reduction of the small town of Monheur in Guienne, by the royal army ⁴⁴. The king expressed but little concern at the death of his favourite, and, after giving the necessary orders for restraining the attempts of the reformed, he took the road to his capital.

The inhabitants of Paris, formerly so zealous for the League, still preserved a certain degree of that respect and consideration which they had entertained for the famous duke of Mayenne, chief of the powerful party which disputed the throne with the Fourth Henry. The Parisians had a great affection for the only son of that idol of the Leaguers, and they no sooner heard that he had been killed before a Protestant town, than they openly threatened to revenge his death, by shedding the blood of the Hugonots. The tumult became so serious that the duke of Montbazon, governor of Paris, found it necessary to adopt measures, in concert with the parliament, for preventing the reformed from being exposed to insult on their way to Charenton, on the following Sunday. But their precautions proved fruitless; the people attacked the Hugonots, on their return, and several persons were killed in the fray. The Protestant meeting-house at Charenton was afterwards reduced to ashes. The next day, a fresh tumult occurred in the suburb of Saint-Marcel, and other parts of the city, nor could the punishment of the principal ringleaders restrain the insurgents from the commission of farther acts of violence. Some houses having taken fire, the accident was ascribed to the malice of the Hugonots, who wished, it was said, to revenge the destruction of their tem-

⁴³ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. 2.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. 2.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. 6. ⁴⁴ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. 6—Gramond's Historia Gallix, lib. ii.—Receuil des Pièces contre le Connetable de Luines.

temple ; and they would have been exposed to the danger of a general massacre, but for the timely and spirited interference of the parliament, who declared the reformed to be under the protection of the king and the magistrates.

A. D. 1622.] The death of the constable de Luines gave a new face to the affairs of the court. Mary of Medicis, released from her principal enemy, entertained the most sanguine hopes of being re-admitted to a share in the government. But the king was afraid, that, in that case, he should be obliged to resign to her a part of his authority which he had resolved only to partake with his favourites, whom he suffered to govern him during his whole reign. The cardinal of Retz and the count of Schomberg, who happened to be near his person, at the time of the constable's death, seemed to have availed themselves of that circumstance, and endeavoured, in conjunction with de Vic, the new keeper of the seals, to take the whole management of affairs into their own hands. They formed a kind of triumvirate, which aimed at the monopoly of power, but proved too weak, and too ill constructed, to retain the consequence it had assumed. The king, in consulting his ministers, was advised to forego the resolution he had adopted, with regard to the queen-mother, and to grant her the satisfaction she required, lest she might be tempted indirectly to thwart the measures of the court. Another consideration also had weight with the ministers, who thought that her authority might serve to counterbalance that of the prince of Condé, who aspired to be placed at the head of affairs. Thus the king consented to give Mary of Medicis admission into the council, but refused to receive the bishop of Luçon, from the dread which his ministers entertained of the ambitious and enterprising spirit of that prelate. Mary seemed contented with this mark of respect on the part of her son ; and the more so, as she did not doubt, that when she should once have recovered a part of her former influence, she should find it no difficult matter to introduce her partisans into the ministry, and particularly the bishop of Luçon, whose promotion she had very much at heart.

The winter was passed in devising means for carrying on the war against the Protestants, which all the zealous Catholics, or such as pretended to be so, earnestly advised the king to pursue, without paying much attention to the good of the state. Some few, indeed, voted for peace, in order to spare the lives of a multitude of persons who fell victims to party-rage, in the different provinces ; but their advice was unfortunately neglected. The prince of Condé was one of those who were most strenuous in their exhortations to continue the war ; though the motives of such conduct cannot easily be devised. Hitherto he had given the public no reason to believe that his zeal for religion could have influenced his opinion, nor did he possess that courage, skill, or experience in martial achievements which could justify his anxiety to appear at the head of an army. The numerous insurrections and disturbances to which he had given rise, afforded no grounds for believing that he was actuated by a concern for the welfare of the state.

state ⁴⁵. Corfini, the pope's nuncio, anxious to discover the secret motives of the prince's conduct, was told by an intimate friend of his highness, that he was weak enough to be influenced by a prediction, formerly made, that, at the age of thirty-four, he would become king of France. He was now three-and-thirty, and it was supposed that he wished to have the command of an army, that he might be in a condition to assert his rights when the period, at which the prediction was to be accomplished, should arrive. He had before taken up arms, on the strength of a similar prediction, during the regency of the queen-mother; and as he was known to place great faith in judicial astrology, it was not improbable that he should again display the same weakness. Monsieur, the king's brother, having been dangerously ill the year before, and the king himself being in a bad state of health, the prince of Condé thought it necessary to be always in a situation to secure the crown, in case Lewis and his brother should die. It was even said, that he meant to lead them into danger during this campaign, in order that his hopes might be the more speedily fulfilled.

The duke of Rohan had been busily employed, during the winter, in collecting the scattered forces of his party, and in exhorting the Hugonots, in the southern provinces of France, to that unanimity of exertion without which their destruction was inevitable. At the approach of spring he received a message from the duke of Lesdiguières, desiring a conference, with a view to settle, if possible, the conditions of peace. They accordingly met at Laval, when the duke of Rohan proposed the following terms:—The restitution of all the cautionary towns; the liberty of holding assemblies, religious and political; the continuation of the sums granted for the support of the ministers and the pay of the garrisons; and a compensation for the losses sustained by such of the Protestant nobility as had been deprived of their places or possessions for having supported the assembly of Rochelle in the defence of their liberty and religion ⁴⁶. Lesdiguières pretended to consent, in the king's name, to all these proposals, excepting only the restitution of Saumur, and some towns in Poitou, which Lewis had determined to keep. Unable to exceed the bounds prescribed by his majesty, he agreed with the duke of Rohan that this difficulty should be determined between the king's ministers and the Protestant nobility and deputies of provinces, whom Buillon, councillor of state, undertook to conduct to court, and present to the king. Meanwhile advice was sent to the dukes of Bouillon, Tremouille, and Sully, the marquis de la Force, and the general assembly at Rochelle, of the negotiation opened between Rohan and Lesdiguières; and they were all invited to send deputies to court, to co-operate with those of the duke of Rohan, and of the provinces under his command.

⁴⁵ *Mémoire recondite di Vittorio Siri*, tom. p. 404.

⁴⁶ *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan*, liv. ii.—*Histoire du Connetable de Lesdiguières*, liv. xi. chap. 3.

As soon as the prince of Condé and his partisans were apprized of this circumstance, fearful that an accommodation might be concluded, they exerted every artifice their ingenuity could devise, to make the king leave Paris without farther delay. They were apprehensive that Lewis might be induced to listen to the proposals of the deputies, if the chancellor Sillery, and the president Jeannin, who pressed him to give peace to his subjects, should happen to be near his person, at the time of their arrival. The prince; cardinal Retz; and the count of Schomberg represented to Lewis, that Soubize, brother to Rohan, having made himself master of Lower Poitou during the winter, and the Protestants having recovered several of the places which had been taken from them in Guienne, during the last campaign; they would demand exorbitant conditions; that his majesty ought to make peace with rebellious subjects with arms in his hands; that he should previously retake what had been lost, during his absence, in Guienne and Poitou; and even reduce men, who had so long and obstinately persevered in their revolt, humbly to implore the clemency of their sovereign. It was generally expected that the king would pass the Easter holidays at Paris, but the prince of Condé and his adherents exerted themselves so successfully that they prevailed on him to quit the capital the week before ⁴⁷.

It is not known whether the prince and his party had any reason to apprehend that the queen-mother and the old ministers of state would engage the king to pass the Easter at Paris, and, during that interval, prevail on him to conclude a peace: be that as it may, Lewis left his palace secretly, and by a private door, on the evening of Palm-Sunday, after attending vespers. This extraordinary mode of departure created general surprize, as it rather appeared to be the effect of violence, than the consequence of a preconcerted plan. He hastened to Orleans, where he remained till his officers and household had joined him.

Lewis had left his capital with such precipitation, that he had no time to settle his plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. The persons who wished for a continuation of the war were only anxious to accelerate his departure from Paris, and to keep him at a distance from the old ministers, who wished to promote the restoration of tranquillity. On the king's arrival at Blois, it was debated in the council, whether, changing his road, he should go to Lyons, and pass from thence to Languedoc, or, following the course of the Loire, should first march towards Lower Poitou. Notwithstanding the forces which the king had left in that country, under the duke D'Epernon, the count of Rochefoucaut, and the marquis of Saint-Luc; Soubize, with a body of two thousand men, took the isle of Oleron, the city of Roian, the tower of Mournach, and several other places; the consternation was so great in the circumjacent country, that

⁴⁷ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. ii.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. vii.

there was every prospect of his remaining master of the field, unless a sufficient force were raised to oppose his army, which daily encreased. Soubize had first made an excursion into Saintonge, in order to give a little more liberty to the inhabitants of Rochelle, who were pressed pretty close. But his success in this attempt did not answer his expectation. The duke of Epemon sent orders to Rochefoucaut and Saint-Luc, who commanded in Upper and Lower Poitou, to repair to his assistance with all the troops they had with them. They accordingly obeyed, in compliance with the instructions they had received from the king previous to his return to Paris. Soubize, unable to contend with their united forces, left Saintonge and entered Poitou, whither he was followed by Saint-Luc and Rochefoucaut; but his army having by this time encreased to near eight thousand men, they were obliged to write to the duke of Epemon to demand a reinforcement. The duke, however, replied, that he could not leave his governments exposed to the invasion of the Hugonots, who had acquired a superiority in Guiennè as well as in Poitou.

The king, apprized of the duke's refusal, sent him, by express, the most positive orders to enter Poitou, with all the troops under his command, but these orders were neglected by Epemon; and a second express with a command still more peremptory than the first, was treated with equal contempt. His indignation at this act of disobedience was one of the principal motives which induced Lewis to direct his march into Poitou.

During the winter, the face of affairs in Guienne had somewhat changed; and the Protestants, recovered from their consternation, evinced a disposition to defend themselves with more courage and vigour than they had displayed in the preceding campaign. Most of the towns which had been reduced by the king were retaken. The garrison of Montauban surprized the small town of Negrepelisse, and the soldiers of the regiment of Vailhac were inhumanly massacred. The duke of Sully, who had retired to his estate in Querci, had sent to assure the king of his fidelity; but being now besieged by his son the count of Orval, in the town of Figeac, he apprized the mareschal de Themines of his situation, and warned him of the necessity of immediately stopping the progress of the Protestant arms. The marquis of Luzignan took Clerac by surprize, through the negligence of a magistrate of the parliament of Bourdeaux, who was superintending the demolition of the fortifications. La Force, the elder, having expelled Theobon from Sainte-Foi, under a pretence that he maintained a correspondence with the court, made himself master of that town, as well as of Tonneins; while his son secured Monflanquin in Agenois. Lastly, Favas, whom the assembly of Rochelle had appointed general of a part of Lower Guienne, made a descent on the country of Medoc, and took several places in the vicinity of Bourdeaux, which enabled them to open a communication with the district of Albret, Gascony and Bearn⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. vii.—Gramond, Historia Galliarum, lib. xi.

The duke of Elbeuf, who commanded the king's troops in Lower Guienne, exerted himself to impede the progress of the reformed. After reducing the castle of Duras, being joined by the marshal de Themines, he laid siege to Tonneins, which had been retaken by the marquis de la Force. Monpouillan, son to the marquis, defended the place with a degree of skill and courage which could scarcely have been expected from a man who had just entered upon his military career⁴⁹. But La Force having twice failed in his attempt to introduce succours into the town, and the besiegers having received fresh reinforcements from Bourdeaux, the garrison was at last compelled to capitulate. Monpouillan died soon after of a wound he had received during the siege. After his death, and the reduction of Tonneins, the zeal of his father in defence of the Protestant religion began to slacken, and the defeat of Soubize, and the rapid progress of the king's troops, induced him to listen to the advantageous proposals that were made him by the prince of Condé.

From Blois Lewis had repaired to Nantes, where he declared the prince of Condé his lieutenant-general, and the marshals Praslin and de Vitri received orders to act under him. The count of Rochefoucault had posted himself in an advantageous situation, in order to oppose the retreat of Soubize, who was entrenched in the isles of Lower Poitou. But the danger of attacking the Protestants was great, as the only possible time for making the attempt was midnight, when it would be low water, and the passage would be fordable. The generals were alarmed at the danger, but the personal intrepidity of the king compelled them to dismiss their apprehensions; and, at the appointed hour, the whole army made good their landing on the isles, and drew up in order of battle.

On the approach of the royalists, the duke of Soubize was seized with a panic; and though his army was little inferior to the king's, and possessed the advantage of a strong post, defended by a numerous train of artillery, he only consulted his personal safety, and endeavoured to effect his escape before the appearance of day. But his retreat was so ill-conducted, that his infantry were exposed to the fire of the enemy, and so dreadful was the carnage, that of eight thousand only four hundred were saved; nor were the cavalry much more successful, since but fifty, of eight hundred, were able to reach Rochelle⁵⁰.

After the reduction of Lower Poitou, Lewis continued his march towards Guienne, whence he intended to proceed to Languedoc. The deputies, conducted by Buillon, councillor of state, with the proposal for a peace, which had been concerted at the interview between the dukes of Rohan and Lesdiguières, met the king at Niort. The

⁴⁹ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, et de Pontis—Journal de Bassompierre.

⁵⁰ Le Vassor, liv. xviii. p. 392.

defeat of Soubize; the negociation opened with the marquis de la Force; and the siege of Roian, commenced by the duke of Epernon, had given such spirits to the prince of Condé, and all those who wished for a continuation of the war, that they expatiated, with the utmost violence, in the council, on the impropriety of receiving the proposals of the deputies⁵¹. Other conditions were proposed, and the deputies were referred for an answer, first to the queen-mother and then to the chancellor de Sillery; but this was done merely for the purpose of protracting the negociation, and giving the king time to reduce the provinces of Guienne and Languedoc.

On the king's arrival at St. Jean d'Angeli, he learnt that the duke of Epernon had withdrawn his forces from before the town of Roian; the siege of which fortress Lewis renewed in person, and after an obstinate resistance compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Then proceeding to Sainte-Foi, of which the marquis de la Force was governor, he concluded a treaty with that nobleman, who resigned the town to him, on condition of receiving a pecuniary compensation of two hundred thousand crowns, and the rank of marshal of France. The duke of Rohan, speaking of the accommodation, said—"M. de la Force has gained a marshal's staff, while I have lost my government. I do not envy his good fortune, and I am willing to acknowledge that he has more prudence than myself⁵²."

After the reduction of various places of little importance, the royal army invested Negrepelisse, a small town belonging to the duke of Bouillon, whose inhabitants had massacred a detachment of the regiment of Vailhac, which the king had quartered upon them the preceding winter. Lewis, to revenge this deed, determined to take the place by assault, and put the citizens to the sword. "You have my order"—said he to his officers—"to give no quarters to the inhabitants of Negrepelisse; those people have insulted me; and I'll have them treated as they have treated others." The inhabitants defended the entrance of their town with great courage, and resisted, as long as it was possible, the king's troops, who were stimulated by a thirst for revenge and the hope of plunder. At length, overpowered by numbers, they asked for quarter; and this being refused, they unanimously exclaimed, "We will die, then, like men of honour, and sell our lives dearly." They fulfilled their words, and continued fighting bravely to the last⁵³. The town was reduced to ashes; twelve men who had escaped the general massacre, being conducted before the king, were told by Lewis, that they deserved to be hanged; and having no hopes of moving a prince who seemed to have renounced every sentiment of humanity, they only requested the favour of being suspended to the trees.

⁵¹ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. ii.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII., liv. vii. ⁵² Discours du Duc de Rohan sur la Paix faite devant Montpellier. ⁵³ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII., liv. viii.—Mémoires de Puysegur, tom. i.—Mémoires de Pontis, tom. i.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.

in their own gardens. This singular request was complied with, and the grand-provost superintended the execution⁵⁴: the town being abandoned, by the king, to the licentious rage of a brutal soldiery, the chastity of the women was violated, and every species of excess, usual on such occasions, committed. Bassompierre, in his journal, gives the following laconic account of the transaction.—“ We took Negrepelisse after some resistance; every body was killed, except some few men who escaped to the castle, and the women. Some of these last were ravished; and others submitted to their fate with a good grace.” But the conduct of the courtiers on this occasion seems to have deserved the highest commendation; and the names of the duke of Chevreuse; of Pontis, then, young in the service; and of Roger, one of the king’s attendants; have been recorded by historians as peculiarly deserving of praise, for exertions of continence and generosity, in redeeming from the soldiers, by the payment of considerable sums, the destined victims of their lust, and restoring them unpolluted to their disconsolate mothers.

Saint-Antonin, a town situated on the river Aveyron, was next attacked, and, after a short resistance, surrendered at discretion; when a Protestant minister, with a few of his followers, was executed; but the rest of the inhabitants were spared on paying a ransom⁵⁵. Soon after the reduction of this town, the king repaired to Toulouse; and during his stay at that city the duke of Lesdiguières bartered his religion for the constable’s sword. The marquis of Châillon likewise quitted the Protestant party, on receiving the rank of marshal of France.

Several smaller towns experienced the fate of Saint-Antonin, and among others Lunel, where the capitulation was so ill-observed, that the royalists, in sight of the marshal de Praslin, not only stripped the garrison, as they marched out, but put four hundred of them to the sword. The only redress that was obtained for this act of injustice, was the execution of eight soldiers, who returned to the town laden with the spoils of those they had killed in violation of the faith plighted by the generals. Soon after the king made his entrance into Aigues-Mortes, which was surrendered to him by the marquis of Châillon; and this instance of treachery, together with the rapid progress of the royalists, induced the reformed to wish for an accommodation.

As the Hugonots offered to lay down their arms, on condition of receiving a general amnesty for the past, and liberty of conscience for the future, it was generally supposed that a peace would be speedily concluded. But an unforeseen obstacle occasioned the attainment of this desirable object to be considerably retarded. The inhabitants of Montpellier refused to admit the king into that city, though they offered to receive the

⁵⁴ Le Vasseur, tom. iv. liv. xviii. p. 416.

⁵⁵ Mémoires de Puysegur, tom. i.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. vii.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.

constable with any number of troops he might chuse to bring with him. This refusal proceeded from an assertion of the prince of Condé's, frequently repeated, that if the king entered Montpellier, he would resign it to pillage. The majority of the council were of opinion that the request of the inhabitants should be complied with; but the advice of the prince of Condé and Bassompierre, that the king should not submit to such a degradation as the refusal of admission into one of his own towns, prevailed, and the conditions were rejected. The siege of Montpellier was accordingly commenced, and pursued with great resolution; though the loss sustained by the royalists was so great as, for some time, to render the issue of it doubtful. But the king having received considerable reinforcements, and the duke of Rohan finding it impossible to introduce succours into the town; the inhabitants consented to surrender, on condition that the king should leave none of his own troops in the place. The articles of the capitulation, however, were violated, as Lewis, on his departure, left two regiments in garrison; but the reformed were too weak to renew the war in consequence of this infraction.

Meanwhile the siege of Rochelle had been carried on with great vigour by the count of Soissons, with an army of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, while the duke of Guise blocked up the port with a fleet of five-and-forty ships of war, and ten galleys⁵⁶. But the Rochellers having been defeated in a naval combat off the isle of Rhe, became anxious for a peace, which was, accordingly, concluded at Montpellier on the nineteenth of October. The principal articles contained in the treaty were these:—A fresh confirmation of the edict of Nantes, as well as of all the subsequent declarations, secret articles, and other concessions made to the reformed: the re-establishment of the two religions on the same footing on which they stood before the war: the liberation of the prisoners on either side without ransom: a general amnesty, by which every person should be restored to the possession of his places and estates; and the privilege of holding ecclesiastical assemblies, consistories, and synods, provincial and national. The reformed, however, were prohibited from convening *political* assemblies without express permission from the king. The edict of pacification was registered in the parliament of Paris on the twenty-second of November⁵⁷.

The king expressed great satisfaction at the conclusion of a treaty which released his kingdom from the calamities of civil commotions. He made a tour through the southern provinces of his dominions, and, on his arrival at Avignon, he had a conference with the duke of Savoy on the affairs of the Valteline. The Spaniards had neglected to comply with the articles of the treaty of Madrid, and had even taken up arms for the purpose of keeping possession of the country. The archduke Leopold, count of Tirol, had also

⁵⁶ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. ix.—Vittorio Siri, Mémoire recon dite, pag. 415, 416, 417.
du Duc de Rohan, liv. 2.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Bernard, liv. ix.

⁵⁷ Mémoires

seized a particular district, belonging to the Grisons. The two princes, at this interview, resolved to oppose these usurpations by force of arms, and having sent for the Venetian ambassador to the court of France, they adopted the project of a league, (which was concluded in the month of February in the following year) between Lewis, the duke of Savoy, and the republic of Venice, the object of which was the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Valteline. The court of Spain, on the news of this formidable combination, applied to the pope, insisting that he should prevent the French from adhering to the resolution they had adopted; while the king of France threatened to carry his arms into Italy, unless his holiness would compel the Spaniards to fulfil the treaty of Madrid.

When Lewis reached Lyons, the marriage of Gabrielle, daughter to Henry the Fourth, by the marchioness of Verneuil, with the marquis of Valette, son to the duke of Epemon, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. The king gave his sister a portion of two hundred thousand crowns, and half that sum was added by the marchioness of Verneuil. During the rejoicings that took place on this occasion, the bishop of Luçon received, from the hands of the king, the cardinal's hat, which had been sent him by pope Gregory the Fifteenth. The death of the cardinal of Retz, which occurred during the last campaign, had occasioned two vacancies; one in the sacred college, and the other in the king's council; to both of which Richelieu aspired; but for the present he could only obtain the first. He returned thanks to the king in presence of the whole court, and expressed, in a particular manner, his gratitude to the queen-mother: but though he continued to attach himself to that princess with the same assiduity as before, his gratitude only lasted as long as he found her friendship of use to him.

A. D. 1623.] The commencement of this year was rendered remarkable by the death of the president Jeannin, and the duke of Bouillon; the latter of whom left two sons: the eldest succeeded to the title of his father, and the latter was viscount of Turenne. The duke of Rohan having followed the king to court, obtained, by repeated solicitations, an order from Lewis to the marquis of Valencé, commander of the troops that had been left in Montpellier, to withdraw the garrison, and to fulfil the terms of the late treaty. But Valencé had received private orders to pay no attention to this command; and he even went so far as to place a guard at the residence of the duke of Rohan, under pretence of preventing that nobleman from making any attempts to disturb the tranquillity of a city, by the inhabitants of which he was universally esteemed. This affair made great noise at court; and the king, ashamed of so flagrant an act of injustice, was obliged to consent to the release of the duke; but on condition that he should not return to Montpellier, without his express permission⁵⁸. The inhabitants loudly complained

⁵⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom i. p. 231.

of this arbitrary conduct, which they justly considered as a manifest violation of the treaty of peace.

The Rochellers were equally discontented with the behaviour of the king's officers, who positively refused to observe the stipulations of the treaty with regard to themselves. A fort, called Fort Louis, had been constructed, during the war, in the vicinity of the town, which greatly incommoded the inhabitants, who, at the peace, insisted on the insertion of an article in the treaty, which provided for its demolition. But Arnaud, governor of the fort, far from enforcing the execution of this article, had considerably extended the fortifications, under pretence of giving employment to his troops. The Rochellers dispatched deputies to the king, to remonstrate on the injustice of the proceeding; and a letter was delivered to them by Lewis, addressed to Arnaud, and containing an order to complete the demolition of the fort, within a given time: but the same duplicity was observed on this occasion as the former; the order was secretly countermanded, and the fort remained to furnish matter for fresh contestations.

In vain did the reformed, who were justly displeased with such a dishonest system of policy, endeavour to reap the advantages they had hoped to secure by the late treaty. Their deputies-general presented a *cabier* to the king, containing two-and-twenty articles: they requested that commissioners of either religion might be sent into the provinces to enforce the execution of the edicts: that the garrison of Montpellier might be withdrawn: and that, in conformity to the *brevet* which had been granted to the inhabitants of that city, no innovation might be attempted in the election of their consuls: that Fort Louis should be demolished: that such of the reformed as had been sent to the galleys during the late commotions should be released: that the sums promised for the discharge of the salaries of the ministers; for the payment of pensions; and for the troops in garrison in the Protestant towns, should be immediately advanced, together with all arrears; that the king should establish a fund for the support of the ministers in the country of Gex; for rebuilding the temples at Charenton and other towns, which had been burned by the populace in 1621: that the temple at Bourg should be re-established: that the Protestant inhabitants of Villemur, Fontenai, Luçon, Talmont, Surgères, and of several other towns, should be allowed the privilege of publicly professing their religion: that those of Poitiers should be released from the payment of twelve hundred livres, which had been imposed on them for the support of the garrison which the king had placed in that city: that the reformed religion should be re-established in Navarreins: that the temples, clocks, and burial-places, formerly belonging to the Protestants, should be restored to them: that the Protestants should be exempted from the payment of contributions levied for the construction of Catholic churches; and lastly, that, in order to promote the perfect re-establishment of harmony and concord, all the troops which his majesty had left in Languedoc, the Cevennes, and several other districts, should be withdrawn.

Most

Most of these demands were eluded by the ministry, and the reformed had great reason to believe that peace would prove as fatal to them as war. They could obtain no justice from the court, who thought to conceal, beneath protestations of sincerity, the design they had formed for completing the destruction of the Protestant faith⁵⁹. Convinced that the reformed, as discontented as ever, would not fail, in their synods, to devise some means of avoiding the oppression with which they were threatened, Lewis resolved to prevent those assemblies from entering into any discussion, except on matters of religion and church discipline. He published a declaration, by which it was enacted, that in future all Protestant synods should be holden in presence of one of the king's officers, of the same persuasion, to be appointed by his majesty, or by the governors of the provinces. As it was no difficult matter to find an officer of this description wholly at the devotion of the court, it was conceived that all discussions but such as were agreeable to the king and the ministry would be avoided.

The Catholic inhabitants of Montpellier had joined the Protestants in their solicitations to have the garrison withdrawn from that city; but at the same time they requested that a citadel might be constructed to keep the Hugonots in awe. These last, justly considering this attempt as an infraction of the last treaty, complained to the king; and as no steps were taken for giving them satisfaction, they refused to disband their troops, particularly those regiments which were stationed in the environs of Rochelle and Montpellier. In consequence of such refusal, Lewis issued a declaration, which was registered in the parliament of Paris, in the month of November, containing an assurance that it was his intention strictly to observe all the edicts and articles granted in favour of the reformed; forbidding them to make any preparations for war, under pain of being treated as disturbers of the public tranquillity; and commanding his commissioners to remain in the provinces until all the promises he had made to his Protestant subjects were fulfilled. But this declaration produced no kind of effect, and indeed it appeared to be merely calculated for the purpose of deception.

About this time died Du Pleffis-Mornai, universally lamented by his party, whose religion he had ably defended, as well by his conduct as by his writings. He had in vain solicited to be restored to his government of Saumur; but though the king had made him a most solemn promise on that head, he made no scruple to break his word; and the only satisfaction Du Pleffis could obtain, was a pecuniary compensation of one hundred thousand livres, which the debts he had contracted in the king's service compelled him to accept.

A. D. 1624.] Mary of Medicis, not content with having procured for Richelieu the dignity of cardinal, was anxious to obtain for him a seat in the privy-council. She en-

⁵⁹ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. x.—Hugonis Grotii Epistola.—Joanni Grotii Patri, 1623.

tertained hopes, that a man of his address and knowledge in the conduct of important affairs would acquire a superiority over the other members, and be able to defend the interests, and maintain the authority of a benefactress, on whom his own preservation depended. The chancellor Silleri, and his son Puisieux, secretary of state, whose power at that time was almost absolute, exerted their utmost efforts to thwart the attempts of the queen-mother to introduce the cardinal into the ministry; and the king himself favoured their designs; for he was so prejudiced against Richelieu, that the most enlightened courtiers were of opinion that his mother would never be able to surmount his repugnance to employ a man to whose name he invariably annexed the epithet, *Cheat*. When pressed on the subject by Mary, he replied—"Both you and I have great reason to mistrust the artful disposition and profound ambition of the person you wish to recommend. I know him better than you, madam⁶⁰." The queen-mother entertained so high an opinion of her favourite, that she considered as mere calumny all the reports that prevailed to his prejudice.

Convinced that Mary would never succeed in her applications, so long as Silleri and Puisieux should continue to enjoy any portion of credit and authority, Richelieu persuaded her to encourage the attempts of their enemies to promote their disgrace. The prince of Condé was among the number, because he considered them as the chief promoters of the peace of Montpellier, the conclusion of which had induced him to retire from court, whither he now repaired but seldom. The count of Soissons was equally hostile to them, as he suspected them of having dissuaded the king from giving him the hand of his sister Henrietta. The duke of Bellegarde was their enemy from motives of interest: Toiras, who had begun to insinuate himself into the good graces of the king, was equally eager for their destruction; and the two powerful houses of Guise and Montmorenci, having received some cause of offence from Puisieux, joined the party against him.

The marquis of Vieuville, though indebted to the chancellor and his son for his promotion to the post of superintendant of the finances, unmindful of the obligation, contributed his endeavours to render them suspected and odious to the king. He represented them as persons more anxious to please the pope, and to soothe the court of Madrid, than to promote the interest of their master; and Lewis, who, as we are told by the duke of Rohan, was more easily persuaded to think ill, than to think well, of any man, lent a favourable ear to his suggestions, and secretly resolved on the dismissal of the chancellor and the secretary of state. Silleri was warned by Bassompierre of the decline of his credit; but, unwilling to believe what he dreaded to experience, he, for some

⁶⁰ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. iii.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vittorio Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 347, 348—Lumières pour l'Histoire de France.

time, resisted the strength of that testimony which flashed conviction on every mind but his own. At length, however, the diminution of his influence became too apparent to be doubted; and, resolved to avert the disgrace of a formal dismissal, he waited on the king, and begged him, in consideration of his advanced age, to accept his resignation of the seals, which were immediately given to Aligre⁶¹. The disgrace of Puiseux followed soon after.

Mary of Medicis, more anxious than ever for the elevation of cardinal Richelieu, resolved to profit by the change in the ministry to introduce him into the council. She often sounded Vieuville on the subject, who professed to be wholly devoted to her service; but the superintendant had as great an objection as his master to place Richelieu in a situation where he would suffer no equal, much less a superior. Harassed by the incessant solicitations of the queen-mother, Vieuville endeavoured to persuade the king to send Richelieu to Rome; and his majesty appeared strongly disposed to consent to this scheme, but he was fearful of giving too great offence to Mary of Medicis. This objection Vieuville obviated, by telling him that he might recall Barbin from exile, who was a great favourite of Mary's, and who would be much less troublesome than the cardinal. The suggestion met with the approbation of Lewis; who went to Compiègne, under pretence of taking the amusement of the chace, but in reality with a view to send an order from thence, for the immediate departure of Richelieu to Rome. The queen-mother, however, having received intelligence of his design, followed her son to Compiègne, accompanied by the cardinal. Her first object was to obtain the consent of Vieuville to the admission of her favourite into the council; and she endeavoured to quiet the apprehensions of the superintendant, by promising him that the cardinal should do nothing without his advice and approbation. "Madam,"—said Vieuville, overcome by the ardent solicitations of Mary—"you require what will infallibly occasion my ruin; and I know not but your majesty may one day repent the promotion of a man, with whose disposition you are not yet sufficiently acquainted. Since you demand of me this mark of my submission to your will, I rather chuse to risk my fortune, than to lose the honour of your friendship⁶²."

Vieuville then represented to the king that he must either admit the cardinal to a seat in the council, or come to an open rupture with his mother: "All that your majesty can now do"—said he—"is to impose certain restrictions that may prevent the inconveniences which this restless and ambitious spirit is capable of giving rise to." It was therefore agreed, that the cardinal should take his seat at the council board, but that he

⁶¹ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vittorio Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 548, 549. ⁶² Lumières pour l'Histoire de France—Mémoires de Déageant, p. 306, 307—Vittorio Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 566, 597—Mémoires pour l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1624.

should only give his opinions on such affairs as were submitted to be discussed by the members; that he should transact no business, at his own residence, with foreign ambassadors; and that he should grant no public audience, as all former ministers had done. The elevation of Richelieu, and the consequent augmentation of the queen-mother's authority, gave great offence to the prince of Condé, who refused the king's invitation to return to court, and persisted in his determination to remain in his government of Berri.

Richelieu, whose admission into the council forms a new epoch in the reign of Lewis, displayed an uncommon affectation of modesty at the commencement of his administration. Were his assertions worthy of credit, we must believe, that it was not the king but the cardinal himself who had prescribed the restrictions above mentioned. He pretended to be fond of retirement, and averred that his health was so bad as to render it impossible for him to pay much attention to business: far from being able to carry on negotiations at his own house, and granting public audiences, the hurry and bustle of such transactions would prove fatal to him: and he could only promise to attend the council when his health would permit him. This affected modesty of a prelate, whose vast ambition was known to every one, became an object of derision to the whole court⁶³.

Vieuville, about this time, nearly effected his own ruin, by disgusting Gaston, duke of Anjou, the king's brother. Ornano, colonel of the Corsicans, and governor to the young prince, who had entered his seventeenth year, had advised his pupil to ask the king's permission to assist at the council, in order that he might be early accustomed to business. Vieuville easily persuaded Lewis that the eagerness displayed by his brother on this occasion was the effect of Gaston's suggestions, who aspired to a seat in the council himself, and also to become minister to the prince, to whom he was now but governor. The king, therefore, ordered the colonel to repair to his government of Pont Saint Esprit; and dismissed most of the officers of the prince's household. Ornano, delaying to obey the king's orders, in the hope that he might be previously allowed to enter upon a justification of his conduct, was committed to the Bastille, and from thence transferred to the castle of Caen⁶⁴. Gaston was no sooner apprized of the imprisonment of his governor, than he gave a loose to his indignation, and expelled from his presence all those whom he knew to be pleased at the event. His almoner, the avowed enemy of Ornano, officiously endeavoured to console his master for the loss of his favourite; but the prince ordered him to quit the room, and never more to appear before him.

⁶³ Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iv. liv. 20. p. 661, 662.
Affaires du Duc D'Orleans—Mémoires d'un Favori de Monsieur—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vittorio Siri, Memorie recondite, tom. v. p. 609, 610.

⁶⁴ Mémoires Anomimes sur les

The courts of Rome and Madrid were greatly alarmed at the conduct of the new ministry. Two ambassadors extraordinary from England had opened a negotiation, at Compiègne, where the court then resided, on the marriage of the princess Henrietta, sister to Lewis, with the prince of Wales: and a league was also talked of between the kings of France and England, the republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy, for the purpose of thwarting the ambitious designs of the house of Austria⁶⁵. Three extraordinary ambassadors from the states-general of the United Provinces arrived, at the same time, at the French court; to request a renewal of the alliance between the king and their masters, and a supply of money to enable them to continue the war against Spain. Vieuville, anxious to distinguish himself by the adoption of a different line of conduct from that which had been pursued by his predecessors, seemed disposed to grant their requests; but his disgrace, which occurred soon after, deprived him of the opportunity of completing the projects he had formed.

After the dismissal of Vieuville, Marillac, Champigni, and Viole, attorney-general in the parliament of Paris, were appointed directors general of the finances; but the latter having refused to resign his place in the parliament, the administration of the revenue was entrusted solely to Marillac, a creature of the queen-mother's. The count Schomberg was recalled from exile, and re-admitted to his seat in the privy council: Ornano was released from prison, and permitted to resume his post of governor to the duke of Anjou: in short, a complete revolution took place at the court; and Richelieu artfully availed himself of the change to establish his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign.

James of England, whose lofty ideas of royalty had led him to adopt the resolution of never suffering the heir to his throne to take a wife of rank inferior to his own, had entered into a negotiation with the court of Madrid for the purpose of obtaining for his son, prince Charles, the hand of the Infanta. His proposals were received with pleasure by Philip the Fourth, who offered, with his daughter, a fortune of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the restitution of the Palatinate, which had been wrested from Frederic, son-in-law to James, by the emperor of Germany. But when every preliminary was settled, and the business on the point of completion, the temerity of the duke of Buckingham, whom the English monarch had taken from obscurity to be the bane of himself, his family and people, blasted the flattering prospect.

The earl of Bristol had been employed to conduct the negotiation with Spain; and as his interest with a family about to possess an important influence in England, could not

⁶⁵ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vittorio Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 475, 576—Wilson's History of Great Britain—Rushworth's Historical Collections, 1624.

fail to render him a formidable rival to the favourite, Buckingham became jealous of his success, and partly from this consideration, and partly from the suggestions of vanity, he resolved to introduce himself to the court of Spain. He had, for some time, studiously cultivated the friendship of the prince of Wales, and possessed, at this period, so much of his confidence as to procure his consent to a project more worthy the knight of a romance than the minister of a powerful kingdom. This project was a journey to Madrid, whither he proposed the prince should travel in disguise, accompanied by himself; and the absolute sway which this imperious favourite had acquired over his too-easy master, enabled him, after much opposition, to extort from James a compliance with his proposal. Their adventures on this strange scheme were, and have been the subject of many novels: Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham his squire. They travelled through France in disguise, and under assumed names. They arrived at Paris, on the eve of a day, on which the queen was to give a magnificent feast, to be followed by a splendid *ballet*, in which the principal personages were to be represented by the queen herself and the chief ladies of the court. The prince and his companion went to the Louvre, remained in the room while the company dined; and were then introduced into a gallery where the king was walking; and afterwards procured, through the means of the duke of Montbazon, to whom they had some recommendation, seats in the ball-room, where Charles first saw Anne of Austria, sister to his intended bride, in the character of Juno; and the princess Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty, in that of Iris. The next day the two adventurers left Paris, and proceeded to Bourdeaux. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect. But the imprudent conduct of Buckingham excited universal disgust: he filled the whole city of Madrid with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges and jealousy; and to complete the catalogue of his follies, he conceived a passion for the duchess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that nobleman in person. Sensible how odious he had become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the nation would naturally acquire, in the English councils, after the arrival of the Infanta, he resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. What arguments he made use of to the prince, to induce him to put such an insult on a monarch from whom he had experienced the most generous treatment, it is not easy to conceive, and history is wholly silent on the subject. Whatever they were, they proved efficacious with Charles, who, before he left Madrid, was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain.

James, unwilling that his son should be disappointed of a bride, determined to apply for a daughter of France, and had therefore sent over, the preceding year, the earls of Holland and Carlisle, who experienced a favourable reception from Lewis. Some difficulties, however, occurred, in obtaining from the pope the requisite dispensation for the projected alliance between Charles, prince of Wales, and the princess Henrietta. To remove these father Berulle was dispatched to Rome, in July 1624.

Berulle

Berulle was instructed to represent to the pope, “ that this marriage might prove of great utility to the Catholic religion, because the princess, being firmly attached to the faith in which she had been brought up, might be able to convert her husband, and thereby provide for the security of the English Catholics: that the king of England being thus allied to the crown of France would cease to foment the hatred which the Protestants bore the Catholics: that his most Christian majesty had declared to the English ambassadors, that he would do nothing which could be construed into an act of disrespect to his holiness: that he had stipulated that the nuptials should be celebrated according to the rites of the Romish church, and also that the free exercise of the Catholic religion should be allowed to the princess and her family, so that in all the royal mansions where she should reside, a chapel would be allotted for the celebration of the mass, and the administration of the sacraments: that she would be allowed a bishop for her chaplain, who would be entrusted with sufficient power to proceed against such ecclesiastics as should transgress the bounds of their duty; that they would have six-and-twenty priests, who were to officiate in their usual dress: that the king and the prince would swear not to press the princess, directly or indirectly, to do any thing hostile to the faith she professed: that her domestics would be all French Catholics, chosen by his most Christian majesty; and that on the decease of any of them, they were to be succeeded by others of a similar description⁶⁶.” These were the grounds on which the pope was required to grant the dispensation.

But his holiness entertained apprehensions that the king of France, in consequence of this alliance, would be led to afford protection to the Hugonots; and he, therefore, wrote to Lewis and to Mary of Medicis, in the hope of preventing its conclusion. The king replied, that the pope would not find him a less rigid Catholic than the king of Spain, and that his attachment to his religion was, probably, the only reason which retarded the marriage of his sister. As Urban, however, might still object that the articles which had been agreed on with the court of Spain were more favourable to the Catholic religion than those which had been concluded with France, father Berulle was ordered to represent to his holiness that the Spaniards, in order to gain time, and to avoid the restitution of the Palatinate, now offered to accept of less than the king of England had conceded to his most Christian majesty: and that the prince of Wales, in order to extricate himself from the power of the Spaniards, had promised more than he intended to perform: and lastly, that for the present it was impossible to obtain more advantageous terms from the English. Berulle urged these points so strongly that the pope promised to send the dispensation.

The dispensation, however, did not arrive till the beginning of May in the following year; and, Spada, the nuncio, refused to deliver it, until he had received a written

⁶⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 249, 250.

promise, signed by the king and the princess Henrietta, that the conditions exacted by the court of Rome should be strictly fulfilled. Henrietta then made a formal renunciation of any rights that might accrue to her in case her father and her two brothers should die without issue; and engaged to procure her husband's satisfaction of the said deed immediately after the consummation of their marriage. The contract was signed by the English ambassadors on the eighth of May. The nuptial ceremony was performed, by the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, at the cathedral of Paris, on the eleventh; and on the twenty-third of the following month, the new queen of England arrived at Dover, and being there met by her royal consort (whose father had died during the negotiation) was conducted to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated.

During these transactions, the minds of the public were kept in suspense by the unsettled state of affairs in the Valteline. Some of the principal forts in that country had been sequestered in the hands of the pope by the mutual consent of the parties concerned; but as Philip refused to fulfil the treaty of Madrid, Lewis now claimed their restitution. The pope would willingly have been excused from interfering in this business, both because the maintaining a garrison in the forts was expensive, and because the dispute could not, in his opinion, be terminated, even by the most refined politician without giving offence to one of the parties: but he had convinced himself that the Catholic religion could never be preserved in the Valteline, unless a free passage was allowed to the Spanish as well as to the French troops. To secure this, Urban had drawn up a treaty, in concert with the duke of Palrang, and Silleri, the Spanish and French ambassadors at the court of Rome: but the king of France disavowed the conduct of his minister and sent Bethune to Rome to explain the reasons which prevented him from acceding to the project proposed by his holiness.

Affairs were in this situation when Richelieu took his seat in the council. Perceiving the inutility of negotiation, that prelate formed the resolution of re-establishing the reputation of France among her allies, and of rendering her formidable to Rome as well as Spain. Not content with dispatching positive orders to Bethune to employ the language of firmness to the pope, and even threaten him, he publicly proclaimed the king's determination of having recourse to arms, should the Spaniards persist in their refusal to execute the treaty of Madrid. In fact the marquis of Cœuvres had been already sent, as ambassador extraordinary, to the Swiss, to exhort them to join the king, for the recovery of the Valteline. Cœuvres took with him the sum of six hundred and sixty thousand livres, a part of which was to be distributed among the Swiss, and the remainder to defray the expences of the war, in case the king should be compelled to engage in it. The troops of the League, concluded the year before between the king of France, the republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march in the month of September, that they might continue their operations during the winter; lest the archduke Leopold, and the governor of Milan should
seize

seize the passes and fortify them so well as to render it extremely difficult to force them. As the time was short, the count of Bethune received orders to press the pope and the Spaniards as much as possible, and by the alternate employment of remonstrance and threats, to make the latter abandon their project of keeping the passes of the Valteline.

All these efforts having proved ineffectual, the marquis of Cœuvres was urged to accelerate the assembly of his troops, and to hold them in readiness to march. The pope's nuncio and the Spanish ambassador to the Catholic cantons of Switzerland employed every artifice they could devise to make the marquis defer the execution of his plan, but he continued his operations with spirit, and fixed the twenty-seventh of October for a general insurrection of the Grisons. His design was discovered by means of some letters which the Spaniards intercepted and sent to the pope; but though both Philip and Urban made a great noise on the occasion, neither of them took any measures for thwarting the schemes of the French.

The marquis de Cœuvres having assembled his little army, consisting of three thousand Swiss, as many Grisons, and one French regiment, entered the Valteline. On his approach to the fort of Valmonastero, situated in a valley which served as a line of communication between the Tirol and the Valteline, it was evacuated by the garrison, who carried off the guns and ammunition. By the possession of this important post, the marquis was enabled to exclude the Austrian troops from the Valteline. After fortifying the passes behind him to secure the reception of provisions from Switzerland, he took the road to Maienfeld, and, at Coire, convened a general assembly of the Grisons, at which he effected a reconciliation between the contending factions, and persuaded them to unite for the expulsion of the common enemy.

Penetrating farther into the country, he made himself master of Casaccio, Poschiavo, and Bormio, in the month of November. Finding the bridges destroyed which opened a passage into the heart of the Valteline, he speedily rebuilt them, and, though destitute of artillery, formed a design of attacking the town of Platamalla, which the garrison immediately evacuated. Tiranio and Sondrio, though defended by the troops of the pope, experienced a similar fate.

The rapidity of his progress enabled him to extend his incursions to the fort of Fuentes, at the farther extremity of the Valteline, in order to observe the motions of some Spanish troops, which were posted on the banks of the lake of Como, and six companies whereof had thrown themselves into Riva and Nova. But the cold became so excessive that it was impossible to proceed any farther; Cœuvres, therefore, secured the places he had reduced, and put his troops into winter quarters.

A. D. 1625.] The refusal of the king to comply with the terms of the treaty of Montpellier, and demolish Fort Louis, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of

the reformed, enraged the inhabitants of Rochelle to such a degree, that they determined to do themselves justice ; with this view, they gave the command of a small fleet to the duke of Soubize, who was to attack seven of the king's ships which lay at Blavat. When the duke had accomplished his project, and was preparing to return, the wind suddenly shifted, and exposed his whole fleet to the danger of destruction, as it was compelled to remain within reach of the guns of the fort. The duke of Vendôme immediately hastened to the spot, accompanied by all the nobility of Brittany ; but before the cannon could be brought to bear, on the ships with any effect, the wind again changed, and enabled Soubize to escape with his prizes. The Rochellers then made an attack on Fort Louis, but failing in their attempt to take it by assault, they desisted from the undertaking, through fear of being surrounded by the royal army. Such was the commencement of the second war of religion, as it was termed, undertaken by Soubize, and continued by his brother Rohan ; but their measures had not been well-concerted, and they declared themselves with too much precipitation⁹⁷. Nor did the war, which soon after broke out in Italy, though it strengthened their hopes, do much service to their cause.

Cardinal Richelieu, who now began to have the chief management of affairs, had told Spada, the pope's nuncio, that if in six weeks the dispute between the courts of France and Spain should not be terminated, he would see all Europe in motion ; then talking on the subject of carrying the war into Italy, he observed, that the king had formed great designs on that country, and had a sufficient force to ensure them success : he insinuated to the nuncio that it was the intention of his master to give one half of the kingdom of Naples to his holiness. The nuncio replied, that the Valteline would be a more acceptable present to the pope, and would cost the king less trouble to procure. The reductions of the forts which had been sequestered in his hands, had extremely mortified Urban, who persevered in his opinion that the expulsion of the Spaniards would prove the ruin of the Catholic religion in the Valteline. He accordingly sent Bernadino Nari, as ambassador extraordinary to France, to complain of the conduct of that court, and to require that the places taken in the Valteline by the marquis de Cœuvres might be restored. The council had several meetings on the subject, as if anxious to devise some means of affording satisfaction to the papal ministers ; though in fact their only object was to gain time, that they might be enabled to secure more advantageous terms for themselves. After many difficulties started by the French ministry, a suspension of arms in the Valteline was agreed upon for two months ; but before the news of this agreement had reached Cœuvres, that general had, in compliance with the instructions he had received, made a farther progress in the country, and reduced several other fortresses. The pope soon after sent his nephew, cardinal Francesco

⁹⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 257.

Barberini, to France, to endeavour as well to procure some final arrangement with regard to the Valteline, as to obtain a peace for the Genoese, who were attacked by the duke of Savoy, assisted by the French.

The constable Lesdiguières, and his son-in-law, the marshal de Créquy, had repaired to Suza in the month of October, 1624, for the purpose of holding a conference with the duke of Savoy. They there concluded various articles, concerning the league already mentioned, in the presence of the Venetian ambassador, all of which were rendered public; but they signed two secret articles, one of which related to the particular part of Italy in which a diversion should be made to prevent the Spaniards from sending their whole force to the protection of the Valteline. It was agreed to attack the Genoese, under pretext of recovering the marquisate of Zuccarello, a fief of the empire, situated on the confines of Liguria and Piedmont, to which the duke of Savoy preferred some antiquated claims. On this ground, the duke declared war against the republic of Genoa, and settled, with the ministers of Lewis, the number of troops that France was to furnish for this expedition. The whole of this transaction was kept secret from the Venetian ambassador, from an apprehension that the senate might be induced to thwart the projects of the allies; it was only mentioned, in general terms, that the king of France and the duke of Savoy would attack the Spanish territories in Italy.

Although the king, by this treaty, was only obliged to send three or four thousand men into Piedmont, he consented that the constable and the marshal de Créquy should pass the Alps with six thousand foot and five hundred horse: the duke of Savoy had engaged to send eight thousand of the former and two thousand of the latter, and the Venetians, twelve thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. But when the army was reviewed at Asti, at the beginning of March, it was found only to consist of four-and-twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, with a train of artillery of four-and-twenty pieces of heavy cannon, and fourteen field pieces. Some disputes arose on the plan of operations; but the constable, who commanded the French troops in person, leaving orders to conform to the opinion of the duke of Savoy, it was determined to enter the Genoese territory by the way of Monferrat, and to seize the towns of Acqui and Capriata. The duke's object, in fixing on this road, was to gratify his ancient animosity to the house of Mantua, whose possessions he knew would suffer materially from the depredations of the army. Capriata, a small town, which refused a passage to the troops, was taken by assault, and resigned to pillage, as well as Montbarazzo. Acqui was also reduced, and the allies there established their magazine, with a promise to restore the town to its lawful possessor, at the conclusion of the war. The army then entered the Genoese territory, and established their head-quarters at Novi, on the frontiers of the Milanese. Ovada was evacuated; and while the constable made a false attack on Gavi, the duke of Savoy took the important post of Rossiglione. The duke urged Lesdiguières

to press forward to the city of Genoa; but the constable refusing to comply, the duke accused him of being bribed by the enemy. This occasioned a misunderstanding between them, which was farther encreased by the conduct of Lesdigulieres, who placed a French garrison in every town that was reduced by the allies.

Meanwhile the legate Barberini had arrived at Paris, in the month of May, when cardinal Richelieu, mareschal Schomberg, and Herbaut, secretary of state, were appointed to treat with him. He demanded redress for the insult sustained by the pope, by the incursions of the marquis de Cœuvres, in the Valteline. Richelieu replied, that the king had only consented to sequestrate the forts in the hands of his holiness, for a certain time; and that before the irruption of the marquis de Cœuvres, his majesty had made the most fair and honourable proposals to the pope, in order to remove every ground of complaint and discontent. The security of the Catholic religion in the Valteline formed the next object of discussion; the legate declared that it could never subsist, without a material diminution of the sovereignty of the Grisons; while cardinal Richelieu avowed that the king would never suffer any invasion of the rights of his allies; and as the legate had received no powers from the court of Spain to treat on this article, the negociation was suspended for a time.

During these transactions the dukes of Rohan and Soubize continued their hostile operations; and the court no sooner learned that one of them had made himself master of the sea-coast, in Poitou and Guienne, and that the other was exciting the people in Languedoc to demand the execution of the treaty of Montpellier, than the orders which had been given to several regiments to march into Italy were countermanded. The duke of Savoy and the constable Lesdigulieres were greatly alarmed at the reception of this intelligence, from the idea that a civil war in France would prevent the meditated conquest of Genoa. They immediately dispatched two envoys to Paris, to request his majesty to make some concessions to the reformed in the present situation of affairs; and they at the same time sent a messenger to the dukes of Rohan and Soubize, to urge them to desist from their enterprize. The king offered the duke of Rohan a regiment of twelve hundred men, besides his company of Gendarmes, and consented to give his brother the command of a fleet of ten sail, destined for the attack of Geneva, on condition that he should restore the vessels he had taken at Blavet. In order to satisfy the inhabitants of Rochelle, the king engaged to demolish Fort Louis as soon as they should have destroyed some new fortifications which they had erected in the isles of Ré and Oleron; and that all the edicts which his majesty had granted in their favour should be punctually fulfilled.

Rohan and Soubize, from the conviction that the court, being engaged in a foreign war, would grant all their demands, rejected their proposals, and insisted on a prompt and

and complete execution of the peace of Montpellier, and on the immediate demolition of Fort Louis. But they were deceived in their expectations ; for the king having no dread of the interference of foreign powers, resolved to attempt the reduction of the reformed, which, he conceived, from the divisions that prevailed among them, would be a matter of no great difficulty. The duke of Rohan, with all his exertions, could raise but a small force, and could, with difficulty, procure the appointment of general in the Vivarez, in Upper-Guienne, and in Languedoc. Rochelle, indeed, had joined Soubize, and her example was followed by Montauban and Castres, and by some other places ; but still the two brothers could not render themselves sufficiently formidable to extort terms from the court.

In the month of July the marshal de Themines and the duke of Epemon were sent to oppose the dukes of Rohan and Soubize. Themines blockaded the city of Montauban, and, by the erection of four forts, which commanded the place, contrived to harass the garrison and inhabitants, by frequently bombarding them, as well as by intercepting their provisions. Epemon took from the malecontents the towns of Boncial, Saint-Paul, Lamiatte, and several other places of less importance ; he also made a successful attack on the duke of Rohan at Viane, who was obliged to retire during the night, with all the troops he had brought with him from the Cevennes. Rohan, too, was repulsed with loss, from the castle of Sannieres, which he had endeavoured to take by surprise. In short, the reformed met with such ill success in all their attempts, that their leaders were induced to send deputies to court to sue for peace.

The towns of Rochelle, Castres, Montauban and Milhaud presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to give peace to his Protestant subjects by the execution of his royal promises. This petition was favourably received by Lewis ; and cardinal Richelieu was disposed for peace, that he might be at liberty to terminate the affairs of the Valteline, with the greater expedition, and to greater advantage. But Barberini, the legate, who wished that the continuation of domestic troubles might prevent the king from carrying the war into Italy, complained so loudly of the indignity offered him by negotiating a peace with the Protestants, (at Fontainebleau) in his presence ; and the French clergy, assembled at Paris, stimulated by the creatures and emissaries of the court of Rome, exclaimed with such vehemence against the ministers of state, and, particularly, against cardinal Richelieu, that they did not dare press the king to grant the reformed such conditions as they could accept. The news of a naval victory, however, obtained by Soubize over the king's fleet, made the opinion of the ministers prevail. " The ruin of the Hugonots"—said the cardinal—" may be deferred without shame, but your majesty cannot, consistent with your honour, abandon the affair of the Valteline. Should you lose this opportunity of checking the constant attempts of the Spaniards on the liberties of Italy, they will speedily subdue that territory." Convinced of the justice of these observations, the king consented to grant peace to the reformed on the following conditions.

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“ That Fort Louis should not be demolished until the expiration of six months from the conclusion of the treaty : that the reformed should keep possession of their cautionary towns for a farther term of three years : that the construction of certain forts in the vicinity of Montauban should be stopped : and that a sum of money should be given to the dukes of Rohan and Soubize, as a satisfaction for all their claims, on condition that Soubize would restore the ships he had taken belonging to the king.” “ But the Rochellers”—says the duke of Rohan in his Memoirs—“ destitute of judgment, and indolent in prosperity, would not consent to the peace, without stipulating for the immediate demolition of Fort Louis.”

The war, therefore, was renewed with additional vigour; and the Rochellers having, during the negotiations, burnt some Dutch vessels, had now to dread the resentment of the United Provinces. It appeared strange indeed, that the Dutch, professing the same religion with the malecontents, should send a squadron to join the king's fleet; but they were anxious to maintain their alliance with the French, who were bound by treaty to pay them six hundred thousand crowns a year, so long as they should be engaged in a war with Spain. The Dutch admiral, Houtstein, had entered into a secret convention with the Rochellers, for the mutual observance of a kind of neutrality, purporting that they should do each other as little injury as possible; but the Rochellers, expecting to destroy the whole of the king's fleet, had violated their agreement with the Dutch, and burned the vice admiral's and some other ships.

Houtstein was greatly enraged at this act of treachery, and having procured a fresh reinforcement, he joined the French fleet, which now amounted to sixty sail; a force which the Rochellers were wholly unable to resist. The duke of Montmorenci, grand admiral of France, took the command of this fleet, which sailed from the coasts of Poitou, on the fifteenth of December, and steered towards the Isle of Ré, where the fleet of Rochelle was at anchor, in the bay of Saint Martin. Saint Luc, and Thoiras, governor of Fort Louis, made a descent on that island, the same day, with seventeen hundred foot, and fifty or sixty horse. Soubize, who commanded a detachment of thirteen hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, fired on the royalists as they disembarked within sight of him; but whether he was deceived as to their numbers, or was alarmed at the formidable appearance of the French fleet, which had cast anchor in the bay of Saint Martin, whence that of Rochelle had previously sailed, he fled with such precipitation that he even left his cannon behind him. The next day, Saint Luc and Thoiras advancing towards the town of Saint Martin, perceived Soubize approaching at the head of three thousand five hundred men: but, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, the Protestant troops were so far discouraged with the defeat of the preceding day, that they made little resistance; and Soubize no sooner saw them thrown into disorder, than he mounted his horse and galloped to the sea-side, where a sloop waited to receive him: the duke of Montmorenci, meanwhile, had defeated the enemy's fleet in several successive attacks.

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The pope's legate was still at Paris, when the news of these victories arrived. Although he was pleased at the humiliation of the Hugonots, he saw, with chagrin, that the court, no longer under any apprehensions on their account, daily became more resolute with regard to the business of the Valteline. The pope, on the other hand, could not prevail on himself to restore that territory to the Grisons, from the dread of seeing the re-establishment of Calvinism, which most of the inhabitants professed. As Barberini had compleatly failed in his negociation, he demanded an audience of leave, and left the kingdom, in an abrupt manner, on the twenty-fourth of September.

When the ministers complained to the nuncio of the abrupt departure of the legate, Spada arrogantly replied, that Barberini did not chuse to stay any longer to be amused by deceitful propositions: that the cessation of arms he had demanded no longer depended on the will of the king: that the face of affairs in Italy was changing; and that it became necessary to know whether the Spaniards, who had established their superiority, would now accept it. In fact, a surprizing revolution had taken place in Italy. The Genoese had recovered all the towns that had been wrested from them: the duke of Savoy, driven back into Piedmont, was occupied in defending his own fortresses, besieged by the enemy; and the marquis of Cœuvres, after making himself master of the Valteline, was on the point of being expelled from thence. Feria, governor of Milan, had impeded the progress of the French army by throwing a body of four thousand foot and two companies of horse, under the conduct of colonel Serbellon, into the small town of Riva, and some other posts, at the entrance of the Valteline. Several unsuccessful attempts were made upon Riva by the confederates, whose army daily diminished by sickness and desertion. The baron Papenheim, a German officer, entered the Valteline, beat the French in two or three places, took from them twelve pieces of cannon, besides eleven armed vessels, belonging to the confederates, on the lake of Como. The Valteline was in danger of being totally lost, if the Venetians had not, very opportunely, sent a body of troops to its relief. With this reinforcement, strengthened by some farther succours, which arrived from France in the month of October, the marquis of Cœuvres attacked the Spaniards in his turn, recovered all the posts they had taken, and re-established the affairs of the Valteline on the same footing as before⁶⁶.

The news of this success had not been received in France, when the assembly of the notables, which had been convened for the express purpose of taking into consideration the present state of public affairs, met at Fontainebleau, on the twenty-ninth of September. The king; the queen-mother; the duke of Anjou, brother to the king; the dukes of Nemours, Longueville, and Chevreuse; the marshals Bassompierre, Schomberg, and Aubeterre; all the officers of the crown; four cardinals; the archbishops and bishops,

⁶⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 274, 275.

nominated by the assembly of the clergy, then sitting at Paris; the councillors and secretaries of state; the directors and intendants of the finances, and the chief magistrates of the parliament of Paris, being assembled in a spacious apartment in the castle of Fontainebleau, the king told them, in a few words, that his chancellor would explain to them the motives which had induced him to call them together. D'Aligne then addressed the assembly, and explained to them, at great length, the nature of the ancient alliance subsisting between the crown and the Grisons; the invasion of the Valteline by the Spaniards; the treaty of Madrid; the transactions subsequent thereto; the reasons which induced the king to command the marquis de Cœuvres to take the forts which had been sequestered in the hands of the pope; the cardinal Barberini's legation; his partiality to the king of Spain; the tendency of his propositions to favour that prince; and, lastly, the cardinal's precipitate departure, and his refusal to accept the customary present from the king. The chancellor particularly insisted on the pretension of the court of Rome to deprive the Grisons of the sovereignty of the Valteline; and on the maxim maintained by the pope, that no restitution should ever be made to an heretical prince of what has been taken from him, under the pretence of supporting the Catholic religion.

The cardinal de Sourdis, being wholly devoted to the pope, gave his opinion in favour of a cessation of arms, and a speedy termination of the war: he was answered by Richelieu, who dwelt with great energy on the necessity of supporting allies when unjustly attacked; and he observed, that the affairs of France being in a prosperous situation, the legate should be made to know, that the assembly approved the resolutions already adopted in the king's counsel of preferring the continuation of war to the conclusion of a disadvantageous peace. This communication influenced the opinions of all the other members, or, rather, deprived them of the power of voting; for none of them would venture to oppose the known intentions of his majesty, who dismissed the assembly before any resolution was taken.

Meanwhile the blockade of the city of Rochelle continued, and the marechal de Themines was appointed general of the army that was sent to restrain the incursion of the inhabitants. Unable to resist such a superior force, the Rochellers sent deputies to court, in the month of November, to implore the clemency of their sovereign. They had considerable difficulty in obtaining an audience of his majesty; but the constable Lefdiguières having written to court in their favour, their petition was at length received, and the chancellor prescribed them the following terms:—"That the fortifications of Rochelle should be demolished, and the town reduced to the same state in which it was before the first troubles in France, on account of religion; that the Rochellers should have no ship of war in their harbour; and that they should admit an intendant of justice in the city." These conditions, though tending to destroy the grand bulwark of the Protestants, would probably have been accepted, but for some favourable intelligence received,

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at this period, from England, whither Soubize had retired after his last defeat, intimating that the English ministry would not suffer the Protestants of France to be oppressed by the king.

A. D. 1626.] In fact these expectations were so far fulfilled, that ambassadors from Charles arrived at Paris, with instructions to promote an accommodation between Lewis and his Protestant subjects; and, after much negociation, in which Richelieu endeavoured to deceive all the parties concerned in the business, a peace was concluded on the fifth of February, by which the king consented to grant to the prayers of the Rochellers the demolition of Fort Louis. Richelieu had no other intention in concluding this treaty, than that of suppressing all domestic factions, in order to remove every obstacle to the completion of his designs. The court of France exulted in the success of their schemes for deceiving the English, and all the other powers who interfered on the occasion; but, as the duke of Rohan judiciously observes, they in fact deceived themselves; for their conduct only tended to promote the interests of Spain; the oppression of their allies; and the injury of the kingdom.

The conclusion of this peace with the reformed afforded the enemies of cardinal Richelieu grounds for accusing him of inattention to the interests of religion, and the welfare of the state. A great number of libels upon him were published in Latin, and circulated with great industry. Some of these were condemned by the parliament of Paris; and the cardinal, having the key of the treasury in his possession, was in no want of writers to undertake his defence. The best answer, indeed, that could have been given, would have been an explanation of his real designs; but as that would have undeceived the Protestants, and, in some measure, counteracted the effects of his intrigues, he rather chose to incur the imputation of partiality, and leave to time the confutation of a charge which tended to prove him the friend of a sect he was anxious to destroy.

It was of equal importance to Richelieu, at this conjuncture, to avoid foreign wars and domestic commotions, without which he would have been unable to establish his authority, or to dissipate the party that was forming against him at court. It was, therefore, with a view to make the Spaniards consent to terms advantageous to France, with regard to the Valteline, that he made peace with the reformed; but with a resolution of renewing the war, as soon as the treaty with Spain should be concluded⁶⁶. It was necessary for him to conduct this negociation with Spain with the utmost secrecy; for he was fearful that the Venetian senate, ever attentive to the proceedings of the two crowns, might oppose difficulties to the conclusion of such articles as should appear too favourable to the interests of either; and that the duke of Savoy, incessantly employed in projects

⁶⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom i. p. 183, 184.

of conquest and aggrandizement, might prevent an accommodation, in order to profit by the rupture that must inevitably ensue between the French and Spanish monarchs. To ensure success to his designs, the cardinal sent private instructions to Du Fargis, the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, to negotiate a treaty on the two following conditions:—That his Catholic majesty should withdraw his pretensions to a free passage for his troops through the Valteline; and that he should consent that the Grisons should be restored to the possession of their sovereignty, reasonable precautions being previously adopted for the safety of the Catholic religion in that country. And as the ambassador was invested with no powers from the king on this subject, the cardinal instructed him not to write to court until the treaty should be signed, when he would undertake to procure the king's ratification. But, lest Lewis should be disposed to listen to the suggestions of the cardinal's enemies, in case they should apprize his majesty that he had taken upon himself to order the conclusion of a treaty without the knowledge or participation of his sovereign or his allies, that minister managed matters with such address, that the whole transaction appeared to have originated with the queen-mother.

Nothing could equal the king's surprize when he received a treaty concluded between his ambassador, Du Fargis, and the Condé duke of Olivarez, prime minister to the king of Spain. He evinced the most violent indignation, and seemed determined to disavow Du Fargis, and declare the treaty null, as having been signed without his orders or knowledge. The council persevered in this resolution for several days, during which they continued to censure, in the severest terms, the precipitate conduct of the ambassador: the queen-mother and the cardinal expressed the same discontent with the rest. But when the king's first ebullitions of passion had evaporated, they proposed to him coolly to examine whether it was not better to attend to the substance of the act than to its form; and to pay more attention to the terms of the treaty than to the mode in which it was concluded and signed: besides, they observed, that if these terms were not deemed sufficiently advantageous, better might, possibly, be obtained. This last expedient being adopted by the council; the king dispatched a courier to Du Fargis, to reproach him with his temerity, and to order him to repair his fault by correcting the treaty he had so hastily concluded. At the same time he received instructions as to the alterations which the king wished to be made in the different articles, together with orders to report the king's conduct on this occasion as a strong proof of his inclination for peace: Du Fargis was told, that if the Condé duke would subscribe the articles, with the corrections, he might sign them also, and impart them to all the foreign ministers then resident at the court of Spain; but that if Olivarez should refuse to make any alteration in the treaty, he should immediately take leave, and return to account for his conduct ⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 285, 286.

As soon as the French ambassador had received these orders he hastened to Barcelona, where the Spanish court then was, and, by the earnestness of his solicitations, and the firmness of his language, induced Philip and his minister to consent to some alteration in the terms of the treaty, though not to all which Lewis required. Du Fargis deeming these concessions sufficient; and being refused by Olivarez the necessary delay for sending a courier to France, made no scruple to sign the treaty. Cardinal Barberini, the pope's legate, arrived at Barcelona precisely at this period; and as no decent pretence could be devised for refusing him a sight of the treaty, to which, it was well known, he would endeavour to oppose all the obstacles in his power, the two ministers agreed to antedate it, so that it purported to have been signed on the sixth of March, at Monçon, where the court then resided¹. By this treaty it was stipulated, "That the affairs of the Grisons and of the Valteline should be restored to the same situation in which they were in the year 1617" (meaning that the sovereignty of the Valteline should be confirmed to the Grisons, and the passes of that country secured to France); "that within that province, the exercise of no other religion than the Roman Catholic should be allowed: that the natives of the Valteline should chuse their own governors and magistrates from among themselves or the Grisons, provided the objects of their choice should be Catholics; that such elections should be confirmed by the Grisons, who should not, however, have the power of withholding their ratification: that the forts taken from the pope should be restored to his holiness, for the purpose of being demolished and razed to the ground: that the two monarchs should employ their utmost efforts for the re-establishment of peace between their allies," (the duke of Savoy and the republic of Genoa) "and that they should give no kind of assistance to them, either openly or privately, until all their endeavours for promoting a reconciliation had failed."

This treaty was not calculated to impress the minds of the public with any high opinion of the political talents of cardinal Richelieu; and indeed the dissatisfaction it gave was almost universal. The duke of Savoy expressed his indignation in terms the most pointed and unequivocal; he recalled his son, the prince of Piedmont, who was then at the French court, and threatened to join the English, in order to assist the reformed, on the very first opportunity that should occur. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, was equally loud in his complaints: he called Richelieu a knave and a cheat, and left France, as much enraged, and with as little ceremony, as the prince of Piedmont. The king now began to be apprehensive that the false step into which this minister had betrayed him, would tarnish his fame in the eyes of all Europe; and he therefore dispatched Châteauneuf, a councillor of state, to Venice and Switzerland, with orders to omit nothing that could tend to appease the Venetian senate, the Protestant Cantons,

¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 285, 286.

and the Grisons, and to induce them to consent to the treaty. Lewis endeavoured to gratify the ambition of the duke, by offering to procure the acknowledgment, by the different courts of Europe, of his vain title of king of Cyprus. Charles Emanuel accepted a proposal which flattered his vanity; but he was not the less displeased with Richelieu, whose inveterate enemy he continued for the remainder of his life.

The cardinal's enemies, indeed, increased in proportion to his power; and a very formidable party at court were secretly labouring to promote his downfall. Envy, ambition, jealousy, and even gallantry, combined on this occasion to cement an union of persons between whom no affection subsisted, and who were all guided by different views, which they were extremely careful to conceal from each other. But the more his enemies appeared united among themselves, the more firmly did Richelieu attach himself to the person of the king. He contrived so closely to connect his own interests with those of his sovereign, and to render the authority of the crown so dependent on the fortune of the minister, that it became almost impossible to attack the one without invading the other.

The late king had intended to marry his second son to the only daughter of Henry of Bourbon, last duke of Montpensier; but as the time approached for the completion of this alliance, Lewis expressed the strongest repugnance to the marriage of his only brother. As Lewis began to entertain apprehensions that Anne of Austria would produce him no heir, he was afraid that the presumptive heir to his throne would become too powerful, and that all the nobility would, when they saw his family increase, apply themselves with too much eagerness to obtain his protection and favour. For this reason he ordered the marshal D'Ornano, who had a considerable influence over the mind of the young prince, to prevent Gaston from contracting too great an attachment for the princess. Richelieu was anxious to promote this marriage, either from complacency for the queen-mother, who wished to pursue the plan which had been adopted by her husband, or from the desire of securing for himself a powerful support in the person of the Duke of Anjou. But the more ardently the cardinal laboured to promote the success of this plan, and to insinuate himself into the good graces of Gaston, the greater aversion did the young prince evince as well from the cardinal as from the princess of Montpensier. Richelieu imagined that with the assistance of Ornano he might be able to effect his scheme; but the marshal rejected his advances, which so enraged the vindictive minister, that he resolved to promote his destruction.

For the accomplishment of this plan the cardinal employed his confessor, father Joseph Du Tremblay, a Capuchin friar, a man better versed in political intrigues than in matters of conscience. The monk, feigning a particular esteem for the marshal D'Ornano, gave him to understand that it was time to procure the duke of Anjou a seat
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in the council, that he might obtain an insight into the affairs of government. An insinuation of this nature was well calculated to work on the mind of the mareschal, who considered the advancement of his master as his own; and he therefore took an early opportunity to represent the matter to the king, observing that such a distinction was due to the duke, as well from his merit as his birth; and adding, that if it should be deemed expedient to refuse him a seat in the council, it would, at least, be proper to entrust him with the command of the army. Lewis mentioned this proposal to the cardinal, who fully expecting it, was prepared with such observations on the subject as best answered his own views. The king, timid and mistrustful, was easily led to give credit to the insinuations of his artful minister, who remarked that Ornano was careful to instil the most ambitious ideas into the mind of the young prince, who, in case of his majesty's death without heirs, would succeed to the throne. He even went so far as to intimate that those who opposed the marriage of Gaston with the princess of Montpensier, had formed a plan for confining the king, and giving the hand of his consort to the duke of Anjou. Preposterous as this idea must have appeared to every rational being, it made so strong an impression on the mind of Lewis, that he never could be convinced of its fallacy, and he now became as eager for the marriage of his brother, as he had before been averse from it.

In order to remove every pretext which Gaston might have for forming cabals at court, the king at length determined to grant him a seat in the council. This resolution was not communicated to Ornano, who had met with a positive refusal, and who now complained of the transaction as an insult offered to his honour; he afterwards applied for permission to accompany his master to the council, with the privilege of *standing* in the council chamber, in the same manner as the secretaries of state, but this was refused; and the cardinal, his implacable enemy, contrived to give the most sinister interpretation to his demand. The mareschal expressed his discontent on the subject in such strong terms, that the king caused him to be arrested a few days after at Fontainebleau.

The duke of Anjou was no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than he complained most bitterly of the injustice offered to his favourite. "If the mareschal be culpable"—said the duke to the king—"I am also: he is the most faithful servant you have."—But the more Gaston expatiated in his favour, the more firmly was Lewis persuaded that Ornano had acquired an undue influence over the mind of his brother, which he exerted for the purpose of engaging him in dangerous practices. The misunderstanding this occasioned, produced two effects perfectly conformable to the secret views of Richelieu: it augmented the mistrust which the prelate was anxious to excite in the mind of the king to the prejudice of his brother; and the ill-humour which Lewis displayed on the occasion kept Gaston in a state of apprehension, and prevented him from entering into any cabals. What, indeed, could be expected from a prince of eighteen, frivolous,

volous, imprudent and unsteady ; surrounded moreover by confidents whom Richelieu was always careful to corrupt ? Gaston abandoned the mareschal, after signing a deed, by which he promised to serve the king with due honour and respect, and resigned the fate of Ornano to the clemency of his sovereign, who, he hoped, in compliance with his urgent entreaties, would treat him favourably. He even condescended to pay a visit to the cardinal at Limours, whither he had retired, at the end of May, under pretence of indisposition.

The arbitrary conduct of Richelieu, and the shameful connivance of Lewis, during the whole of this transaction, while they characterized the men, deserved the warmest execration. Ornano was conducted to the Bastille, and afterwards to Vincennes : two of his brothers, and several other persons who were objects of suspicion to the cardinal, were arrested at the same time : they were at first accused of having conspired against the king and his minister, with a view to render themselves masters of the government ; but another charge was added in the sequel, intimating that they had formed a design against the *life* of their sovereign. As the chancellor D'Aligne had entered but faintly into the views of Richelieu, the seals were taken from him, and given to Michael de Marillac, who was wholly devoted to the cardinal ; and the office of superintendant of the finances, which Marillac had enjoyed, was bestowed on the marquis D'Effiat, another creature of Richelieu's ; who, by this means, had the absolute disposal of the seals, and of all the revenues of the crown.

These tyrannical proceedings could not fail to encrease the number of malecontents, whose designs began to be more clearly discovered, in the month of June, by means of Henry de Tollerand, marquis of Chalais, grand-master of the wardrobe. It is pretended, that a secret council was holden by nine friends of the duke of Anjou and the mareschal of Ornano, in which the assassination of Richelieu had been resolved on. Chalais, who was one of the number, betrayed the secret to a friend, at whose instigation he was induced to reveal it to the minister : Richelieu sent him to the king with the intelligence ; and at eleven at night Lewis ordered thirty of his Gendarmes and as many light horse to hasten to Fleury, where the deed was to have been committed, and act in obedience to the commands of the cardinal. The queen-mother also sent a part of her own officers and several of the nobility to the protection of her favourite.

Early in the morning of the next day the officers of the duke of Anjou's household repaired to Fleury, as Chalais had predicted, in order to make preparation for a party who were coming there to hunt. The cardinal gave up his house to them, and going himself to Fontainebleau, entered the duke of Anjou's chamber just as he was about to rise. The duke expressed his surprize at seeing him so early, and Richelieu reproached the duke for not having done him the honour to ask him for a dinner at Fleury ; observing, that as he wished to be at liberty, he had resigned his house to him.

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Whatever truth there might have been in the project of assassination, the existence of which appears highly doubtful; the hunting-party took place: and Chalais is said to have informed the conspirators of the discovery he had been instigated to make of their designs. The party consisted of the duke of Anjou, the count of Soissons, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Vendôme, the grand prior of France, the duchess of Chevreuse, the duke of Epemon, the marquis of Valette, and several other persons of inferior quality. Richelieu resolved to promote, if possible, the destruction of them all; and should he fail in his attempt to do this, he was at least determined to keep them all at a distance from the court. He began by founding the king, in order to discover how far he might rely on the continuance of his friendship and protection; for which purpose he pretended he had come to a determination to retire, from a consciousness that his presence at court tended to excite disturbances in the royal family. This scheme succeeded to his wishes: the king and his mother, alarmed at the pretended resolution of the cardinal, earnestly requested that he would not abandon them at a time when they stood in the greatest need of his advice and services. They assured him he might rely on being fully protected against the duke of Anjou, the princes of the blood, and the most powerful of the nobility: they promised to reveal to him every thing that his enemies should say to his prejudice; and they offered him a certain number of guards for the safety of his person. The hypocritical minister at first declined the offer of the guards, observing that such a precaution was unnecessary, and that, at all events, it would be glorious for him to die in the service of his majesty; he was, at last, however, prevailed on to accept them.

Having thus established his superiority over his enemies, his thoughts were now wholly bent on revenge. The first objects of his attacks, were the grand prior and his brother the duke of Vendôme: under pretence of procuring for the first the office of high-admiral of France, which he had long solicited, he drew them both to Blois, where the court then resided, and caused them to be arrested and thrown into confinement in the castle of Amboise. The cardinal aspired himself to the office of admiral, which he induced the duke of Montmorenci to resign, on a promise of the constable's sword. He caused the name of the office to be changed by a royal edict, issued in the month of October, by which the cardinal was declared *chief and superintendant general of the navigation and commerce of France*.

The duke of Anjou, meanwhile, exerted himself to obtain from Richelieu the release of mareschal Ornano. Finding all his efforts unavailing, he thought of retiring from court, but from this he was dissuaded by his friends, who advised him to court a reconciliation with the minister. Gaston accordingly paid a visit to the cardinal at Limours; when Richelieu made him a tender of his good offices, and the duke returned satisfied with the feigned marks of attachment he had received.

The minister, however, suffered nothing to escape which could tend to render the duke of Anjou an object of suspicion to the king. He corrupted Chalais, from whom he exacted a promise that he would reveal to him all the secrets of his master : but that nobleman having reflected on the infamy of such conduct, desired to retract his word, which convinced the suspicious cardinal that some fresh plots were forming against him. He immediately determined on the destruction of Chalais, from the apprehension that he might disclose his own designs ; and he was accordingly arrested at Nantes, whither the court had repaired, on certain accusations preferred against him by Louvigni, whom Richelieu had suborned.⁷² The substance of these accusations was, that Chalais had promised to kill the king ; that Gaston and his friends were parties in the conspiracy, and had agreed to attend at the door of the king's apartment, in order to support the assassin, and favour his escape. A more atrocious calumny than this was never fabricated, yet judges were appointed, with the keeper of the seals at their head, to try the party accused.

The erection of this extraordinary tribunal, called the *chamber of justice*, to try a man who, if really a criminal, would have been condemned in any parliament the king might have chosen for the purpose, excited great discontent in the kingdom. But this mode of trying people, in contradiction to the ancient laws of the realm, by persons appointed by ministers or favourites, was one of the principal engines employed by Richelieu and his successors for the indiscriminate destruction of the innocent and the guilty. The cardinal was so well convinced of the innocence of Chalais, that he repeatedly visited him in prison, and promised him a pardon, provided he would persist in corroborating the deposition of Louvigni, and never confess that he had, at the instigation of Richelieu, solicited the duke of Anjou to retire from court. Chalais, uncertain how to act, alternately influenced by the dread of punishment, and the hope of pardon, confessed every thing that was required of him, and accused the very persons who had been pointed out to him. He deposed, that a design had been formed of declaring the king impotent ; of confining him in a monastery ; and of marrying Anne of Austria to the duke of Anjou. Hence arose that extreme aversion which Lewis the Thirteenth ever after evinced from his wife and his brother, and which he preserved till his death⁷³.

The queen-mother and the cardinal availed themselves of the present conjuncture to press the conclusion of Gaston's marriage with Mademoiselle de Montpensier. They incessantly represented to the king, that it was the only means of thwarting the projects of the nobility, who were differently interested in this affair ; and their arguments were urged with so much warmth that they at length obtained his consent. Orders were given to the duke of Bellegarde, marshal Bassompierre, and the marquis D'Effiat, su-

⁷² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 296.

⁷³ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 297.

perintendant of the finances, to conduct the princess to Nantes. But she had no sooner arrived than fresh suspicions were studiously instilled into the mind of Lewis. It was intimated to him, that if the duke of Anjou should ever be married to a rich heiress, allied to the house of Guise, (by the marriage of her mother, Catharine Henrietta de Joyeuse, with the duke of Guise) and should obtain a considerable appanage, his authority at court would become so extensive, particularly if he had children, that his favour would be courted in preference to that of his majesty. Alarmed at these suggestions, the king complained to his confessor of his mother's want of affection: "She loves my brother better than me,"—said he—"and that is the reason why she is so anxious to have him marry my cousin Montpensier." It became necessary to employ fresh arguments to tranquillize the mind of this weak prince. Mary of Medicis had recourse to tears in order to extort from him the names of the persons who had filled his mind with these alarms; and the dismissal of Tronson, Marillac, and Sauveterre, was the consequence of the information she received. Baradas, the king's favourite, though equally culpable with the rest, escaped, through the forbearance of his master to mention his name.

The next step was to procure Gaston's consent to a marriage to which he had hitherto evinced the utmost repugnance; but as the king had expressed his approbation of the match, none of the duke's confidants durst venture to dissuade him from it; the business, therefore, was soon settled, and the ceremony was performed, on the fifth of August, with little pomp. The king, in consideration of this marriage, settled on his brother the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois; wherefore the duke thenceforth bore the title of Orleans, instead of that of Anjou. His appanage was afterwards augmented by the lordship of Montargis. The princess brought him the principalities of Dombes and Roche-sur-Yon; the duchies of Montpensier, Châtelleraut, and Saint Fargeau, with several other lordships, which she inherited from her father. The beauty of her person, and the sweetness of her disposition, very soon enabled her to secure the affection of her husband. But still the nuptial joys were damped by the death of Chalais, who was deeply regretted by the duke of Orleans. He had in vain exerted his utmost efforts to save the life of that gentleman: the sentence which condemned him to suffer decapitation was executed towards the end of August.

Such was the means by which Richelieu was accustomed to rid himself of the persons he employed in the execution of his dark designs. The duchess of Chevreuse was banished to Lorraine; and the count of Soissons, not daring to remain any longer at Paris, took the road to Italy, having previously obtained the king's permission to travel. Even Anne of Austria herself was not exempt from the resentment of this imperious and vindictive minister. Not content with having prejudiced her husband against her, he persuaded that weak monarch to summon her before the council, where the king publicly reproached her with having cherished a wish to have two husbands at the same time. He caused

that part of the secret deposition of Chalais to be read to her, in which he mentioned the design of confining the king in a monastery, and afterwards marrying her to his brother: and strict orders were given that no man should in future be admitted into the queen's chamber, or closet, unless the king were present. Richelieu thought of bringing the duke of Vendôme and the grand prior to trial; but the former claimed the privilege of a peer, and the latter that of a knight of Malta, by which means the proceedings were stopped, and the two brothers were transferred from Amboise to Vincennes.

The death of the marshal Ornano, who expired in prison, in the month of September, before the king's return to the capital, made a great noise in the world. The friends of the deceased propagated a report that poison had been administered to him by the order of Richelieu; but this was contradicted by the physicians and surgeons who examined the body, and the general opinion was that he died of the stone. Be that as it may, he solemnly protested on his death-bed, and at the time of receiving the sacrament, that neither he nor the duke of Orleans had ever conceived the black design of making any attempt on the person of the king: that it was true, that the duke being excluded from all share in the government, through the means of cardinal Richelieu, measures had been taken for diminishing the too great authority of that prelate, and for introducing the duke into the ministry: but that was the sole object of the conspiracy, or, at least, if any thing farther had been projected, it had never come to his knowledge.

The king having convened the states of Brittany, at Nantes, deprived the duke of Vendôme of the government of that province, which he bestowed on the marshal de Themines. About this time the constable Lesdiguières died, at the advanced age of eighty, and was succeeded in his extensive possessions by his son-in-law, the marshal de Crequi. The post of Constable, although promised by Richelieu to the duke of Montmorenci, was, in the following year, suppressed by a royal edict.

The pregnancy of the duchess of Orleans considerably strengthened the hopes of her husband, whose authority appeared likely to increase by the attachment of the nobility, as soon as he should have children capable of succeeding to the throne. Indeed, no object seemed to be above his reach, when supported by the Guises, and the other powerful nobles with whom he had contracted an alliance, by his marriage with the princess of Montpensier. They all united in their hatred of Richelieu, and were alike anxious to devise means for promoting his destruction. But that minister found two modes of maintaining his fortune, and even of extending the boundaries of his power. The first was the destruction of the Protestant party; and the second, the diminution of the influence of the nobility, by taking away a considerable part of their pensions, and by depriving them of certain strong posts which they possessed in their respective governments. The more the nobles of the realm were humbled and weakened, the less able would they be to support the duke of Orleans, in case he should ever be tempted to take up arms, with

with a view to enforce the dismissal of a minister who wished to keep him in a state of absolute dependance. The ruin of the Protestant party would deprive the malecontents of their greatest resource; and the demolition of such forts as were not situated on the frontiers, would take from them one of their principal means of defence, in case an open opposition to the measures of government should induce the king to attack them. Lastly, by retrenching the pensions, the princes and nobility would lose the greatest, and, in certain respects, the most *essential* parts of their revenue. But these projects appeared subject to inconveniencies, capable of alarming and of stopping a man of the most enterprising and most determined spirit. The king of England, pretending that he had guaranteed the last peace that was granted to the French Hugonots, threatened Lewis with a declaration of war, in case he should refuse to execute the promises he had made the preceding year, to the inhabitants of Rochelle. By attacking that city, therefore, or by evincing any hostile disposition towards the Hugonots, he would expose himself to an attack from all the naval forces of England, besides the risk of offending the states-general of the United Provinces. How, too, were the Hugonots to be attacked without raising fresh troops, and without imposing fresh taxes on the people, already overburdened with imposts? The minister would become an object of universal execration; and the nobles, enraged at the attempt to effect a diminution of their revenues, and a curtailment of their power, under the stale pretext of retrenching all superfluous expence, would support the complaints of the people, and secretly urge them to revolt ⁷⁴.

But this combination of discouraging circumstances proved insufficient to restrain the daring spirit of Richelieu. He determined to attack Rochelle on the first opportunity, and conceived a project for engaging the nobility to serve the king against their own interests. Absolute master of the marine department, by the suppression of the office of high admiral, he laboured to augment the naval force of the kingdom; and that he might be enabled to resist the English fleets, he projected a league with the king of Spain against the British monarch. He resolved to amuse the states-general of the United Provinces, as well as the Spaniards, until he should have effected the reduction of Rochelle; and indeed it was not probable that the Dutch would, by affording assistance to the Rochellers, risk the loss of the advantages they derived from their alliance with France. The grand difficulty of accomplishing these designs appeared to consist in reconciling the minds of the people to the necessary augmentation of the forces by land and sea, and to the consequent imposition of additional taxes. For this purpose Richelieu persuaded his master to convene an assembly of notables, which met at Paris on the second of December, 1626, at the palace of the Tuilleries.

74 Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. v. liv. 24. p. 531.

The king was seated beneath a canopy, placed at the extremity of a stage, or platform, erected at the upper end of the apartment, with the queen-mother on his left-hand. At his right, but not beneath the canopy, was seated his brother the duke of Orleans. The cardinals Rochefoucault, La Valette, and Richelieu, arrayed in their pontificals, were seated rather below the duke, on a bench richly decorated. Below them, and on a separate bench, were placed mareschal Schomberg and some other noblemen of the privy council. On the left of the throne sat Marillac, keeper of the seals, clothed in his robes of violet-coloured velvet, lined with crimson satin. The count de Termes, captain of the guards, stood behind the throne, with several other officers. On a scaffold erected on the left of the king were placed the princess of Conti, all the principal ladies, and many of the chief nobles, of the court. Below the stage, and in front of it, was a table covered with rich tapestry, at which sat the three secretaries of state, Herbaut, Ocquerre, and Beauclerc; and on their right was placed a bench for the comptroller-general and intendants of the finances. At the foot of the stage were long benches, covered with cloth of gold; those on the right were occupied by the first presidents, and attornies-general of the parliaments of Paris, Languedoc, Normandy, Guienne, Provence, Dauphiné, Brittany, and Navarre: and those on the left by four archbishops and eight bishops. These, with the first presidents of the different chambers of accounts, composed the whole assembly ⁷⁵.

When objects of the first magnitude were to be discussed the ancient mode of assembling the states-general of the kingdom was certainly the best that could be adopted; but cardinal Richelieu, apprehensive that such an assembly would be more anxious to consult the good of the public than the wishes of the minister, determined never to convene them. The notables, the extent of whose authority was chiefly regulated by the will of the sovereign, were careful not to oppose any project or requisition that was sanctioned by his approbation. From this period the ministers began to give a different signification to the term "The good of the *state*," which was no longer applied to what constituted the felicity of the three orders of the kingdom; but to that which furnished the king or his ministers with the means of accomplishing the projects they had conceived. Neither the nobility nor the commons now formed a separate body; the clergy only assembled at the pleasure of the king; and whoever complained of the government incurred the charge of sedition, and sunk beneath the credit and authority of ministers. Hence the monarch established an absolute power over the laws, and the ministers acquired the ability to violate with impunity every species of privilege.

A. D. 1627.] As soon as the members of the assembly had taken their seats, the king told them, that he had called them together for the purpose of taking their advice.

⁷⁵ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. ii. chap. 9.—Nouvelle Vie du même, liv. ii.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1626.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du même, 1627.—Mémoire recueillie di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 245, 246, &c.

on the remedy to be applied to various disorders that subsisted in the state, which he had determined to restore to its primitive splendor; the keeper of the seals would, he observed, make known to them his pleasure in a more particular manner. Marillac's speech was replete with fulsome adulation and unfounded assertions; while he ascribed to the king the possession of every quality that could form a good and accomplished prince, he had the boldness to maintain, in the presence of the duke of Orleans, that his majesty had really detected secret conspiracies against his person and state. In order to pay his court to Richelieu, he endeavoured to support facts that were calculated to destroy the reputation of the queen, and of the presumptive heir to the throne, whom the cardinal wished to render accomplices of the atrocious crimes which he had employed as a pretext for the execution of Chalais, and the imprisonment of several other innocent persons. Marillac then entered upon the state of the revenue, observing that the receipt amounted only to sixteen million of livres, whereas the expenditure since the year 1620 had never been less than from thirty-six to forty; and that although recourse had been had to extraordinary means for making good the deficiency, a debt of fifty million had been incurred.

“ His majesty”—pursued Marillac—“ anxious to avoid similar inconveniences in future, has resolved to render the receipts equal to the expenditure, by an augmentation of the one and a diminution of the other; for which purpose he means to reduce the expences of his household, and to excite his subjects, by his own good example, to a strict observance of the sumptuary laws. Independent of the embarrassment frequently occasioned by the too-extensive authority of a constable, and an high-admiral, each of them received a salary of two hundred thousand livres; the king, therefore, has suppressed those offices. His majesty has it in contemplation to lessen his expences, in a still greater degree, by diminishing the garrisons, and demolishing several fortresses, which create unnecessary expence, contribute to the oppression of the people, and compel the king to set armies on foot on the first news of a commotion. With regard to the increase of the revenue, expedients the least onerous must be adopted; and what better can be done than to redeem the crown lands, pledged for a trifling sum, and to recover the alienated duties upon salt and the tailles.”—Marillac then properly adverted to the encouragement of commerce, as the most certain means of enriching the people, and repairing the honour of France.—“ It is dreadful”—said he—“ to observe the lethargy that has prevailed amongst us for several years. Our neighbours subject us to their laws; they put a price on all our goods, and oblige us to take theirs on such terms as they please to prescribe. Pirates pillage our coasts with impunity, and carry off his majesty's subjects. We are the more culpable, in as much as the kingdom contains all the articles requisite for forming a strong naval force. These articles we sell to neighbours whom we might easily subdue and render dependent on ourselves⁷⁶.”

⁷⁶ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. xxiv, p. 536, 537.—Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 392, 393.

The idea of establishing a strong naval force, and of extending the commerce of the country, was truly worthy a wise and enlightened minister; but the necessary means for ensuring success to such a project Richelieu was far from wishing to adopt: Colbert, at a subsequent period, made a similar attempt, but succeeded no better than Richelieu. More intent on oppressing the people, than on rendering them flourishing and free, neither of those ministers was aware that commerce never prospers in a country whose inhabitants have not the free enjoyment of the fruits of their industry duly secured to them. Experience sufficiently proves that commerce and tyranny cannot for any length of time, nor in any great degree, subsist together. In proportion as the latter gains strength, the strength of the former diminishes. The advantageous situation of a country will never, of itself, prove a sufficient temptation to mercantile men, unless freedom has established her residence there. London and Amsterdam are not so well situated for trade as many towns in Spain; yet in point of commerce they are infinitely more flourishing than any other towns in Europe; and for this simple reason; that the property of individuals is holden sacred.—Marillac concluded his speech, by urging the necessity of enacting ordinances, more severe than any yet in existence, for the punishment of speculation, and the prevention of conspiracies and insurrections. What passed at this assembly might lead any one to believe that Lewis and his ministers had serious thoughts of reforming the abuses in the government. The king, indeed, might be sincere in his professions; but Richelieu was solely intent on the establishment of arbitrary power, and on exercising an absolute sway in the name of his master.

After a few words from mareschal Schomberg, the cardinal made a long speech: addressing himself to Lewis—"Sire,"—said he,—“ I think it would be superfluous to represent to this illustrious company the glorious actions performed by your majesty in the course of the last year; the keeper of the seals has already discharged this duty, in a very able manner; and, indeed, the facts speak for themselves. Every body knows that God has been pleased to make use of the piety, courage, prudence, and other virtues, with which he has endowed you, for effecting, in a short space of time, for the advantage of this kingdom, what most men supposed it impossible to execute in many centuries. It would be equally needless to specify the extraordinary sums which such signal achievements have cost. Every one must be aware that, in matters of state, great things cannot be effected at little expence. The numerous armies which your majesty maintained rendered your power an object of admiration, and many people still doubt the possibility of what they have seen with their own eyes. There is not one among you, gentlemen, but knows how necessary the expence was, and with what integrity the money was managed. The probity of those who were entrusted with the administration of the revenue, justifies the last point; and the oppression of the allies of the crown, the rebellion entered upon by the heretics within the kingdom, and the commotions projected by persons who were anxious to avail themselves of his majesty's wishes to restore the state to its primitive splendor,

“ in

“ in order to effect its ruin, sufficiently prove the truth of my first observation. The
 “ advantage accruing to the state from such expences demonstrates their necessity ; and,
 “ far from complaining, all good subjects are rejoiced at the circumstance.”

“ Affairs are now, thank God ! in a prosperous situation ; but it would be the
 “ height of presumption to suppose they will always remain so. We are reduced to the
 “ necessity either of exposing the kingdom to the evil designs and machinations of such
 “ as daily meditate its ruin and abasement, or to devise certain expedients for averting
 “ the evils with which we are threatened. It is the king’s intention so to regulate mat-
 “ ters, that his reign will equal—what am I saying ?—will *surpass* the best of all pre-
 “ ceding reigns, and will serve as an example and model to all his majesty’s successors.
 “ The manner in which God has hitherto supported him, in the most trying emergen-
 “ cies, gives us reason to hope that all his majesty’s designs will have a successful ter-
 “ mination.”

After dwelling for some time on the necessity of diminishing the expenditure, and en-
 creasing the revenue, Richelieu proceeded thus “ The expenditure will be regulated by the
 “ rules prescribed by the late king ; and his majesty, though *superior to the laws*, wishes to
 “ set his subjects an example of prudence and moderation. The queen, your mother, en-
 “ treats you, Sire, to allow her to do that which your own gratitude forbids you to require.
 “ She is resolved to confine herself to a smaller income than what was allowed her by the
 “ late king. During your minority several persons were loaded with benefactions by that
 “ liberal princess, because the good of your service required it. While she augmented the
 “ revenues of the princes and of your principal officers, she neglected to ameliorate her
 “ own condition. If the expences were greater during her administration, it was only
 “ for the purpose of preserving your kingdom entire. The queen-mother now advises
 “ you, for the same reason, to pursue a different line of conduct. Different con-
 “ junctures require different remedies : The same end is often attained by contrary
 “ means ; and what is good at one time, is prejudicial at another. During a storm the
 “ pilot is obliged to throw his goods into the sea, in order to avert the danger of ship-
 “ wreck ; by endeavouring to save all, all would be lost. An ancient prelate of the king-
 “ dom has very judiciously observed, that it is impossible for plenty to subsist, and for subjects
 “ to preserve their wealth, when the state is poor. The means I indicate will pro-
 “ duce a saving of three million (of livres) yearly ; but though this be a considerable
 “ sum, it will not be sufficient to render the receipts equal to the expenditure.”

“ It now remains to provide for an increase of his majesty’s revenue ; not by fresh
 “ taxes, which the people are not in a situation to support, but by *innocent means*, that
 “ the king may continue to relieve his subjects by diminishing the *tailles*, as he has al-
 “ ready done this year. This may be effected by redeeming the crown lands, and certain
 “ parts

“ parts of the revenue, which amount to upwards of twenty million. The design is
“ not only useful, but just and necessary. There is no intention of exerting authority
“ for the purpose of invading the property of individuals; it is the interest of kings to
“ preserve the public faith inviolate; it affords a sure resource in the hour of neces-
“ sity. We shall devise some other means of providing for our present wants. The
“ king has accomplished schemes of no less importance than those which he has in con-
“ templation, and, with the grace of God, he will accomplish others still more difficult.
“ If his majesty enjoys the additional revenue that will arise from the projected re-
“ demptions, that which now seems impossible, and yet necessary for the welfare of the
“ state, will then become easy. The people, who contribute more by their *blood*, than
“ their *sweat*, will be comforted. Whenever it shall be necessary to resist the attempts
“ of foreign powers, or to quell domestic commotions, should God, for our sins, permit
“ a renewal of such calamities, or to execute some project at once useful and glorious
“ to the state, the king will not be obliged to suffer the opportunity to escape, through
“ want of money. He will no longer have recourse to extraordinary means; and we
“ shall no longer find it necessary to court the favour of partisans, in order to have their
“ advice, and to put our hands in their purses, although they are generally filled with
“ the king’s money. We shall no longer see the sovereign courts employed in the rati-
“ fication of new pecuniary edicts, and the king will only appear on his bed of justice
“ for the purpose of relieving his subjects, by the abolition of those taxes which the
“ necessity of the times obliged him to impose. In short, things will be reduced to
“ that situation in which all honest men have long wished to see them, and good order
“ will be established on such a solid foundation that it will last for ages.

“ You will tell me, gentlemen, and I, perhaps, am of the same opinion, that it is
“ easy to propose such salutary designs, and that nothing is more agreeable than to talk
“ of them, but that their execution is attended with extreme difficulty. Yet, after
“ much serious reflection, I do affirm, in presence of the king, that we have expedients
“ capable of conducting us to the end of this work. His majesty has convened you,
“ gentlemen, to examine those expedients, and to determine which of them it will be
“ best to adopt. Be assured that whatever orders his majesty may give in consequence
“ of your advice, shall be punctually obeyed. Too great a multiplicity of remedies,
“ far from relieving a sick man, often occasions his death. This reflection obliges me to
“ observe, by the way, that, to restore France to its former splendor, it will not be ne-
“ cessary to publish new ordonnances. It will be sufficient to enforce with rigor those
“ we now have. To *talk little and do much*, is what is expected from the good inten-
“ tions and solid discernment of the persons of which this assembly is composed. The
“ king, has no doubt, gentlemen, but that you will strictly fulfil your duty on this oc-
“ casion. You will find, from the event, that his majesty even surpasses himself, when
“ employed in affording proofs of benevolence to his subjects. The glory of re-estab-
lishing

“flourishing France is reserved for the virtue of so great a monarch. How much are you indebted to him for permitting you to participate in the accomplishment of a project which will render his memory immortal? as for myself I shall bless God if he take me from this world as soon as I shall have brought to a happy termination so noble, so holy, and so glorious an enterprize.”

This fulsome harangue was followed by some others of a similar tendency, after which the king retired, and appointed the duke of Orleans president of the assembly for the remainder of the sessions. On the eleventh of January, Richelieu presented a memorial, consisting of thirteen articles, on which the king required the advice of the Notables. The first of these related to a mitigation of the punishment inflicted on state-criminals; a proposition which the cardinal knew would be rejected by the magistrates, and which he only made for the purpose of indulging, in future, with a greater appearance of justice, the natural severity of his disposition⁷⁷. Two other articles referred to the war with which the kingdom appeared to be threatened by the English. The nobility and clergy, without entering into any examination of the business, expressed their opinion that the king should be petitioned to encrease his naval forces so as to have a superiority at sea, and to raise eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand horse. The provinces were to defray one third of the expence, and the king the rest.

As soon as the assembly had come to a decision on the propositions of the cardinal, the marquis D’Effiat, superintendant of the finances, presented a long memorial, on the present state of the revenue, and of the debts of the crown. “If for the purpose of well-governing a state”—said the marquis—“it were now requisite to select rules, the excellence of which had been confirmed by experience; none could be found more certain than those which were adopted by the late king. No sooner had he given peace to his subjects, than France became a flourishing kingdom, and all the evils occasioned by the confusion of civil commotions were speedily repaired. Henry the Great enforced a strict observance of the old revenue-laws; and his prudence was so conspicuous in the distribution of *rewards*, that it is now intended to take him for a model, which will doubtless ensure the admiration of future ages. Never did he confer a gratification, but in a case of urgent necessity, and with a view to the attainment of some desirable end. But as it is impossible to prevent all the evils that may occur, different accidents gave rise to extraordinary expences, and Henry was, in the course of a few years, obliged to expend five millions more than he received. This consideration induced that wise and prudent monarch to lay by four or five millions every year, to answer unexpected and extraordinary calls; by which means he left several millions at his death.”

⁷⁷ Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. ii. chap. 9.

In explaining the causes of the derangement that prevailed in the finances, during the first years of the reign of Lewis, Effiat palliated, as well as he could, the vicious administration of Mary of Medicis. Far from imitating the prudent economy of her husband, that princess settled a pension of a hundred thousand crowns on the prince of Condé; one of two hundred thousand livres on the prince of Conti; as much on the count of Soissons; and pensions of a hundred thousand on the duke of Guise and several other persons. Such was the indiscreet profusion of the regent that the king paid four or five million a year in pensions. The crown-lands were so deeply mortgaged as to produce him but a mere trifle; and though the Tailles amounted to near nineteen millions he only received six; the money passing through the hands of *two-and-twenty thousand* collectors⁷⁸, who transmitted it to one hundred and sixty receivers of Tailles, by whom it was paid to one-and-twenty receivers-general, whose business it was to send the king what remained of it. The general farm of the Gabelles produced seven million and a half, without including the expence of collection, which amounted to two million. Of these seven million and a half, more than six were mortgaged, so that the king only received twelve hundred thousand livres. The farm of the Aids was mortgaged for upwards of two million, and two thirds of all the other farms scarcely sufficed to discharge the different encumbrances with which they were charged. In short, the affairs of Lewis were so completely deranged that he spent thirty million a year more than his ordinary revenue.

The principal object in convening an assembly of Notables at this period of the monarchy, was generally to procure a confirmation of the resolutions which had been previously adopted by the ministers, when they were fearful either of incurring the resentment of the principal nobility by diminishing their authority, or the hatred of the people by the imposition of extraordinary taxes. As soon as Richelieu had taken the necessary precautions with regard to this last article, he proceeded to the other, and persuaded the Notables to request the king to demolish such fortresses as were not necessary to guard the frontiers, under the specious pretext that they only served as an asylum for the malecontents, while the support of their garrisons was attended with considerable expence. The duke of Guise, governor of Provence, and mareschal Créquy, lieutenant-general in Dauphiné, who penetrated into the secret design of effecting a gradual diminution of the powers of governors of provinces, loudly exclaimed against the attempts of cardinal Richelieu. But they were soon obliged to yield to the torrent and be silent. The parliaments, jealous of their credit and influence, and mostly at variance with the governors, so strongly pressed the demolition of useless fortresses, that it was not necessary for the cardinal to appear in the business. Guise, Créquy, and the

⁷⁸ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. xxiv. p. 552.

rest, had not even an appearance of reason for complaining of his conduct, and the king only seemed to accord what the provinces earnestly required⁷⁹.

While the assembly was sitting, the king published a declaration (on the sixteenth of February) with a view to prevent the alarm which the hostile preparations he projected were peculiarly calculated to excite in the minds of his subjects. In this he observed that it was his intention to reunite all his subjects in the unity of the Catholic church, by *all the good ways of mildness, love, patience and good examples*; to re-establish the dignity of the church by a rigid observance of the ecclesiastical constitutions, and royal ordonnances relating thereto; and to secure to his subjects of the Protestant religion all the liberty which had been granted them, confirming them in the tranquil enjoyment of the benefits arising from the edicts, till such time as it should please God to *enlighten their hearts*, and bring them back into the bosom of the church. This declaration finished with a promise to relieve his people by taking off taxes to the amount of three million of livres, for the five years next succeeding.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the Notables having fulfilled the purpose for which they had been assembled, received their dismissal. In the cahiers, drawn up in consequence of the propositions submitted to the assembly, they advised the king—to observe certain rules for raising and subsisting the troops, so as to prevent all inconvenience to the peasantry; to maintain a standing arming of eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, for the purpose of ensuring the tranquillity of the kingdom, and of opposing the attempts of foreign powers; to regulate the expences of the king's household, as well as that of the two queens, agreeable to the order established by Henry the Fourth; to follow the example of that prince, who did not pay more than two million in yearly pensions; to demolish such forts and fortresses as were situated at a distance from the frontiers; to enforce the observance of certain regulations for the relief of poor gentlemen, captains, and soldiers, maimed in his majesty's service; to punish with severity all such as should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the public; to admit a certain number of gentlemen into the king's councils; to diminish the tailles; to suppress a great number of useless offices; to redeem the crown-lands; to establish good order in the administration of the revenue; to promote the extension of commerce both by sea and land; and, lastly, not to suffer the subaltern posts, as well civil as military, which depended on the offices of the crown, to be disposed of by any other than his majesty.—But Richelieu only followed such parts of this advice as tended to the augmentation of his own power, and to the diminution of the authority of the princes of the blood, the nobility, officers of the crown, and governors of provinces⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1627.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Mémoire reconduite, di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 245, 246.

⁸⁰ Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal

de Richelieu, 1627.—Histoire du Ministère du même.

Whether the nobles were deceived by any promises of the minister, or really believed that the king intended to reform the abuses in the government, they were induced to present a particular request to the king, in which they represented the deplorable state to which the nobility of France were, at that time, reduced. "We leave, sire, to historians,"—said they—"the care of explaining the different sources of nobility; the antiquity of the true nobility proceeding from blood; the dignities and privileges they formerly enjoyed; and the services they rendered to your glorious predecessors. The late king, your father, of immortal memory, acknowledged, that, next to the assistance of God, and his own valour, he was indebted, for the preservation of his crown, to the courage and fidelity of the French nobility, the others order having enlisted under the banners of revolt. As we pique ourselves more on our actions, than our words, we shall not here employ the flowers of oratory, in order to move your majesty's compassion for the decline and wretchedness of the nobility, we shall only beseech you, Sire, to consider that they never were reduced to a situation so deplorable. We observe, with tears, the poverty which distresses; that indolence which promotes vice, and the oppression that leads to despair. The cause of this must be ascribed to the bad education which gentlemen receive; to their *mesalliance* with people of inferior rank; and to the unbounded ambition of certain nobles of the last century, which so far diminished the benevolence and increased the mistrust of our sovereigns, that they have thought it expedient to humiliate gentlemen, to exalt the third estate, and to exclude us from the possession of places and dignities. Since that time, Sire, the nobility is totally sunk: they have no longer any share in the administration of justice, or of the revenue, and your predecessors excluded them from their councils. If your majesty will condescend to remedy this misfortune, it will be an action worthy of your prudence and magnanimity. The most noble part of the state, and the most necessary for extending those victories you have in contemplation, will then be preserved from the ruin with which they are threatened, and restored to their former splendor."

• The nobles farther requested that the governments of provinces, those places in his household which were always occupied by the nobility, and military employments, should no longer be exposed to sale, nor rendered hereditary by survivorship; that they might be filled by none but gentlemen; that gentlemen should be preferred to others in the distribution of benefices, founded by their ancestors; that young ladies of noble birth should be received into the royal monasteries without a portion; that a fourth of the regiments and companies of cavalry maintained by the king in time of peace should be filled by gentlemen; that the great number of colleges for the study of the sciences should be reduced; that in every province there should be a college established where the young nobility might be instructed in the military art, and acquire such knowledge as was necessary for the formation of a soldier; that the children of poor gentlemen should receive instruction gratis; that his majesty would name a certain number of nobles, more learned,

learned, and more accustomed to business, than the rest, who should have seats in the parliament; that a third of the members of the different councils should be taken from the nobility; that his majesty would be pleased to establish a council of war, to which the marshals of France, the principal officers of the crown, and the most experienced captains in the kingdom should be invited; that, in conformity to the ancient ordinances, no *roturier* should be allowed to acquire fiefs and territorial possessions, unless he had his majesty's express permission for that purpose; and, lastly, that gentlemen might be at liberty to enter into trade without forfeiting their privileges⁸¹. This request was favourably received, though little attention was paid to it.

The affairs of Richelieu were now in a most prosperous situation. Lewis placed a greater confidence in him than ever; the duke of Orleans paid, at least in appearance, great deference to his opinion; the assembly of the notables approved of his projects, and praised his administration; the court of Rome was satisfied with his conduct; and his enemies, secret or avowed, did not dare to oppose him. The reduction of Rochelle was the only thing wanting to complete the establishment of his authority within the kingdom, and of his reputation without. This was the object of his occupations by day, and of his reflections by night: this was the end of all his negotiations with foreign powers, and of his deliberations in the king's council: he soothed the Spaniards; endeavoured as much as possible to avoid a rupture with the English; and renewed the treaties with the states-general of the United Provinces. The Protestant princes of Germany gave him no apprehensions; the emperor affording them sufficient employment: he was only anxious to prevent Ferdinand from completing his project for reducing them to a state of subjection, while Lewis was engaged in a war with his subjects. But spite of all the precautions which Richelieu could adopt for avoiding a war with England, he found he should at last be obliged to encounter that difficulty. In fact both Charles and Lewis were at this time governed by their respective favourites, and the passions of Buckingham and Richelieu were now consulted in preference to the interests of their masters.

At the time when the king of England married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen to England. The eyes of the French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favour of two successive monarchs, and who, from a private station, had been raised, in the earliest youth, to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals and carousals, corresponded to the prepossessions entertained in his favour: the affability of his behaviour,

⁸¹ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. 24. p. 563, 564, 565, 566.

the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expence, encreased still farther the general admiration that was paid him: all business having been previously concerted, the time was devoted to mirth and entertainments; and, during these splendid scenes, among that gay people, Buckingham found himself in a situation in which he was perfectly qualified to excel. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid, where the countess of Olivarez was the object of his passion. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he presumed, if Nani, the Venetian historian, may be credited, to carry his ambitious addresses to the queen herself. But Nani does justice to the virtue of that princess, who, he tells us, laughed at the ridiculous vanity of Buckingham⁸², as much as she despised the artifices of the supple Richelieu. That vanity, however, led the duke so far to presume on her good graces, that, after his departure, he secretly returned upon some pretence, and, paying a visit to the queen, was dismissed with a reproof, which favoured more of pity than of indignation⁸³.

Information of this conduct was soon conveyed to Richelieu, whose vigilance on this occasion is said to have been farther roused by jealousy. He, too, either from vanity or politics, had, it is said, ventured to pay his addresses to the queen. But in a contest of this nature, Richelieu was no match for Buckingham, and the disappointment he experienced induced him to thwart the projects of his rival. He instilled into the mind of his master sentiments of jealousy and mistrust; and soon after the departure of Buckingham, one of the ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, and several of her domestics, were dismissed from her service. When the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion, Buckingham swore, *that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France*, and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He first took advantage of some quarrels, excited by the queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty⁸⁴. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to the French merchants, which he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, he resolved to second the intrigues of the duke of Soubize, and to undertake a military expedition against that kingdom.

⁸² Nani, *Historia Veneta*, lib. vi. 1625.—*Journal de Bassompierre*, tom. ii.—*Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu*.—*Mémoire reconduite*, tom. vi. p. 788, 848. ⁸³ *Mémoires de Mad. de Motteville*. ⁸⁴ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*.

Soubize, who was then at London, strongly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of the French Hugonots. He represented, that, after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been supported by the combined squadrons of England and Holland; after peace was concluded with the French king, under Charles's mediation, the ambitious cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the Protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and considered him as a prince engaged, by interest as well as inclination, to support them; that, so long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their attachment as much as on that of his own subjects; but if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring nations.

To accomplish the project which Richelieu had formed for the reduction of Rochelle, as well as to oppose the attacks of the English, it was necessary to enter into a league with some foreign power, who would either furnish France with ships, or else make a diversion in her favour, by attacking the English coasts. Richelieu negotiated for this purpose with the court of Madrid. Charles had, some time since, declared war against the king of Spain, who would now have been glad to revenge the insults sustained from the English fleets, by his subjects, at Cadiz, and different parts of his dominions. The duke of Buckingham foresaw that France would have recourse to a league with Spain at this conjuncture; and he, therefore, proposed, at Brussels, a truce for several years. He even offered to comprise in it the king of Denmark, and the states-general of the United Provinces. But the measures of Buckingham were ill-concerted. The emperor and the king of Spain did not hesitate at rejecting a proposition which prevented the former from profiting by the victories obtained by his generals in Lower Saxony; and the latter from extending his conquests in the Netherlands. The Spaniards had conceived the most sanguine hopes of success, since the capture of Breda; the death of Maurice, prince of Orange; and the augmentation of the power of the house of Austria in Germany. It was the interest of the emperor and the king of Spain so to manage matters that the French and English might find sufficient employment for each other, while Ferdinand completed the reduction of the Protestants in Germany; and Philip attacked the United Provinces.

These considerations induced the Condé duke of Olivarez to lend a favourable ear to the proposals of cardinal Richelieu, who offered to conclude an offensive league between the two crowns against that of England, in virtue whereof Lewis and Philip should furnish each other with ships; and attack, in conjunction, the dominions of Charles. This league was concluded with great secrecy: the Spaniards promised to attack England and Ireland with a fleet of fifty sail; but it was soon discovered that their only design
was

was to furnish employment for Lewis and Charles, while Philip and Ferdinand acted in concert for the aggrandizement of their house.

Richelieu insisted on receiving an explanation from the states-general of the United Provinces previous to the rupture between England and France. The French ambassador at the Hague had orders to ask how they meant to conduct themselves, in case such an event should occur, and to threaten that the king would immediately withdraw what troops he had in their service, if they refused to give a positive answer. The states, thus pressed, engaged to observe a strict neutrality between the contending powers, which was all that could be reasonably required of them. Soon after this, Lewis concluded a fresh treaty of alliance with the Dutch, by which he engaged to pay the states-general the yearly sum of one million of livres, while they stipulated to assist France with their naval forces against all powers whatever, except the king of England; to remain perfectly neuter between the two crowns; and not to conclude any truce or peace with Spain, without giving the king three months notice of their intentions, and without having previously obtained his consent. In case of neglect to fulfil the terms of the treaty, on the part of the states-general, they agreed to restore all the money they should have received from the king, who should also be empowered to recall his troops from their service⁸⁵.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, complained of the conduct of Lewis in renewing his alliance with the rebellious subjects of his master, at the very time that he was courting the friendship and assistance of Philip. But Richelieu appeased the ambassador, by telling him that the treaty with the states-general was advantageous to his sovereign, since it restrained the Dutch from affording any succours to the English. "Have patience"—said the artful cardinal to Mirabel—"until this affair be finished, and you will see that we are disposed to assist the Catholic king against all his enemies, without excepting even the United Provinces." The Dutch ambassador, apprized of this conversation, complained in his turn; when Richelieu endeavoured to satisfy him, by promising him the contrary of what he had promised the marquis of Mirabel.

The king of England endeavoured, on his part, to form alliances against France, and formed a plan for supporting the Protestant party, while his fleet was to attack the coast, under the conduct of the duke of Buckingham. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, promised to supply the count of Soissons with troops to enable him to make an irruption into the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence. The duke of Lorraine, stimulated by the duchess of Chevreuse, who had retired to Nanci, was preparing to enter France with his own troops, and those which the emperor, enraged at the intrigues of Richelieu in

⁸⁵ *Mémoire recueillie di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 152, 153, 183, 184.—Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. 24. p. 586, 587.*

Germany, promised to send to his assistance. The duke of Rohan had already engaged to take up arms as soon as the English should have entered the kingdom; and, in the mean time, urged by Montague, whom Buckingham had entrusted with the negotiation, he cherished the discontents of the reformed in Languedoc, and the Cevennes. A finer project than that which Buckingham had formed cannot easily be conceived. "The king, my master,"—said Montague to the duke of Rohan—"will embark thirty thousand men in three different fleets. One shall sail towards Rochelle, another to the coast of Guienne, and a third to Normandy. Ten thousand men shall be landed at each place; and we mean to block up the mouths of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. You are requested, Sir, to hold yourself in readiness, with a strong body of Protestants, to join the English troops which will disembark near the city of Bourdeaux⁸⁶." This scheme was practicable; and had Buckingham displayed a tolerable share of address in the execution of his plan, France, attacked in so many places at the same time, would have been unable to resist the united efforts of her enemies. Cardinal Richelieu, apprized of the intrigues of Montague, placed spies upon his conduct, and after following him about from place to place, at length had him arrested in the month of September. He was afterwards released from prison, at the solicitation of the duke of Lorraine; but the papers that were found on him led to a discovery of the alliances he had formed, and enabled the cardinal to counteract his projects.

The English, meanwhile, had fitted out a fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, for the invasion of France, both of which were entrusted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle on the ninth of July, but the mayor and the principal magistrates, being gained by the court, refused the English admission into the harbour, so that Soubize was obliged to take a sloop and land by himself⁸⁷. All the military operations of Buckingham evinced equal incapacity and inexperience. Instead of following the advice of Soubize, and attacking Oleron, an island, at once fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was well-garrisoned and strongly fortified. Having landed his men, though with some loss, he neglected to follow the blow, and allowed Toiras, the French governor, a respite of five days, during which the fort of Saint Martin was victualled and provided for a siege⁸⁸. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no resistance: though resolved to reduce Saint Martin by famine, he guarded the sea with such negligence, that the French found means to throw into it provisions and ammunition: then despairing to take it by the mode he had projected, he attacked it, on the sixth of November, without having

⁸⁶ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1627.—Memorie recon dite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 283.—Nani Historia Veneta, l. vi. 1627.

⁸⁷ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.

⁸⁸ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Histoire du Marechal de Toiras, liv. i.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xi.

made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers. Having found that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prie, the fort which he had at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: he was the last of the army that embarked; and he returned to England, after losing two-thirds of his land forces.

During these transactions, the duchess of Orleans had expired, four days after she had given birth to a daughter. Gaston was deeply affected by the death of a wife whose beauty had won, and whose virtues had secured, his affections. The king, on the contrary, was rejoiced at the event, and in order to deter his brother from contracting a second marriage, he urged his favourites to encourage his love of pleasure, and to lead him into every kind of debauchery ⁸⁹.

Meanwhile, the duke of Rohan had published a manifesto, in which he demonstrated that every treaty which had been made with the reformed during the present reign, had been violated by the court; and that the grand object of Richelieu was the destruction of the Protestant faith. After an ample detail of the acts of injustice sustained by the Hugonots in general, and by himself in particular, he continued thus:—"I do not pretend to answer those who maintain that we ought not to repel force by force: that persecution and the worst of treatment cannot justify our resistance; and that the only arms which true Christians oppose to their enemies, are patience, and a heart prepared to suffer martyrdom. I leave that question to be decided by theologians and jurists. I shall only observe that such language, in the mouths of our enemies, is the effect of their ardent desire to promote our ruin; and that if some of our people make use of the same, it is because they have received some pension, or expect some gratification, from the court. Apostacy is generally seen to follow close upon the sermons of your zealous preachers of patience. I am not surprized that our enemies should endeavour to lead us astray, and to reduce us to a state of slavery, without trouble to themselves. Long experience has taught them, that, our resistance making them partake in our dangers and our fears, they cannot make an attempt on our lives without exposing their own; and that it is a surer and more easy way to murder us in our beds, or to drag us to prison or to death, than to force us in a breach, or in an entrenchment. But I am very much astonished at the effrontery of those people. Every body knows what little respect they have for the superior powers established by God. What leagues have they not formed? not for defending their own religion, but for constraining their sovereign to extirpate the religion of others; not for the purpose of obtaining peace and liberty of conscience, but for compelling kings to carry on an unjust and barbarous war against their own subjects; and for dethroning one mon-

⁸⁹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 308.

“ arch, under a pretext that they cannot obey a prince who professes a religion different
“ from their own.

“ As to those among ourselves who hold the same language, I am willing to believe
“ that some of them with the ancient zeal of our church renewed; and are fearful that
“ piety will be lost amidst the usual licentiousness of arms. But I also know that there
“ are others who are influenced by far different motives. Most of them are so little
“ disposed to follow the maxims they seek to inculcate, that, for a hundred crowns, they
“ would willingly adopt principles directly contrary. As for myself, who have re-
“ ceived my religion from my forefathers, I endeavour to imitate their zeal, and to fol-
“ low their examples. The objection, now stated, has been long ago resolved by di-
“ vines, eminent for the purity of their doctrine, and the ardour of their piety. The
“ theologians of the present age neither surpass them in the one nor in the other. I am of
“ opinion, that if God means to deliver us, as he has repeatedly delivered his church,
“ from oppression by human means, far from opposing his endeavours, we ought to labour
“ in conjunction with the instrument of our deliverance. Our holy and brave prede-
“ cessors acted in this manner: and it was by their firm and courageous resistance, that
“ God procured freedom and repose for his faithful servants.”

After strenuously exhorting his countrymen to profit by the favourable opportunity
which now presented itself, and not to reject the proffered assistance of the English
monarch; he concluded thus: “ My life is a burden to me amidst so many public afflic-
“ tions; and I am determined not to survive the total destruction of our church. Time
“ will shew that I have no wish to promote my own aggrandizement. I foresee the
“ dangers to which I am exposed; but, pressed by my conscience, I am resolved to shed
“ the last drop of my blood, in defence of so righteous a cause. If I am reduced to
“ beg my bread in a foreign kingdom, God will at least justify me in the eyes of the
“ world, and prove that my only wish has been to sacrifice my private interests, my for-
“ tune, and my life, for the delivery of the church. I lay no claim to exemption from
“ the obedience and fidelity I owe to my sovereign: if I am the cause or the occasion
“ of the ill-treatment experienced by those who profess the same religion with myself,
“ I am ready to submit to a voluntary exile, to pass the rest of my days among foreign-
“ ers, and to deprive myself of all honours and worldly advantages, provided our church
“ be restored to the possession of its privileges. Content with having procured repose for
“ my brethren, I will offer up continual thanks to God, for allowing me once more to
“ behold his people released from servitude and anguish, and to enjoy the happiness of
“ considering myself as the instrument of their deliverance.”

Soon after the publication of this manifesto, Rohan and Soubize were declared trai-
tors. The parliament of Toulouse, which had no jurisdiction over the peers of France,
had the audacity to sentence the former to be quartered; a price was fixed upon his

head, and fifty thousand crowns, with a patent of nobility, were offered as a reward to any man who would assassinate the duke. The royal army, meanwhile, had been entrusted to the duke of Orleans; but the king, not less anxious than his minister to deprive that prince of every opportunity of distinguishing himself, determined to take the field himself; and, though scarcely recovered from a dangerous fever, he left Paris towards the end of September, having first appointed Mary of Medicis regent of the provinces on this side the Loire. The dukes of Elbeuf and Longueville received orders to guard the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, and to oppose the English, in case they should be tempted to make a diversion in either of those provinces; and the command of the fleet that was collecting in the ports of Brittany was given to the duke of Guise^{oo}.

The blockade of Rochelle had been formed some time when the king joined the army. Nothing can shew the hostile intentions of the court towards the inhabitants of that city more than their conduct on this occasion. The Rochellers, far from evincing a disposition to revolt, had made the most solemn protestations of fidelity to the king: they even offered to assist his majesty against the English, provided he would consent to sequester Fort Louis, either in the hands of the marshal de la Force, the marshal de Châtillon, or of the duke of Tremouille, and enforce a strict observance of the treaty of Montpellier, until such time as the promises made by the king, on the subject of the demolition of Fort Louis, should be completely fulfilled. Neither of the three noblemen proposed by the Rochellers could be suspected by the court, since, far from supporting the duke of Rohan, and the rest of the Hugonot party who had taken up arms for their common defence, they openly censured their conduct, in joining the ancient enemies of the kingdom. The offer, however, was rejected, and the Rochellers, perceiving that their destruction was resolved on, found themselves reduced to the necessity of adopting the most efficacious measures for the defence of their city, and the preservation of their privileges.

After the departure of the English from the coast of France, Richelieu, inflated with success, betrayed an inclination to insult all those officers whose claims to distinction were greater than his own. The king's brother was the constant object of his jealousy and resentment; deprived of the command of the army, which, though nominally under the conduct of Lewis, was, in fact, subject to the orders of the cardinal, Gaston retired, in disgust, with a firm resolution not to return during the siege of Rochelle. On his arrival at Paris, he endeavoured to dispel the melancholy which preyed on his mind, by joining in different parties of pleasure. He appeared deeply stricken by the merit and beauty of the princess Maria de Gonzaga, daughter to the duke of Nevers, who succeed-

^{oo} Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1627.—Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. ix.—Histoire du Marechal de Toiras, liv. i.—Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans,

ed, towards the end of the present year, to the duchy of Mantua. But this rising passion was highly disapproved by the queen-mother, who could never forget the mortification she had sustained from the duke of Nevers, during her administration ; and who had herself conceived a project for marrying the duke of Orleans to a princess of Tuscany, of the house of Medicis. The pretext she employed for dissuading Gaston from contracting an alliance with the princess Maria, was this—that the strong medicines which she had taken in the course of a violent fit of sickness had occasioned an absolute sterility⁹¹.

Intent on the reduction of Rochelle, Lewis, immediately after the departure of the English, ordered complete lines of circumvallation to be drawn round the city, defended by thirteen forts and a great number of redoubts; the extent of these lines was three leagues, and they were so situated as not to be within reach of a musquet shot. All communication being cut off by land, it only remained to prevent the introduction of succours by sea. For this purpose Richelieu resolved if possible to block up the entrance of the harbour, and various experiments were accordingly tried by an Italian engineer, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Ostend; but all his floating works were speedily destroyed by the violence of the waves. The duke of Epemon, when he commanded the army destined for the reduction of Rochelle, six or seven years before this period, had expressed his opinion, (an opinion which he had frequently repeated since that time) that nothing effectual could be done, unless a solid mole were thrown across the harbour. The duke of Angoulême was of the same opinion, and Richelieu now plainly saw that it was the only expedient that was likely to answer. This immense work, a mile in extent, was accordingly undertaken, and completed under the auspices of the cardinal; it was made sufficiently strong to resist the violence of the waves; and its distance from the city was such as to exempt the workmen from danger⁹².

Guiron, mayor of Rochelle, a man of a strong mind, and possessed of great personal courage, displayed as great zeal and vigilance in the defence of the place, as were shown by the besiegers in their attempts to reduce it. The mayor most earnestly exhorted his fellow citizens to submit to all the rigours of a long siege, rather than forfeit their freedom and be despoiled of their privileges. Guiron had been elected mayor since the king's arrival at the camp; he had, at first, refused to accept the proffered honour, but overcome, at length, by the prayers and entreaties of the inhabitants, he seized a poniard and exclaimed; "I will be mayor, since you will have it so; but on condition that I shall be allowed to plunge this poniard into the bosom of the first man who shall talk of surrendering. I consent to be served in the same manner, the moment I propose to capitulate. The poniard shall constantly remain, for this purpose, on the

⁹¹ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. xxiv. p. 688.

⁹² Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1627.—Vie du même, par Aubery, l. ii. ch. 15, 16.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xii.—Mémoires du Pontic—Vie de Duc D'Epemon, l. 9.—La Verité Défendue, parmi les Pièces pour Marie de Medicis.—Gramond's Historia Gallie.

“ table of the apartment in which we assemble at the town-house⁹³.” The firmness displayed by Guiton on this occasion strongly resembled that of Eustache de Saint-Pierre, at the siege of Calais. A friend having one day shewn Guiton a person of their acquaintance who was dying with hunger and fatigue, the mayor coolly observed: “ Are you surprized at this? both you and I must experience the same fate unless we are speedily succoured.” Being told, another time, that all the inhabitants were perishing with hunger—“ Very well”—said Guiton—“ it is enough that one remains to shut the gates.”

A. D. 1628.] The French fleet, under the command of the duke of Guise, appeared before Rochelle, towards the end of January, where it was soon after joined by a Spanish fleet. The marquis of Spinola, alike able in the cabinet and the field, paid a visit to the French camp, and was received by Lewis with the distinction that was due to his merit. But that skilful politician plainly foresaw that the downfall of the Protestant party in France would inevitably lead to a dangerous extension of the regal power, and, by rendering Lewis the absolute master of his dominions, create a rival highly formidable to his own sovereign, and all the neighbouring powers. Impressed with these ideas, he opened his mind on the subject to Philip, on his return to Madrid; and had the prudent advice of Spinola been followed, the arms that were employed to second would soon have been used to oppose the daring efforts of Lewis and his minister.

Confident of success, Richelieu now began to exercise the most arbitrary power; many of the Protestant nobility, who had remained inactive during the present contest, were arrested on vague suspicions or malicious accusations, and subjected to all the rigours of a close imprisonment. Lewis, impressed with the most lofty ideas of his minister's honour and talents, returned to the capital, and resigned to Richelieu the command of the army. The artful priest, who grasped at every thing that could either tend to the gratification of his ambitious schemes, or enable him to satiate his spirit of revenge, eagerly accepted the proffered trust; and rejoiced at the absence of his sovereign, since it afforded him an opportunity of claiming for himself all the honours that were reaped in the field.

Immediately after the king's arrival at Paris, Mary of Medicis perceived an alteration in his conduct toward her. Prejudiced by the malignant insinuations of Richelieu, he no longer reposed the same confidence in his mother; and so deeply had he studied the art of dissimulation, that Mary had the greatest difficulty imaginable to extort from him a reproach, that she displayed greater affection for her second son than for himself. The uneasiness of the queen-mother on this discovery encreased; she began to enter-

⁹³ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. xxiv. p. 690, 691.

tain apprehensions that the ungrateful cardinal was secretly promoting the disgrace of his benefactress, and attempting to acquire an absolute ascendancy over the mind of a monarch, who was ever alive to jealousy and suspicion. At a loss how to extricate herself from her present embarrassinent, Mary had recourse to a stratagem; and made Lewis believe that an open quarrel subsisted between her and Gaston, on account of the passion of the latter for Maria di Gonzaga, which she (the queen-mother) strenuously opposed. Gaston, in order to favour the deception consented to pay frequent visits to the princess, and to feign a passion he no longer felt; while Mary affected extreme indignation at the refractory conduct of her son. By this collusion both the king and court were deceived for some time⁹⁴.

The cardinal made some unsuccessful attempts to take Rochelle by assault, but the vigilance of the inhabitants disconcerted his measures, and he was compelled to abide by the more slow, though not less fatal, effects of famine. The hopes of the besieged were revived, on the eleventh of May, by the appearance of a fleet from England, commanded by the earl of Denbigh. They crowded to their ramparts with the expectation of immediate relief, and Richelieu trembled for the structure which his daring ambition had erected; but he was preserved from disgrace by the treachery or cowardice of the English admiral; and the earl of Denbigh, after throwing into the city a scanty supply of corn, declined an engagement, and retired to Portsmouth. To efface the dishonour which this failure had cast upon the English arms, the duke of Buckingham determined, in person, to resume the command; but while his presence hastened the preparations for his departure, he fell a victim to the gloomy rage of a fanatic, named Felton, who avowed himself prompted to the atrocious deed by the remonstrance of the Commons, that declared the duke the source of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public.

All communication with Rochelle being cut off both by sea and land, the people were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on food the most filthy and unwholesome. But notwithstanding these inconveniences the greater part of the inhabitants still preserved their courage. The strenuous exhortations of some of their ministers; the prudence and firmness of the mayor; and the insinuations and example of the duchess of Rohan and her daughter, who took no other food, during three months, than horse-flesh, with only four or five ounces of bread a day; gave strength to the feeble, and additional courage to the brave. But a hungry populace are with difficulty restrained; and neither the care nor severity of Guition could prevent such as had less constancy, and less religious zeal than the rest, from occasionally venting their discontents. The king, apprized of what was passing in the town, fomented their divisions, by frequent citations to surrender, addressed to the inhabitants, whom he endeavoured to allure by the

⁹⁴ Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans.

prospect of obtaining tolerable terms for themselves⁹⁵. The municipal officers were assembled on the occasion, and most of them were of opinion that the king's offers should be accepted; but the influence of Guiton prevailed, and it was resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

A resolution having been adopted for expelling all useless mouths from the city, a vast multitude of old men, women, and children, were conducted to one of the gates during the night; and by the morning they reached the forts and lines of the besiegers. They were there treated with the greatest inhumanity; the men were stripped to the skin, and the women to their shifts⁹⁶, and then driven back towards the town with musquets, forks, and other weapons. The gates being shut against them, these miserable fugitives were compelled to remain in the meadows between the town and the camp, where they subsisted on grass. Lewis and Richelieu, destitute of every principle of humanity, caused the troops to fire on the wretched victims, and even ordered the grass, which served them for food, to be mowed down and carried away⁹⁷; so that, but for the compassion of the inhabitants, who at length received them into the town, every one of them must have perished.

The king sent word to the Rochellers, that if they persisted in their refusal to surrender, they should receive no quarter; they accordingly offered to give up the town on condition that their privileges should be preserved; but this was rejected by Richelieu, who also refused to suffer the fortifications of the city to remain. This refusal afforded Guiton a favourable opportunity for representing to the people that it was the fixed resolution of the court to despoil them of their rights and privileges; and for exhorting them to prefer death to slavery. Warmed by his exhortations the inhabitants felt their courage revive; they immediately broke off the negotiation; and prepared to defend themselves with vigour until the arrival of succours, which the king of England had promised to send them, with the utmost expedition. After Buckingham's death, the command of the English fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindsey, who appeared off Rochelle on the twenty-eighth of September. The hopes of the Rochellers were again raised; and again disappointed. The English admiral made some feeble attempts to break through the mole, and force an entrance into the harbour; but his efforts were neither directed with skill, nor enforced with spirit; and, after a vain and fruitless canonade, the Rochellers were left to make their own terms. Wholly unable to make any farther resistance, the brave inhabitants at length agreed to capitulate; and the articles were signed on the twenty-eighth of October.

⁹⁵ Mémoires de Rohan, l. iv.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1628—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xii.

⁹⁶ Le Vassor, tom. v. liv. xxv. p. 812.

⁹⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 320.

The king would only grant to the Rochellers an amnesty for the past ; the enjoyment of their property ; and the free exercise of the reformed religion, within the town. Their privileges, their fortifications, and their magistracy were left to the mercy of the victor⁹⁸. The duchess-dowager of Rohan and her daughter, would not have their names inserted in the treaty, as well from respect for the king, as through fear that the world might be induced to believe, that the treaty had been signed at their instigation. They understood, however, that they were included, as well as the rest of the French and the foreigners who were then at Rochelle, to whom his majesty had secured the free enjoyment of their lives, their liberty, and property. But as the victor—to use the words of the duke of Rohan—generally assumes the right of interpreting as he pleases the terms of capitulation, the king's council determined that these two ladies were not comprehended in the articles, since their names were not specifically mentioned. In consequence of this determination, Lewis, who ought to have had more honour than to avail himself of so pitiful a subterfuge, ordered them both, without respect for the age of the duchess, who was more than seventy, to be confined in the castle of Niort.

On the thirtieth of October, the Swiss and French guards entered the city, headed by the duke of Angoulême, and marechal Schomberg. The deplorable situation to which the place was reduced excited sentiments of horror and compassion in all who witnessed the dismal scene. The streets and houses were infested with putrid bodies that remained un-interred. Towards the end of the siege the Rochellers, who rather resembled skeletons than living beings, had become so weak as to be unable to bury their dead. The most acceptable present that could be made to the survivors was a mouthful of bread ; which they regarded as an infallible remedy against death ; though it was a remedy that proved fatal to many from the avidity with which they swallowed it. On the first of November the king made his entry into the city, preceded by the cardinal, mounted on a superb courser. Indeed this was rather the triumph of the minister than that of the sovereign. Thus was that proud city, which had for a long series of years, resisted the storms of war, and preserved, amidst contending factions, her religious and political independence, reduced to subjection by the persevering spirit of Richelieu, who had made her destruction—as he tells us himself in his book *de la Methode*—the subject of his contemplation for thirty years. The cardinal's good fortune was still more conspicuous in the moment of submission, than it had been in the hour of triumph ; the very day after the gates of the city were opened by the inhabitants for the reception of their sovereign, a furious tempest arose, which raged with unabated violence, during six days, and, on the seventh, buried in the waves the proud structure which Richelieu had erected⁹⁹.—

⁹⁸ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xii.
 Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, liv. ii. chap. 21.

⁹⁹ Mémoires de Pontis.

Some idea of the persevering courage of the Rochellers may be formed from the accounts of contemporary writers, who assure us that of fifteen thousand persons, originally enclosed within the walls of the city, four thousand alone survived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue and the sword. Yet this gallant conduct could excite no compassion in the bosom of Lewis or his minister; the brave inhabitants were despoiled of their privileges; the corporation was abolished; the fortifications of the town, and of the neighbouring forts, were destroyed; and the government of the place thus dismantled was given to the marechal Toiras.

A. D. 1629.] After the reduction of Rochelle Lewis, or, rather, his prime minister, applied himself, with earnestness, to the adoption, of means for humbling the power of the house of Austria. This project was considered not only as rash, but as impossible to be executed, by cardinal Berulle; Marillac, keeper of the seals; and some other members of the secret council of Mary of Medicis. The German empire, almost wholly reduced to subjection by the rapid conquests and persevering ambition of that aspiring house, would, they conceived, supply Ferdinand with an infinite multitude of troops, while Philip, master of the treasures of the New World, possessed the means of paying armies as numerous as those which fought under the banners of the ancient kings of Persia. These objections to the projected scheme of Richelieu were farther strengthened by religious prejudices: for Berulle strongly insisted that, as the extirpation of heresy was the avowed object of the house of Austria, in all their wars in Germany, it would be highly impious to attack a power who had embarked in so *worthy* a cause. This reasoning, absurd as it was, imposed on the keeper of the seals, as well as on the queen-mother, who still maintained her intercourse with the emperor and the king of Spain, and who also began to perceive that her confidence in Richelieu was likely to be productive of dangerous consequences to herself.

Absolute master of the mind of his sovereign; certain of maintaining his power in future independent of his patroness; and infinitely more artful and more enlightened than Mary of Medicis; Richelieu despised the efforts of his new enemies, and began his preparations for the execution of his plan. Those considerations, which had excited the alarms of Berulle and Marillac, had, with him, but little weight. He was aware that the imperial power in Germany was not so well established but that it might easily be shaken; he thought that Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, might be induced to assist the Protestant princes of the empire; and he knew that the conduct of Ferdinand had given great umbrage to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, chief of the Catholic league. Like a skilful statesman he availed himself of these favourable circumstances: he determined to excite Gustavus to accelerate the completion of an enterprize in which he was strongly disposed to embark; and he resolved to encrease the suspicions and jealousy of Maximilian, who, notwithstanding his attachment to the house of Austria, was studious to avoid a rupture with the court of France. Nor was the cardinal unacquainted with the deranged state
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of the Spanish finances; he knew that the treasures of the New World, though immense, produced but a revenue, comparatively trifling, to the king of Spain, who was also considerably distressed from the recent capture of a rich fleet from Mexico by Hein, admiral of the United Provinces.

The emperor Ferdinand had refused to invest the duke of Nevers with the duchy of Mantua, to which he had succeeded on the death of his kinsman, Vincenzo; he even asserted his right as supreme prince, and bestowed the investiture on the duke of Guastalla; while the duke of Savoy urged his pretensions to the marquisate of Montferrat; both were supported by the arms and treasures of Philip; the banners of Spain were displayed from the walls of Mantua; and the duke of Nevers could only loudly complain of an usurpation which he was incapable of resisting. While Richelieu was engaged in the siege of Rochelle, he could afford no assistance to the duke; but no sooner was that city reduced, than he determined to accomplish his favourite plan, with which the protection of that prince perfectly accorded. He informed the duke of Mantua, and the republic of Venice that it was the serious intention of the king, his master, to march, immediately, to the relief of Casal, then besieged by the confederates, and to ensure to the duke the possession of his lawful inheritance.

While the most vigorous preparations were making for the commencement of hostilities, Richelieu opened negotiations with the different courts of Europe, either for the purpose of amusing enemies, or of securing friends. Though the king and his minister had finally determined their plan of operations, they assembled the council, for form's sake, and submitted to their discussion the propriety of the project they had formed for the relief of Casal, whither the king meant to repair in person. Opinions were divided on the subject. Cardinal Berulle openly declared against the projected expedition: he represented that the army, harassed and fatigued by the long siege of Rochelle, stood in need of repose; that considerable desertions would be the inevitable consequence of leading the troops into action again, without allowing an adequate interval of relaxation; that it would be the height of imprudence to expose so many brave men, and even the king himself, to the inclemency of the season, on mountains covered with snow, and almost inaccessible; that all the mules in the kingdom would be insufficient for conveying the provision that would be necessary for the army; and that it would be impossible to transport the artillery beyond the mountains ¹⁰⁰.

“ Will it not be better”—pursued Berulle—“ to defer the expedition till the spring? “ The necessary preparations may be completed, in the mean time, and most of the artillery and provisions may be conveyed by sea. The Venetians, who are more interested than we are, in the affair of Mantua, remain passive, take no steps in conse-

¹⁰⁰ Le Vaffor, tom. vi. liv. xxvi. p. 16.

“ quence of the invasion of Montferrat, and evince a disposition to throw the whole weight of the enterprize upon the king. It is fair to presume that those gentlemen will embark in the cause with greater warmth when they see the duke of Mantua more oppressed, and the assistance of France less likely to be soon obtained. In short, it ought to be the grand object of his majesty to avoid a rupture with the king of Spain. Such a rupture would be infinitely more prejudicial to the state than the loss of Casal, and the whole duchy of Mantua.”

As Berulle was the chief of the queen mother's council, no doubt was entertained by any one but that this opinion was that of Mary herself. Richelieu, who now felt himself wholly independant of his patroness, and who never suffered gratitude to interfere with his interest or ambition, made no scruple to combat it with all his strength. He insisted, that the king could not, consistently with his own honour, suffer the duke of Mantua to be oppressed; that it was his duty to protect his allies in Italy, which the king of Spain was incessantly exerting his utmost efforts to reduce under his own power; that the duke of Mantua, incapable of resistance, would, at length, be obliged to accept the proposals of the court of Madrid for an exchange of his dominions; and that it would be equally shameful and rash to leave the duke of Savoy unpunished, who had been engaged in all the conspiracies that had been formed against his majesty's person and government. “ By reducing the rebellious city of Rochelle,”—exclaimed the cardinal, with great vivacity and animation—“ you have happily accomplished, Sire, a project the most glorious for yourself, and the most advantageous for your kingdom. Italy, oppressed by the incursions of the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy, implores the assistance of your victorious arm. Will you refuse to espouse the cause of your neighbours and allies, about to be unjustly despoiled of their lawful property? I dare promise you, that, if this resolution be immediately adopted, your enterprize will be equally successful with your attempt on Rochelle. I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but I can assure your majesty, that if you lose no time in the execution of your design, you will have relieved Casal, and given peace to Italy, before the expiration of the month of May. On returning with your army into Languedoc, you will complete the reduction of the Protestant party in July. Your majesty, victorious in all quarters, may then retire to Fontainebleau, to enjoy, at your ease, the beauties of the autumn.” Every thing happening as Richelieu had predicted, the reputation of that minister, and the king's attachment to him, considerably encreased.

Mary of Medicis, perceiving that it was the cardinal's intention to keep the king at a distance from her, and aware of her own inability to prevent the accomplishment of the project of assisting the duke of Mantua, made an effort to retain Lewis at Paris, and to procure the command of the army for the duke of Orleans. The two queens expatiated with great energy on the impropriety of exposing a prince, with bad health and a weak constitution, to the dangers of so perilous an enterprize; and they reprobated the conduct

duët of Richelieu, who, not content with having detained the king for several months in the marshes of the Pais D'Aunis, now wished to make him encounter the frost and snow of the Alps, in the depth of a severe winter. Gaston's pretended passion for the princess Maria was also employed, in the course of this intrigue, as a means of persuading Lewis to comply with the requisitions of his mother. Mary represented to him, that if the command of the army were given to the duke of Orleans, the anxiety he was under on account of his brother's desire of marrying the princess Maria would be removed, since Gaston had promised, in that case, to consent that she should be sent to her father's court. Overcome by the tears and entreaties of his consort and his mother, Lewis appointed the duke commander in chief of the army, and gave him fifty thousand crowns to equip him for his expedition. Richelieu did not dare openly to oppose his appointment, through fear of offending the two queens, and of exciting the whole court against him: he even retired to Chaliot, that the king might not be supposed to be influenced by him in any resolutions he might be led to adopt: but the creatures and dependents of the cardinal took care to awaken that jealousy, and arouse those suspicions, which Lewis never ceased to entertain of his brother¹.

The king became so uneasy that he passed two nights without closing his eyes; and on the third day he went to Richelieu at Chaliot. "I cannot suffer"—said he to the cardinal—"my brother to command the army destined for the expedition to Italy. You must assist me in recalling the promise I have given him on the subject." "I know but one mode of doing it"—replied the artful priest—"which is that your majesty should take the command yourself; but if you determine on this, you must set out within a week; time presses exceedingly." Lewis assented; without the smallest hesitation, to the proposal of his minister, and immediately sending for Bassompierre to his apartment—"Here"—said he—"is a man who will willingly accompany, and zealously serve me." "Accompany you whither, Sire?" said the marshal. "To Italy"—replied the king—"I shall set out, in a week from this time, in order to make the enemy raise the siege of Casal. Do you prepare to follow me. You shall be my lieutenant-general, under my brother, if he will go with us. I mean to take marshal Crequi with me, he is well acquainted with the country; and I hope we shall make ourselves talked of."

Lewis returned to Paris, and imparted his resolution to Mary of Medicis, who made it known to the duke of Orleans. Both the mother and son were extremely mortified at the intelligence, though they were obliged to conceal their discontent. Every necessary preparation for the king's departure was ordered to be made. Landel was sent to in-

¹ *Journal de Bassompierre*, tom. ii.—*Nani Historia Veneta*, l. vii. 1628, 1629.—*Memorie recondite*, di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 511, 514, 557, 558, &c.

form the duke of Mantua of his resolution, and to take exact information of the state of the town he was going to relieve. Bullion, councillor of state, was dispatched with orders to marshal Crequi to hold himself in readiness to pass the mountains, with the troops that were advancing towards the frontiers; to secure the passes; and even to march to the relief of Casal, provided the garrison should be unable to hold out until the king's arrival. Valençai, in the mean time, endeavoured to amuse the duke of Savoy, by making various proposals to him in the king's name, until such time as the army should be in a condition to act, when it was intended to demand a passage, and to threaten him with a declaration of war in case of a refusal. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, who was employed in negotiating a peace between England and France, had taken the precaution to exact from his Britannick majesty a promise that, in consideration of the important service which Lewis would render to all the European powers, by preventing the Spaniards from taking possession of Montferrat, that monarch should not be attacked by the English forces, until the duke of Mantua had been effectually relieved.

On the fifteenth of January the king held a bed of justice, at which he explained the object of his expedition, and declared his mother regent of the kingdom during his absence. Having obtained from the parliament a verification of the pecuniary edicts he had published for the purpose of raising money to defray the expences of the campaign, Lewis began his march to Dauphiné; whither he was followed by Richelieu. The duke of Orleans accompanied his brother as far as Lyons, but unwilling to serve under the cardinal, he left the army, and returned to Paris. The king arrived at Grenoble on the fourteenth of February, when he was publicly addressed by Scarron, bishop of that capital, on the subject of the distress to which the inhabitants of the province were reduced. "The greatness of a king"—said the prelate—"does not consist in filling the earth with the noise of his arms, nor in causing rivers of blood to flow, but in administering justice to the poor orphan; in drying up the tears of the widow; and in dipping in oil—to use the expression of the sacred writings—the yoke of a people, who only live upon gall and wormwood. Establish by your presence, Sire, good order in Dauphiné; restore to the province its original liberties; and abolish the new edicts which subject every class of people to the extortions of partisans²." The king suffered the bishop to finish his harangue, and afterwards asked him for his benediction; but he paid no attention to his advice or remonstrances.

Though the roads were covered with snow, Lewis pursued his march, until he reached Chaumont, the last town in his dominions. His army consisted of four-and-twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; among the nobility by whom he was

² Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv. 26. p. 72.

attended,

attended, were the count of Soissons; the dukes of Longueville, Trémouille, Haluin, and Valette; the counts of Harcourt, Moret, and Sault; the marquis of Mortemar, Tavannes, Canaples, Valencé and Toiras: some of these commanded different corps, while others served as volunteers. Having received a positive refusal from the duke of Savoy to grant a passage through his dominions, Lewis called a council of war, at which it was resolved to force the pass of Suza. This will appear to have been an enterprize of great difficulty, when it is considered, that the pass was so narrow as only to admit two men abreast; that it was defended by fortifications of considerable strength and extent, placed upon rocks almost inaccessible, and surrounded by tremendous precipices; and that seven thousand men, most advantageously posted, under the command of the duke of Savoy and the prince of Piedmont, were prepared to dispute the passage of the French³. But all these obstacles rather served to animate than to damp the ardour of the generals, and the courage of the men. On the sixth of March the attack was made; and it was conducted with equal spirit and success; the troops of Savoy were routed on all sides; all the forts and fortifications were taken by assault; and the town and citadel of Suza surrendered to the victor. Mareschals Bassompierre and Crequi distinguished themselves, in a particular manner, on this occasion; and the king expressed his satisfaction at their conduct, and promised to reward their services.

But though Lewis had removed the grand obstacle to his farther progress, he had still many difficulties to encounter, and inconveniencies to sustain. His army already began to experience a dearth of provisions, and the weather was so bad that the commissaries were unable to procure supplies. Several places still remained to be taken before Casal could be relieved, and that town was already reduced to the last extremity. Impelled by these considerations, Richelieu dispatched Senneterre to the duke of Savoy, to tell him that he still had the power of chusing between peace and war; that if he were disposed to give a preference to the first, the king would forget what had past, and desist from all farther extension of his conquests; but on condition that the duke would favour his majesty's design of relieving Casal; would facilitate the transport of provisions to the French army, and would permit them to purchase, at a reasonable price, whatever necessaries the troops could procure within his dominions. The duke, finding that the Spaniards were not in a situation to afford him protection, and dreading the desolation of his territory, lent a favourable ear to the proposals of Senneterre, and sent his son, Victor Amadeus, prince of Piedmont, to negotiate in person with cardinal Richelieu. The interview took place at Suza, and the accommodation was speedily concluded.

By this treaty, it was stipulated, that the duke of Savoy should grant a free passage for the French troops through his dominions; that he should furnish them with provi-

³ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Mémoires de Pontis—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1629.—Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xiii.—Histoire du Mareschal de Toiras, liv. ii.—Mercure François, 1629.—Memorie recondite, di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 606, 607.—Nani Historia Veneta, lib. vii. 1629.

sions; and that he should contribute, to the utmost of his power, to the relief of Casal, by supplying the army with ammunition and every other necessary article, for which the king would pay a stated price; that he should, in future, at all times, grant a passage for troops, and every thing which should be deemed requisite for the defence of Montferat, in case that country should be attacked, or threatened with an attack; and, lastly, that he should suffer the king of France to retain possession of the citadel of Suza, and of one other important fortrefs, until such time as the articles of the treaty should be duly fulfilled. Lewis engaged, on his part, to procure from the duke of Mantua, in favour of the duke of Savoy, and as a compensation for the claims and pretensions of the house of Savoy on the marquifate of Montferat, the city of Trino, with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand crowns of gold. The duke of Savoy farther agreed to become a party to the league that was projected between the king of France; the republick of Venice; the pope; and the duke of Mantua; for the preservation of the liberties of Italy.

The treaty of Suza was ratified by the general of the Spanish forces six days after it was signed. He promised to raise the siege of Casal without farther delay; to evacuate the marquifate of Montferat on the fourth of April; and to make no farther attempt on the territories of the duke of Mantua; and this promise was afterwards confirmed by the king of Spain himself. As Lewis, in the above treaty, had reserved for himself a free passage into Italy, in case the king of Spain should be induced to break his engagements, the Venetians deemed it prudent to accept the league which had been long proposed to them by the French ambassador. They were of opinion that such a step would compel Philip to leave to the duke of Mantua the quiet possession of his territories, and to abide by the terms of the accommodation. The league was signed, on the eighth of April, by Soranzo and Zorzi, ambassadors of the republic; and by Stigio and Guiscardi, ministers to the duke of Mantua; and it was ratified, by Lewis, on the nineteenth of May. The confederates engaged to afford reciprocal assistance to each other in case of attack; the king of France agreed to furnish twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the republick, twelve thousand of the former and twelve hundred of the latter; and the duke of Mantua, five thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry. In case the confederates should find themselves reduced to the necessity of attacking the enemy, it was stipulated, that any conquests they might make should be divided among them in proportion to the troops which each should have contributed towards the expedition, and according to the regulations that might be made by a majority of votes. Before Lewis left Suza, he signed on the fourteenth of April a treaty of peace with Charles, king of England².

Lewis became so tired of his residence at Suza, that he expressed his determination to return to France, before the affairs of Italy were properly settled. Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador, strove to persuade him to wait until the arrival of Philip's ratification

² Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 23, 24:

of the treaty of Suza, which the governor of Milan had promised to obtain in six weeks: "Sire"—said the ambassador to Lewis—"in this age, when fraud and perfidy pass for a refinement of policy, no peace can be deemed certain which is only founded on the promises of a third person, or of a minister unprovided with proper powers. The conditions must be fulfilled before a judgment can be formed of the sincerity of the contracting parties. A treaty extorted by necessity is seldom of long duration. You must not yet flatter yourself that you have fixed the wavering mind of the duke of Savoy; he will still escape, unless you bind him so fast as to render him incapable of moving. The Spanish council have not changed their maxims. Your majesty knows, from your own experience, that they break, without scruple, all treaties which the ministers of the Catholic king think dishonourable or disadvantageous to the monarchy. You have secured the passage of the Alps, but your army may still be stopped before it can enter the marquisate of Montferrat. Let me entreat you, sire, to wait until the emperor shall have invested the duke of Mantua, and the king of Spain shall have ordered the governor of Milan to disarm; for till that time the peace of Italy will not be secured⁵."

Soranzo also represented to Richelieu and the other ministers, that the Spaniards would never fulfil the treaty of Suza, if they saw the least probability of being able to break it with impunity; that the emperor had troops ready to pass into Italy; that they could not expect that the passes of the Valteline would be entirely shut against the house of Austria, which had numerous dependents and partizans still in that country; and, lastly, that Casal might be besieged a second time, and even reduced, before the French could march to its relief. But these reasons, solid as they were, could make no impression on the mind of Lewis, who, impatient to return to his own dominions, quitted Suza on the twenty-eighth of April. In order, however, to satisfy the Venetians and his other allies, he left Richelieu, with a large portion of his army, and entrusted him with full powers to conclude all the affairs he had begun. But the cardinal, fearing that the friends and adherents of the queen-mother would avail themselves of his absence, to make an unfavourable impression on the mind of the king, gave the most positive orders for the speedy conclusion of the business, and departed from Italy ten days after his majesty; leaving marshal Crequi, with six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to guard the passes of the Alps, and enforce the observance of the treaty of Suza.

After the king left Suza, he repaired to Valence, and from thence to the Vivarez, where he invested Privas, the capital of the province, with the troops that were brought him by marshal Schomberg and the duke of Montmorenci. He was soon after join-

⁵ Le Vaffor, tom. vi. liv. xxvi. p. 112.

ed by Richelieu and Bassompierre, with one half of the army that had been engaged in the expedition to Italy. Aware of the king's intentions, the duke of Rohan had sent Saint-André Monbrun, an officer of great skill and undaunted courage, to take the command of the town; and, immediately after his arrival, Monbrun exacted from his officers and men an oath to observe the resolution they had adopted, of putting to death the first person that should talk of capitulating. In two successive assaults the royalists were vigorously repulsed by the enemy; but a great part of the garrison having deserted and fled into the mountains, Monbrun was left with only five hundred men, to preserve a town the defence of which required at least two thousand. He therefore concentrated his forces in a single fort, and for a long time resisted all the efforts of his opponents; at length, however, overcome by the earnest entreaties of his men, he consented to repair to the camp of the royalists, in order to obtain honourable terms for himself and his followers, which, on that condition, had been promised him; but Richelieu violated the word he had pledged; Monbrun was detained as a prisoner of war; a part of the garrison was put to the sword, and the rest were suspended on a gibbet. The town of Privas was first abandoned to pillage, and then reduced to ashes⁶. The royalists lost a great number of men during the siege, and many good officers; among others the marquises of Uxelles, and de Portes. Marillac was promoted to the dignity of marshal of France, for the good conduct and courage he displayed in the different attacks on the town.

From Privas the king pursued his march towards the Cevennes. The intrigues of his minister proved more formidable than his arms; he obtained possession of several places through the treachery of the inhabitants; and the small town of Aletz was taken after a short siege. A general consternation spread throughout the province, and every town in the Cevennes, and in Lower Languedoc, evinced a determination to surrender, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the duke of Rohan⁷. Nîmes alone displayed that courage and resolution which the reformed had shewn in all former wars: marshal D'Etrées, and the duke of Trimouille, having made incursions into the vicinity of that city, with a view to lay waste the circumjacent country, they were repeatedly and successfully attacked by the inhabitants, who killed and wounded upwards of fifteen hundred of their men. But while the people of Nîmes set so good an example, the inhabitants of Anduze and several other towns talked of abandoning the duke of

⁶ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. iii. chap. 7.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu, 1629.—Histoire du Ministère du même.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xiii.—Mémoires de Montmorenci, liv. iii.—Vie du même, l. ii. chap. 16.—Mercure François, 1629.—Mémoire reconduite di Vitterio Siri, tom. vi. p. 670, 671.

⁷ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, l. iv.—Discours du même sur les derniers Troubles.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Richelieu, 1629.—Vie du même par Aubery, liv. iii. chap. 8.

Rohan, and making terms with the court; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the duke could persuade them that by unanimity alone could they hope to ensure favourable conditions for themselves and their brethren.

After much negociation a general peace was concluded at Aletz, on the twenty-seventh of June³, the principal conditions were these:—A general pardon for the dukes of Rohan and Soubize, and for all those who had taken up arms; the re-establishment of the edict of Nantes, and all subsequent edicts, as well as of all secret articles, *brevets*, and declarations registered in the different parliaments; the restitution of the temples and burying-places that had been taken from the reformed; and the demolition of the fortifications of Nîmes, Castres, Uzès, and Montauban, which had not yet surrendered to the king.

The duke of Rohan immediately repaired to Venice, whither his wife had retired before. The court was rejoiced at his departure, from a conviction that the presence of a nobleman, deeply versed in the arts of war and negociation, would be of infinite service to the Venetians during the present commotions in Italy. The king, however, refused him an interview, thereby displaying a littleness of mind unworthy his station; he obtained an audience of Richelieu, who could not withhold his esteem from a nobleman, alike distinguished by his courage and his virtues.

The duke of Rohan, in the preface to his Memoirs, thus speaks of the three civil wars which took place in France, on the subject of religion. “Bearn”—says the noble author—“was the cause of the first war; the non-observance of the treaty of Montpellier occasioned the second; and the hope of saving Rochelle engaged us in the third. But our sins were the most powerful enemies we had to encounter. Instead of profiting by the first chastisements which God had sent us, we became more wicked. Some divisions prevailed among us, in a few places, during the two first wars; but during the third the divisions became universal. The corruption was general, and piety was choaked by avarice: without waiting for an application from our enemies, the members of our church betrayed an anxiety to prostitute their principles, by selling their religion, and betraying their party. Our fathers would have destroyed their children in the cradle, could they have foreseen that their posterity would be instrumental to the ruin of the churches which they had planted by the light of those piles which reduced their brethren to ashes; augmented, notwithstanding the punishments that awaited their efforts; and left, by their perseverance and their labours, in a state of glorious tranquillity. Will our children ever be able to persuade themselves that their grandfathers were so brave and their fathers so infamous? But God

³ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Discours du même sur les derniers Troubles.—Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. l. xlii.

“ does every thing for his own glory. He takes away and gives courage to men, according as he wishes to make known his wonders to his church, by raising it, as it were, from a state of annihilation, when the powers of the earth think they have destroyed it; and in sinking it to the very bottom of the abyss, when pride leads it to abuse the favours of Heaven. I address myself to you, princes and states honoured with the knowledge of God, blessed with his favours, raised up to greatness, and laden with riches. Profit by our example, do not, like us, rely on the arm of the flesh, neither boast of the extent of your strength. Dread an approaching fall, when inflated with prosperity; it is then that you are most in danger. Many of you have looked on our destruction with dry eyes; and the arms of such remained lethargic while we stood in need of their assistance. The ships and forces of some others have contributed to the ruin of those who assisted them in their necessity. God can complete his work without you, when the time of our deliverance shall be come. He is nearer to us in our affliction, than you are to him in your prosperity. If we are obliged to implore his favour, you are obliged to anticipate his judgments. Once more let me advise you to profit by the example of others. Acknowledge, ere it be too late, whence proceeds so many favours, and so much prosperity; and pay honour and glory to Him to whom honour and glory are due⁹.”

Two of the Protestant towns, Nîmes and Montauban, refused, for some time, to accept the terms of the treaty of peace. The deputies from the former declared, at the general assembly of the reformed, that were they to consent, they should be disavowed by their constituents, and the people would massacre them on their return. They then went to Nîmes, assembled the officers of the garrison, exacted from them an oath to defend the place to the last extremity, and begged they might be allowed to introduce a reinforcement from the Cévennes. The town was able to hold out for a considerable time: the approaches to it were rendered difficult by the strength of the exterior works; the garrison consisted of three thousand men; the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, amounted to four thousand; and there were sufficient provisions in the town for two years. The sterility of the surrounding country also tended to enhance the difficulties of the siege. Yet those very deputies who had displayed such courage and resolution at the general assembly, and after their return, were the first to talk of surrendering, as soon as the king approached the city. They even procured themselves to be appointed to wait on the king, and to request that he would honour Nîmes with his presence. Lewis willingly accepted the invitation, and, during his stay at Nîmes, published an edict containing the articles of the peace concluded at Aletz, and ordering the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in all the Protestant towns, together with the restitution of ecclesiasti-

⁹ Preface des Mémoires du Duc de Rohan.

cal property¹⁰. Montauban, the only place that now remained in the hands of the Hugonots, surrendered to Richelieu in the month of August¹¹.

As soon as the duke of Orleans was apprized of the king's return to the capital, he left the vicinity of Paris, and, after remaining some time at the duke of Guise's at Joinville, proceeded to Saint Dizier, whence he dispatched one of his attendants to Charles, duke of Lorraine, to inform that prince of his design to pay him a visit at Nanci. Charles immediately sent an ambassador to Gaston, requesting to be honoured with his presence, and assuring him that no pains should be spared, on his part, to render his residence at Nanci agreeable. In fact all the honours that could be shown to a crowned head were lavished on the duke of Orleans; and all the pleasures of a court, gay, polite, and gallant, were displayed for his satisfaction. Gaston, who wished to secure a retreat, in case the disputes he expected to have with his brother should compel him to leave the kingdom, evinced a disposition to espouse the princess Margaret, sister to the duke of Lorraine. Some hints of this nature were thrown out, and Puilaurens, the duke's favourite, who was deeply enamoured of the princess of Phaltzbourg, Margaret's eldest sister, flattered Charles and his sisters with the hope that this marriage would take place, in order to insinuate himself into the good graces of his new mistress¹². The duke of Lorraine, on his part, affected to observe a great degree of delicacy and respect for the court of France. He apprized Lewis of his brother's arrival at Nanci, and spoke of his journey as a mere visit, which Gaston, being in the neighbourhood, wished to pay to a prince who was allied to the crown of France. The public, however, were of opinion that Charles, highly discontented with the conduct of cardinal Richelieu, had secretly concerted the plan with the duke of Orleans, and artfully inflamed the resentment experienced by that prince, at the encreasing influence and authority of the prime minister. Lewis himself was no wise affected by the retreat of his brother. Absolute master of his kingdom, by the total destruction of the Protestant party, he conceived there were no reasonable grounds of apprehension, with regard to the duke of Orleans, whose conduct, in the affair of Chalais, and on some other occasions, had rendered him extremely unpopular. No person of consequence stood forward in his favour: the nobility even avoided his presence, during his retreat from court, and on his different journeys: the governor of a small town near Verdun would not admit him within the gates; and the officers of his light-horse and gendarmes refused to join him or obey his orders, without an express command from the king.

¹⁰ Mémoires de Rohan, liv. iv.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xiii.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1629.

¹¹ Mémoires de Montmorenci, liv. ii.—Vie du même, liv. ii. chap. 16. ¹² Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans—Mémoires de Beauvau, liv. i.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1629.—Vie du même par Aubery, liv. iii. chap. 13. Lettre du Duc d'Orleans au Roi, en 1631.—Reponse à un Libelle contre les Ministres d'Etat.—Mémoire reconduite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 721, 722, 726, 727, 789, 790.

Gaston's journey to Lorraine was certainly planned in conjunction with the queen-mother, although she still affected, in order to deceive the king and his minister, to be extremely enraged with him on account of his pretended passion for Maria de Gonzaga. The manner in which he forgot that princess, and the steps which he took for espousing the sister of the duke of Lorraine, afford sufficient proofs of Gaston's indifference, as well as of his collusion with Mary of Medicis. The journey to Lorraine was a new artifice pointing to the same end. It was settled, that the duke of Orleans should, during his residence at Nanci, prefer his complaints to the king, on the arrogance of his minister, which complaints should be indirectly supported by the queen-mother. There was some reason to believe that Lewis would be more disposed to hear what might be urged against his favourite, as the difference which appeared to subsist between Mary of Medicis and the duke of Orleans, deprived Richelieu of the opportunity of reviving the ancient jealousy of his sovereign, by his insinuations that Gaston was the sole object of his mother's affections, who would seek to promote his exaltation to the prejudice of the king's authority. Though it might be found impossible to obtain the immediate dismissal of a minister whose services, newly rendered, had augmented his influence and credit, they flattered themselves that the king, from his anxiety to recall his brother to France, and to draw him from the court of the duke of Lorraine, who was an object of suspicion to his majesty, would give him the chief command of his armies, or, at least, bestow on him the government of a considerable province: after which promotion the presumptive heir to the throne would be enabled to labour more effectually, in concert with the queen-mother, for the purpose of promoting the downfall of a minister, who had become odious to all the royal family, and to most of the chief nobles of the realm.

In fact, as soon as the duke of Orleans arrived at Nanci, he loudly complained of the conduct of Richelieu, whom he called his declared enemy. The king was informed that the cardinal had employed a thousand artifices to prevent Gaston from following his majesty, and to deprive him of the command of the army: that he had endeavoured to promote a rupture between his majesty and the queen-mother, with a view to his own private advantage; that, after the retreat of the duke of Orleans into his appanage, during the expedition to Italy, young Bautru, the cardinal's confidential friend, being dispatched with letters to his royal highness from Lewis and the minister, threatened him that if he displeased Richelieu, Richelieu would persuade the king, on his return from Italy, to put Gaston into confinement; that, having complained of this audacity to the queen-mother and to cardinal Berulle, who apprized Richelieu of the apprehensions entertained by the duke of Orleans, the minister neither made the smallest excuse to his royal highness, nor said any thing which could induce that prince to believe he did not intend to put his threats in execution; that the duke having requested several persons to represent to the cardinal that he should be reduced to the necessity of leaving the kingdom, unless his doubts were cleared up, Richelieu refused to give him any positive or satisfactory answer.

“ Far

“Far from setting my mind at ease”—said the duke in a subsequent letter to the king—“they wished to promote a perpetual jealousy and mistrust between your majesty and me. The cardinal has told me a thousand times, under pretence of giving me confidential advice, that I ought never to live on good, nor on bad, terms with you, and that I should do well never to be too near to, or too far from, your person. This advice was given with a view to prevent us from discovering our real sentiments to each other. If, at the time of my journey to Lorraine, the cardinal could have procured a declaration to be sealed and published tending to criminate me, and exculpate himself, he would not have failed so to do. But besides that he well knew he was the only cause of my quitting the kingdom, that I had in my possession sufficient proofs of all his crimes, and that the queen, my mother, whose disgrace he had not yet been able to effect, was, alone, capable of convicting him, he had not then the absolute disposal of your seal.”—In another letter which Gaston wrote to the king from Nanci, he declared, that he could no longer bear with a new *mayor of the palace*, who usurped all the power of the crown.

But neither the complaints of Gaston, nor the insinuations of his mother, could diminish the confidence which Lewis reposed in the cardinal. In the month of November, Richelieu received a fresh mark of the royal favour, by the publication of letters-patent, declaring him “prime-minister of state.” The duke of Orleans, finding all his efforts to subvert the power of the favourite ineffectual, at length sent the duke of Bellegarde, to conclude an accommodation with the king; and he agreed to return to court, on condition of receiving the duchy of Valois, with an additional pension of one hundred thousand livres; the governments of Orleans; Blois; Vendôme; Chartres; and the castle of Amboise; besides the command of an army in Champagne; and the commission of lieutenant-general in Paris and the neighbouring provinces, during the absence of the king, who was expected to go into Italy¹³.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Suza, Lewis became sensible that necessity alone had induced the house of Austria and the duke of Savoy to sign it. As soon as the French had repassed the Alps, the emperor sent the count of Merode with eighteen thousand men into the Valteline, to force a passage through that country into the Milanese. All Italy was surprized to see a complete army destined to enforce the execution of the imperial decree; and Ambrose Spinola arrived, at the same time, to take the command of the Spanish troops. The sole object of both these powers was to seize the territories of the duke of Mantua, under pretence of keeping possession of them only until the dispute with the emperor was decided. The duke of Sa-

¹³ Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1629.—Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vi. p. 789, 792.

voy, far from observing the articles of the treaty, demanded the restitution of Suza, as the friend and ally of the French ; the governor of Milan and the pope's nuncios made several proposals for an accommodation; Julius Mazarin, in particular, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of cardinal, exerted his utmost efforts for the prevention of a rupture ; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual ; the sword alone could decide the contest.

Lewis hastened to send a fresh supply of troops to the assistance of his ally the duke of Mantua, whose capital was now besieged by the imperialists. But the garrison made so gallant a defence, that, on Christmas day, the assailants deemed it prudent to abandon the enterprize. As they had taken possession, however, of several other places, the French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, was put in motion. The king, having fixed on Richelieu to command his troops, introduced into the language the new title of *Generalissimo*, which he conferred on him by letters-patent, published for that purpose ; in order to distinguish him from marshals Crequi, Schomberg, and La Force, who were to serve under him in the capacity of lieutenant-generals¹⁴. Richelieu left Paris, on the twenty-ninth of December, attended by cardinal de la Valette ; the duke of Montmorenci ; and marshals Schomberg, and Bassompierre. Besides his ordinary guard, the king assigned him an escort of eight companies of the royal guards, consisting each of three hundred men.

A. D. 1630.] As soon as the cardinal reached Lyons (on the eighteenth of January) he sent Servier to the duke of Savoy, to apprise him of his approach to the frontiers, and to demand a passage through his states for the troops, agreeably to the last treaty. The duke requested him to advance as far as the bridge of Beauvoisin, where the prince of Piedmont would give him the meeting ; but the cardinal refused to accede to the proposal for a conference, under pretence that such a step would be derogatory to his dignity, as the representative of his sovereign. He therefore continued his march to Suza, whither the duke of Savoy sent his son, who proposed to Richelieu, to attack the republic of Genoa, and the duchy of Milan, at the same time, offering to join him with his father's forces. These proposals were rejected, and, as the duke of Savoy refused to comply with the terms of the treaty of Suza, it was unanimously resolved, by all the generals in the army, to declare war against him. An attempt to surprize that prince at Rivoli, having failed, the French laid siege to Pignerol, which, with its citadel, surrendered in a few days. The reduction of this place was of the utmost importance to the French, as it opened a communication between Dauphiné and Piedmont ; for which rea-

¹⁴ Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1629.—Vie du même, par Aubery, liv. iii. chap. 15.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Lettres du Duc d'Orléans au Roi, en 1631.

son the cardinal strengthened the fortifications, and remained in the town until it was put in a complete state of defence.

The pope and the Venetians were pleased to see the French open a passage for themselves into Italy, with a view to restrain the attempts of the duke of Savoy, and to oppose, with the greater facility, the dangerous enterprizes of the house of Austria. But they were fearful that the rupture with the former would tend to impede the progress of the king's arms in Piedmont; and that, in the mean time, Casal and Mantua would fall into the hands of the Spaniards. In order to avert this danger, cardinal Anthony Barberini, the pope's legate, and the Venetian ambassadors, waited on Richelieu at Pignerol, and pressed him to conclude an accommodation with the duke; but as the cession of that important post was insisted upon, the conferences were broken off, without coming to any decision. Marechal Schomberg advanced as far as Briqueras, but being opposed by the joint forces of Spain and the empire, he was obliged to give up his attempt to penetrate farther into the country.

The king, meanwhile, anxious to be near the scene of war, had repaired to Lyons, accompanied by the two queens, and attended by the whole court¹⁵. He there received letters from Richelieu, who informed him that having completed the fortifications of Pignerol, he was then on his way to meet his sovereign. Marechal Bassompierre also repaired thither from Soleure, whither he had been dispatched to demand a supply of six thousand troops from the Swiss cantons. A council was convened, to whose discussion was submitted the situation of affairs in Italy; and in order to counterbalance the progress of the Spanish and Imperial arms, it was resolved to achieve the conquest of Savoy. The general rendezvous of the army being appointed between Grenoble and the fortrefs of Barraut, the king repaired to the former place, where he was met by Richelieu; the troops were soon put in motion, and, in a short space of time, Lewis reduced the whole duchy of Savoy.

But this conquest did not contribute so much as had been expected to the speedy conclusion of a peace with the house of Austria. Mazarin was employed, in the capacity of nuncio from the pope, to promote an accommodation between the contending parties, but the terms offered by the French were deemed so unreasonable, that it was not supposed the negociation could be productive of any good effect. Besides, Collalte and Spinola, the Imperial and Spanish generals, having received considerable reinforcements, were preparing to extend their conquests into the duchy of Mantua and the marquisate of Montferrat, where there was no force capable of resisting their efforts. On the other

¹⁵ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1630.—Vie du même, par Aubery, liv. iii. chap. 21.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xiv.

hand, the French nation openly testified their disapprobation of the war. The people expressed their discontent at the additional weight of taxes which was almost daily imposed on them; in Burgundy strong symptoms of revolt appeared: and even at Lyons, while the two queens were resident in the city, the inhabitants peremptorily refused to pay the new imposts. The garrison of Pignerol, and the troops in Piedmont, suffered extremely through want of provisions; and had not Toiras received, just in time, thirty thousand crowns due to the garrison of Casal, that important place must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards¹⁶.

Casal was the only town in Montferrat which still held out for the duke of Mantua. The marquis of Spinola laid siege to it with an army of four-and-twenty thousand men, and a formidable train of artillery. The defence was proportioned to the vigour of the attack, and Toiras greatly incommoded the enemy by frequent and well-directed sallies. The Imperialists, meanwhile, extended their incursions into the duchy of Mantua, where the marshal D'Etrées was stationed; but, alike destitute of money and of troops, he could be of little utility to the duke. Most of the inhabitants preferred to the evils of the war a voluntary submission to the Imperial power; and this disposition was encouraged by the conduct of their allies, the Venetians, whose neglect occasioned the reduction of the town and citadel of Porto. The duke of Mantua himself was severely censured for neglecting the adoption of those measures which were necessary for the preservation of his dominions; and for consuming, in idle and superfluous expences, those treasures which should have been solely appropriated to the support of the war. But neither the neglect of the Venetians, nor the imprudence of the duke, excited so much astonishment, as the conduct of the French, who, after openly declaring in favour of the latter, had hastily abandoned an enterprize, whence much glory might have been derived.

The army, commanded by the marshals Schomberg and de la Force, in that country, was so much weakened by desertions and sickness, that it became necessary to send a considerable reinforcement, under the conduct of the duke of Montmorenci, and the marquis d'Effiat. This reinforcement consisted of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, who were obliged to risk an action with the troops of Savoy, before they could effect a junction with the other army. The action took place at a defile near the town of Vegliano, in Piedmont, where the rear-guard of the French was vigorously attacked by prince Thomas; but the skill of the generals and the courage of the troops fixed the wavering fortune of the day, and snatched the victory from the Savoyards, who lost eight hundred men, two hundred prisoners, and nineteen pair of colours¹⁷.

¹⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 346.
xxviii. p. 362, 363, 364.

¹⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 347, 348.—Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv.

The junction of the duke of Montmorenci with marechal de la Force was followed by the reduction of the town and marquifate of Saluces. The duke of Savoy advanced, in person, with his army, as far as Savigliano, in order to give battle to the French ; but death put a stop to his career. He expired of an apoplexy towards the end of July, 1630 ; and was succeeded in his dominions by his son Victor-Amadeus, who had espoused the sister of Lewis the Thirteenth.

Rivoli was the first place that was taken by the French after the death of Charles Emanuel ; they thence proceeded to Villa-Franca, and Pontcalliere, which soon capitulated ; and Carignano experienced a similar fate. The French army was so weakened by the ravages of the plague, that they could reap no advantage from their successes. The principal object of their expedition was the relief of Casal, which was closely besieged by the Spaniards. Toiras contrived to defend the town with his usual spirit and vigour, but there was no hope that his utmost exertions could enable him to hold out beyond the month of September. He was in want of provisions and money, and his soldiers daily diminished in number. He apprized the French generals of his situation, but their army was reduced to such a state as to preclude the possibility of undertaking any thing in his favour ; the Spaniards, on their side, were not exempt from apprehension ; for the fourteen thousand men, with which Spinola had commenced the siege, were now reduced to four thousand ; the magnitude of which loss must be partly ascribed to the effects of sickness, and partly to the circumstance of no quarter being given on either side.

In this reciprocal state of embarrassment, Mazarin, after he had ineffectually exerted himself for bringing both parties to consent to a peace, again interposed his good offices, and induced them to sign a general truce, which was to continue from the fourth of September to the fifteenth of October. By this truce it was stipulated—that Spinola and Toiras should leave all the works, both in the city and in the Spanish camp, in the same situation in which they were when the truce was signed : that Spinola should permit the French to purchase provisions in his camp until the end of October : that the Spaniards, meanwhile, should be put in possession of the town of Casal : that if a peace should not be concluded before the fifteenth of October, the French should be at liberty to relieve the place ; but if it were not relieved before the last day of that month, Toiras should resign the command to Spinola.

This armistice appeared strange to those who were unacquainted with the real situation of both parties. To such it appeared, that either Spinola should reduce the citadel of Casal, or that the French should compel him to raise the siege. But besides that Spinola's army was diminished, as we have before observed, more than two thirds, he could obtain no assistance from the Imperialists, whose general was pleased at any diminution of his rival's glory. The duke of Savoy, moreover, was extremely irritated against Spi-

nola, because he had preferred the siege of Casal to the junction of their forces for the defence of Piedmont. Victor-Amadeus had even procured a positive order to be sent to Spinola from the court of Madrid, to sign no treaty; and it was necessary to procure fresh powers from Madrid before he could sign the truce. Vexation at these repeated disappointments brought on a fit of sickness, which compelled the Spanish general to quit the camp, and resign the conduct of the siege to another¹⁸. The French generals accepted the truce, with the greater alacrity, as they had given up the town for lost. It was the marquis of Santa-Croce, to whom Spinola had resigned the command of the Spanish army, that treated with Toiras about the execution of the truce; but that general paid so little attention to guarding the avenues of the citadel of Casal, that at the expiration of the truce the garrison was more numerous and in much better condition than before. The Spanish soldiers had sold the French as many provisions as they chose to buy; and Mazarin himself, though acting in the capacity of mediator in this business, had carried money to Toiras, whenever he went to negotiate with him;—a service which Richelieu, in the sequel, was careful to acknowledge. The marquis of Spinola died soon after the truce was signed¹⁹.

Notwithstanding the uneasiness and agitation occasioned by the intrigues of his enemies, and his uncertainty as to the termination of the war in Italy, Richelieu exerted all his activity and foresight in putting the affairs of foreign countries on such a footing, that Lewis might be enabled to reduce the emperor and the king of Spain to the necessity of doing justice to the duke of Mantua; and to defeat the projects of the house of Austria. The shortest and most certain method of accomplishing this purpose, was by preventing the states-general of the United Provinces from listening to the proposals for a truce or accommodation made them by the artful court of Madrid; to stimulate the king of Sweden to an open rupture with the emperor; and secretly to favour the enterprize, in order to engage the princes of Germany to shake off the yoke imposed on them by Ferdinand. The cardinal laboured with great earnestness to bring about these matters; and Joseph, a Capuchin friar, his confessor, served him with great zeal on the occasion. Baugy, the French ambassador at the Hague, had received orders, towards the conclusion of the preceding year, to negotiate a renewal of the ancient treaties between France and the states-general of the United Provinces; but the business could not be brought to a termination until the middle of the present summer. It was of the utmost importance that no longer delay should be experienced; for Charles, king of England, led away by the hope with which the Spaniards still amused him, of re-establishing Frederick, king of Bohemia, in his hereditary dominions, and of obtaining the emperor's consent, concluded a peace with the Catholic king;

¹⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 350.

¹⁹ Histoire du Marechal de Toiras, liv. ii.—Nani Historia Veneta, lib. viii. 1639.—Memorie recondite, di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 216, 217.

openly solicited the states-general of the United Provinces to enter into a negotiation with the court of Madrid, and offered them his mediation ²⁰.

Having settled this business, the cardinal's attention was next directed to the diet of Ratisbon, which had been assembled by the emperor, in the month of June. Leo Brulart, a man of great skill and experience, already approved in various negotiations of importance, who resided in Switzerland, as ambassador extraordinary from France, received orders to repair thither: but father Joseph, who was appointed to accompany him to Germany, was considered as the principal negociator, and was, indeed, solely entrusted with the secret designs of Richelieu. Brulart, at his first audience, explained to the diet the good intentions of the king, his master, with regard to the safety and tranquillity of the empire. He was also charged to represent, in strong terms, to the electoral college, the reasons which had induced Lewis to extend his protection to the duke of Mantua, and to oppose the project formed by the emperor and the king of Spain against the liberties of the Italian states; he was farther ordered to display, in proper colours, the different measures adopted by his most Christian majesty for ensuring a certain and durable peace to Italy; and to inform the diet that if the emperor would consent, at the solicitation of the electors, to enter into a negotiation concerning the affairs of Mantua, the French ministers had full powers to treat on the subject.

Richelieu had two objects in view in this embassy to Ratisbon; first, secretly to thwart the projects of the emperor; and, secondly, to conclude an accommodation, with regard to the succession of the house of Gonzaga ²¹, in case the marquis of Spinola should succeed in his attempt on Casal. The abbot of Kremsmunster, and the barons Nostlitz and Questenberg, one of whom was vice-chancellor of Bohemia, and the other councillor of state to the emperor, had orders to treat with Brulart, and his adjunct, father Joseph. Several articles were drawn up on both sides; but neither party seemed disposed to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. The Imperialists wished to give the Spaniards time for the reduction of Casal; and Richelieu, who thought his credit and fortune might be more easily sustained while his sovereign was engaged in a difficult and doubtful war, did not wish to terminate the business until he had completely dissipated the intrigues which had been formed against himself.

But two circumstances occurred to oblige the French and Imperial courts to adopt a change of measures, and to press the conclusion of the negotiation they had begun. The emperor, alarmed at the rapid progress of the king of Sweden in Germany, and at the

²⁰ Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Rushworth's Historical Collections.—Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, b. i.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. ²¹ Vie du Père Joseph, chap. viii, ix, x.—Nani Historia Veneta, lib. viii. 1630.—Memorie recondite, di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 230, &c.

convocation of all the Protestant princes at Leipzig, at the instigation of the elector of Saxony, resolved to settle, without delay, the affairs of Mantua, and to recall his troops from Italy. On the other hand, the king of France had been seized with a dangerous illness at Lyons; and Richelieu was obliged to obey the queen-mother, who insisted that the war in Italy should be immediately terminated. Besides her former reasons for wishing for peace, she did not chuse that the kingdom should be involved in a troublesome war, at a moment when the king, whose life was certainly in imminent danger, was expected to die. No conjuncture was ever more adverse to the designs of Richelieu, nor more favourable to those of Mary of Medicis. Whether the king died or recovered, the cardinal appeared to be in equal danger of disgrace. The duke of Orleans, presumptive heir to the crown, held him in such detestation, that he had not the smallest reason to hope for either favour, countenance, or protection from him. Lewis, unable to resist the continued solicitations of his mother, had actually promised to dismiss the cardinal, as soon as the war in Italy should be brought to a conclusion. Thus, whether the king survived or not, Richelieu was alike exposed to the danger of losing his place. The minister was aware of these inconveniencies, and yet could no longer refuse to send positive orders to his confessor to conclude the treaty of Ratibon with the utmost expedition.

The treaty was signed on the thirteenth of October. Father Joseph, at first, refused to subscribe his name to it, under pretence that he had no ostensible character at the diet of Ratibon; but the Imperial commissioners, knowing him to be in possession of full powers, as well as of the confidence of Richelieu, protested they would not sign without him. The principal articles of the treaty were these: That the emperor and the king of France should live in peace and harmony with, and not assist the enemies and rebellious subjects of, each other: that the pretensions of the duchess-dowager of Lorraine to the succession of the three last dukes of Mantua, her brothers, should either be left to the decision of the emperor, or be settled in an amicable manner: that the prince of Guastalla should cede his claims to Charles, duke of Mantua, and his male heirs, on receiving territorial possessions to the amount of six thousand crowns a year: that the duke of Savoy should have the city of Trino, in the marquisate of Montferrat, and such other places as would, together, produce him an annual income of eighteen thousand crowns: that Charles, duke of Mantua, should write a respectful and submissive letter to his imperial majesty: that, six weeks after the receipt of such letter, he should be invested with the duchy of Mantua, and the marquisate of Montferrat, and Ferdinand should withdraw all his troops from the duchy, except those which were stationed in the capital, in the citadel of Porto, and in Caneto: that the Spaniards should desist from their attempts on Montferrat, and on Casal; and should retire from Piedmont: that the French should evacuate the citadel of Casal, repass the Alps, and restore all they had taken from the duke of Savoy, except Pignerol, Vegliano, Suza, and Briqueras: that the duke of Mantua might follow the example of his predecessors in putting what
garrison

garrison he chose in Casal, so that he did not give umbrage to the neighbouring powers: that after the investiture granted to that prince, the emperor and the king of France should restore all the places remaining in their hands: and, lastly, that the emperor should demolish the forts he had caused to be erected in the country of the Grisons; and that that people should be restored to the possession of their ancient rights and liberties²². The duke of Lorraine and the Venetians were comprehended in this treaty. Ferdinand promised to restore all the places which his generals had taken from the latter, and never to molest them on account of the late war, provided they would reduce their army as far as was compatible with their own safety.

The treaty of Ratisbon, far from securing that approbation which its object—the termination of a ruinous and bloody war—appeared to deserve, became a subject of general censure and complaint. All the parties interested in the event, except the court of Vienna, were highly discontented. The duke of Mantua complained of the dismemberment of his dominions. The Venetians, though the interests of the republic had by no means been neglected, testified their displeasure at the little attention paid by Lewis to that fidelity which the republic had ever displayed in all their engagements with France; and expressed their wish that Brulart had deferred the conclusion of the treaty until the arrival of Sebastian Venier, whom the senate had sent, as their ambassador extraordinary, to Ratisbon. The Spaniards, accustomed to give the law in all negotiations, were extremely mortified at finding themselves reduced to the necessity of abiding by the terms that had been settled by the emperor and the king of France, without the participation of the council of Madrid. Lewis having recovered his health, before the treaty was signed, Richelieu, though its conclusion was the immediate consequence of his own express orders, joined in the general murmur of discontent. He loudly complained of the precipitation and imprudence displayed by Brulart and his associate in signing an act which, in his opinion, contained several clauses injurious to France, and disadvantageous to the king and his allies. The cardinal persuaded the king to disavow his ambassadors. The marshals of France, who commanded the French forces in Italy, were secretly advised to pay no attention to what had passed at Ratisbon, and not to execute the treaty, in case they should be called upon by the Imperial generals to enforce its accomplishment. Brulart was severely reprimanded, and received orders to declare to his Imperial majesty, that Lewis would never ratify the treaty, unless certain articles were altered, so as to be rendered palatable to the court of France. Father Joseph was ordered to retire to his convent; whence, however, he was soon after removed by Richelieu, who assigned him apartments in the Louvre²³.

²² Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv. xxviii. p. 449, 450.

²³ Idem. *ibid.* p. 452, 453.

The king's illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave, had given rise to intrigues at court, which had for their objects the dismissal of Richelieu, and the marriage of the duke of Orleans, in case his brother should die. The countess of Fargis is said to have represented to Anne of Austria, that the only means of avoiding the misfortune she dreaded, in the event of the king's death, of retiring to Spain, and being confined in a convent, was by espousing the heir to the throne; and the countess undertook to open the business to Gaston, whose answer was couched in "*civil and obliging terms.*" Lewis was, probably, apprized of this circumstance after his recovery. Richelieu, skilful in the discovery of intrigues of the most secret nature, did not suffer so fair an opportunity to escape of confirming his sovereign in a prejudice, of which he never was cured, tending to enforce a belief that the queen and the duke of Orleans had entertained serious thoughts of marrying each other.

The alarm into which Richelieu had been thrown by the illness of his master was somewhat dispelled by his recovery. Mary of Medicis, however, thinking the peace concluded, or, at least, on the point of being signed at Ratibon, renewed her solicitations to the king for the dismissal of his minister, and strenuously exhorted him to perform the promise he had so often repeated²⁴. But Lewis eluded her demands, by urging her to wait till the final conclusion of the treaty, and, in the mean time, to shew no marks of her displeasure to Richelieu, who waited for her at Roanne, with a view of returning with her to Paris, and of endeavouring to recover her good graces on the road. A judicious writer pretends that there was a collusion between the king and his minister on this occasion, and that they agreed, before their departure from Lyons, to deceive the queen-mother, and once more to deprive her of all share in the government. The disgrace of that princess, and the continual delays demanded by Lewis whenever she pressed him to dismiss the cardinal, give an air of probability to this conjecture. But Richelieu appeared so disconcerted after a fresh proof of the queen-mother's resentment which he received at Paris, at the beginning of November; he so firmly believed himself lost without resource, and entertained such serious thoughts of retiring to Havre-de-Grace, that it is difficult to conceive he could have acted in concert with his sovereign. The sudden disgrace of Mary of Medicis, and the unexpected continuation of the credit and influence of the cardinal, were the effects of the weakness and timidity of a prince, who entertained suspicions of his nearest relations, and who did not think himself capable of supporting, without the assistance of his minister, the weight of foreign affairs, nor of dispelling those domestic factions, which, as Richelieu made him believe, had long been forming against his authority, and even against his person.

Before the court left Lyons, Lewis and the cardinal sent orders to the marshals of France, who commanded in Italy, to march without delay to the relief of Casal. The

²⁴ Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv. 28. p. 494.

truce expired on the fifteenth of October, and, by the same treaty, the citadel was to be surrendered to the marquis of Santa-Croce, in case it was not relieved before the eleventh of November. Richelieu knew very well what Brulart and father Joseph had negotiated at Ratisbon with the Imperial ministers; but, released from his fears on account of the king's illness, he was determined not to fulfil a treaty which had been hastily concluded, merely through complacency to Mary of Medicis, who was impelled by a variety of reasons to wish for a speedy termination of the war in Italy. The cardinal, therefore, wrote to Schomberg, his confidential friend, and one of the three marshals of France who had been sent into Italy, with full powers to treat, in case of necessity, with the duke of Savoy, and the Spanish and Imperial generals, to pay no attention to any thing which might be concluded at Ratisbon, and to save the honour of the French arms, by marching to the relief of Casal, even though he should be obliged to risk an action, or to attack the enemy in their lines²⁵.

The execution of this project was attended with great difficulty and danger. The army was to cross an enemy's country, nearly thirty leagues in extent, without a single place either of shelter or retreat, and to engage the joint forces of the Imperialists and Spaniards, stationed in advantageous posts, which they would not fail to secure, in order to dispute the passage with the French. It was likewise to be apprehended that the enemy, strongly entrenched before Casal, could not be forced by troops harassed by a long march, and weak through want of provisions. Indeed there was little prospect of finding provisions sufficient for the subsistence of the French before their arrival at Montferrat, during their residence in the vicinity of Casal, and on their return from the expedition. Besides, after relieving the place, it would be necessary to throw in supplies for a whole year; and there was no appearance of finding the requisite articles in a country that had already been desolated by the incursions of the troops. Almost any other minister than Richelieu, alarmed at obstacles which appeared almost insurmountable, would have accepted the treaty of Ratisbon, and have got rid of the affair with as little injury as possible. But the cardinal was of a different disposition; as courageous and enterprising in the most difficult matters of state, as timid and uncertain in the management of his own private concerns, he sent orders to marshals de la Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, to risk every thing for the relief of Casal; and he warned the second to elude the execution of the treaty of Ratisbon, which the king would refuse to ratify. Besides that the continuation of the war was advantageous to the cardinal, he was loth to expose himself to the reproach which his enemies would inevitably cast upon him, of having extricated the king, by means of a treaty far from honourable, from an affair inconsiderately and imprudently undertaken, at the instigation of his

²⁵ Histoire du Marechal de Toiras, liv. ii.—Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, liv. i. chap. 2.—Nani Historia Veneta, liv. viii. 1630.—Mémoire reconduite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 259, 260, 261.

minister. One circumstance, indeed, might give courage to Richelieu, whose penetration scarcely any thing escaped. The duke of Savoy, and count Collalte, the Imperial general, were not sorry to see Casal relieved, and the Spaniards reduced to the necessity of consenting to a peace. Victor Amadeus was particularly anxious to enter on possession of the towns, and the extensive tract of country which Lewis withheld from him. Ferdinand, too, alarmed at the progress of the king of Sweden, wished to recall his troops from Italy, and settle the affairs of Mantua. The cardinal flattered himself that the known disposition of the emperor and the duke of Savoy would facilitate the relief of Casal, and that the marquis of Santa-Croce, who was as timid and unskilful as his predecessor Spinola was courageous and experienced, would not willingly risk an action, unless he was well seconded by the Imperialists and the duke of Savoy.

Richelieu was not deceived in his expectations; though he was greatly indebted for the success of his scheme to the exertions of Mazarin, who had profited by the armistice to perform the office of mediator between the contending powers. Devoted to France, he had amused her enemies by proposals which prevented them from making the necessary preparations for sustaining the efforts of her troops. When Mazarin told marshal Schomberg that a treaty had been signed at Ratisbon, by which it was stipulated that Lewis should not assist, either directly or indirectly, the declared enemies of Ferdinand or the empire; and that the fortress of Casal should be demolished; Schomberg replied—"The first of these conditions appears to me so contrary to the honour and reputation of the king, my master, that I cannot persuade myself his majesty's ambassador at Ratisbon will ever accept it: as for me, I will never sign such an article." Mazarin afterwards proposed to the marshal, on the part of the Imperial general, to sign a treaty similar to that which was in agitation at Ratisbon; with an exception of the article which had given him such offence; but Schomberg persisted in his refusal, and, in concert with his two colleagues, took the necessary measures for affording immediate relief to the citadel of Casal.

The duke of Savoy, Collalte, and Mazarin were much better pleased than the French generals with the negotiation at Ratisbon. Victor Amadeus was anxious to become an umpire between three of the first potentates in Europe: Collalte was dissatisfied because the full powers he had received for negotiating and concluding a peace were virtually annulled by the treaty begun at Ratisbon: and Mazarin, who had flattered himself with the prospect of advancing his fortune at the court of Rome, by settling, to the satisfaction of the pope, an affair which had interrupted the peace of Italy, and the consequences whereof were greatly to be dreaded, deplored the loss of his trouble, and the destruction of his hopes. There appeared to be an almost general conspiracy in Italy for the purpose of setting aside the treaty of Ratisbon, and of substituting another in its place; and marshal Schomberg profited by this circumstance, to promote the accomplishment of his plan. Mazarin perceiving that, notwithstanding the negotiation for a peace that

was carrying on in Germany, the French were making serious preparations for the relief of Casal, imagined he might still succeed in his efforts to ingratiate himself with the court of Rome. He therefore proposed to marechal Schomberg to prolong the truce, in order that the marquis of Santa-Croce might have time to receive farther powers from Madrid; but this proposal was rejected by the marechal, and, after a short delay, the French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, under the conduct of marechals La Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, was put in motion. On their march, they received the treaty of Ratisbon, which father Joseph had sent them by his brother-in-law, Saint Estienne; Schomberg, who had his secret instructions, perused the treaty with attention, and declared to Mazarin, to the Venetian ambassador, and to the envoy from the duke of Mantua, that he conceived it to be his duty to pay no respect to a treaty which appeared to him to be captious, and which the king's ambassador could not have been induced to sign, had he not been grossly deceived. “By the sixth and ninth articles”—said Schomberg—“it is stipulated that the emperor shall grant the duke of Mantua the investiture of his duchy, within the term of six weeks; and that their Imperial and Catholic majesties shall, within fifteen days from that time, withdraw all their troops from Montferrat. By this means the king's army would be obliged to remain in Italy two months longer, and to wait until the Spaniards should have evacuated Casal. How do we know but that, during that time, it may be totally destroyed by pestilence, famine, and desertion? I observe also that no Spanish minister has signed this treaty. The emperor only promises to procure the ratification of it by his Catholic majesty. To me this circumstance appears suspicious. I am afraid that the Spaniards were desirous of reserving for themselves a pretence for rejecting the treaty, in case it should be found inconvenient to them to observe it. These considerations prevent me from acceding to an accommodation so contrary to the interests of the king, and which his majesty cannot accept with honour to himself²⁶.”

The marechals de la Force and Marillac, convinced that Schomberg had too much sense and experience to take upon himself the consequences of an enterprize thus dangerous, or to break a solemn treaty without some positive order, or, at least, without being well assured of the disposition of the king and his minister, praised the generous resolution he had adopted, and expressed their concurrence therewith. They accordingly proceeded on their march to Casal, and were on the point of attacking the Spanish lines, when Santa-Croce thought proper to comply with the terms they imposed, and to consent to the immediate evacuation of the territories of the duke of Mantua.

²⁶ Bernard, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* liv. xiv.—*Histoire du Marechal de Toiras*, liv. ii.—*Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin*, liv. i. chap. 2.—*Mémoires du Marechal du Plessy; de Pontis; et de Puysegur*.—*Mercure Francois*, 1630.—*Nani Historia Veneta*, liv. viii. 1630.—*Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri*, tom. vii. p. 263, 264, &c.

A. D. 1631.] During the military operations the queen-mother had exerted her utmost influence with the king, to subvert the power, and destroy the credit, of a favourite, who seemed disposed to dispute with his master the exercise of the sovereign authority. But, at the very time when her intrigues appeared to be most successful, all her hopes were overturned by a positive and public declaration of her son's, that he would protect the cardinal against *all* his enemies. Inflated by the success of his schemes, and emboldened by the absolute ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of Lewis, Richelieu thenceforth preserved no measures with those he disliked, but pursued, with unremitting diligence, his plan for promoting the destruction of all who endeavoured to thwart his interest or ambition.

But, amidst the cabals and intrigues of the court, which fill the greater part of the histories of these times, political negotiations were not neglected. On the twenty-third of January (1631) a treaty of alliance was signed, at Berwald, in the duchy of Brandenburg, between the king of France, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. The professed object of this treaty was to defend the friends of either monarch; to enforce the liberty of commerce on the sea; to re-establish the princes of the empire in their ancient privileges; to effect the demolition of certain forts which the emperor had caused to be erected on the coasts of the Baltic, and in the country of the Grisons; in short, to restore the affairs of Europe to the same footing on which they stood before the last troubles in Germany. Gustavus engaged to maintain, at his own expence, an army of thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; in consideration of which Lewis agreed to pay him annually the sum of four hundred thousand crowns. The treaty was signed by Charnassé, the French ambassador, on the one part; and by marechal Horn; John Bannier, general of the infantry, and Charles Bannier, secretary of state to Gustavus, on the other. The French council wished not to render this treaty public, lest a clamour should be raised against an alliance concluded by the advice of a cardinal, and the intrigues of a friar, with a prince who declared himself the protector of the oppressed Protestants in Germany: but Gustavus was too deeply interested in its publication to suffer it to remain a secret.

The emperor had at first despised the efforts of the Swedish monarch, from a conviction that, not having money sufficient to complete the project he had undertaken, he would find but few persons in Germany who would venture to declare in his favour, and would speedily be reduced to the necessity of returning to his own country. But the alliance and support of the French gave to his enterprize a very different aspect. Aided by the resources of a powerful kingdom, Gustavus could not fail to become highly formidable to Ferdinand. The enemies of the cardinal were loud in their clamours against him, and strenuously endeavoured to render this new alliance a subject of general discontent. But all equitable and judicious persons bestowed the warmest commendations on the skill and prudence of the minister, in an affair which laid the first foundation of
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that superiority which France afterwards acquired over the house of Austria; a superiority which, in the sequel, became almost as dangerous to the liberties of the empire, and, indeed of all Europe, as the boundless ambition of this aspiring family. Gustavus, on his part, displayed equal wisdom and prudence; as, without this league, he never could have effected his laudable project of humiliating the emperor, inflated with the rapid successes of his generals; and of delivering the princes of Germany from oppression.

Richelieu persisted in his endeavours to turn the suspicions which he had artfully instilled into the mind of his sovereign, with regard to Mary of Medicis and the duke of Orleans, to his own advantage. He represented to Lewis, that a conspiracy was formed against his authority, and, probably, against his person, by the queen-mother and the duke; that many of the principal noblemen and ladies of the court had engaged in it, and that it would be prudent to put a stop to it before it was carried to an alarming height; which might be easily done, if his majesty would only leave Paris, and repair to Compiègne, under pretence of taking the amusement of the chase. “Monsieur”—said Richelieu—“is preparing to raise troops in different parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of commencing a civil war. All his projects will be frustrated if we can but gain over the queen-mother, which will be no difficult matter, after the removal of those factious spirits which are incessantly irritating her. If she follow you to Compiègne, she shall be pressed with such urgent solicitations, and tempted by such advantageous offers, that she will scarcely be able to refuse what your majesty means to ask of her. At all events, should the queen-mother remain at Paris during your journey, we will avail ourselves of the opportunity to remove from about her person all who are instrumental in cherishing her ill-humour. The banishment or imprisonment of her evil counsellors will render her more tractable and pliant towards you; and Monsieur, deprived of the support of the queen-mother, will not fail to submit to the will of your majesty.”

Lewis approved the plan, and repaired to Compiègne, about the middle of February, whither he was followed by the two queens. He then told his mother that he wished to be reconciled to her, but that such reconciliation could never take place unless she would accept the apologies which Richelieu was ready to make for any offence he might have given her; concur with him in averting the troubles with which the state was threatened; attend the council, and give her opinion there as she used to do formerly. It was also requested that Mary should give a written promise never in future to engage in any intrigue hostile to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom, and to abandon all such as should be considered as abettors of faction. Mary expressed her willingness to comply with all these conditions, except that of giving the written promise to her son, and the obligation of attending the council. Richelieu and his creatures availed themselves

themselves of this *partial* refusal, to inflame the resentment of Lewis. They observed to him that queens might be punished like other subjects, whenever they excited or encouraged factions in the kingdom; that though he were compelled to the observance of certain duties towards his mother, as a king he ought to prefer the happiness and repose of his people to all other considerations: that he could not refuse to employ such means as should be found capable of breaking the close connection of Mary of Medicis with the duke of Orleans and his partisans; that Charles the Seventh, even before his accession to the throne, sent his mother, Isabel of Bavaria, to Blois, and afterwards to Tours, in order to thwart the evil designs which certain discontented persons had formed, under the name of that princess; that the constable Armagnac had orders to take from her her jewels and money, and to commit her to the custody of three men, without whose permission she could not speak to any one; that the surest mode of disconcerting the projects of Mary, was to cause her to be conducted to some place at a distance from the court; to banish all those who persuaded her to adhere to the pernicious resolution she had adopted; and to place near her person some one possessed of sufficient prudence and authority to prevent her from forming any conspiracy hostile to the welfare of the state. The cardinal, however, with an appearance of moderation that was foreign from his heart, advised the king to try all mild expedients before he had recourse to exertions of severity²⁷.

But neither threats, solicitations nor remonstrances could prevail upon Mary to abandon the duke of Orleans, or to have any greater intercourse than such as was absolutely unavoidable with the cardinal; she, therefore, coolly observed, that she wished to have no farther concern with the government of the kingdom, and would not attend the council. Lewis, concluding from thence that his mother was more firmly attached to the interests of the duke of Orleans than to his own, listened to the suggestions of jealousy, and became more ardent, if possible, than Richelieu himself in pressing the banishment of a princess whom he had nothing more to reproach with than a too eager desire of punishing the ingratitude of a faithless servant. Richelieu eagerly embraced the opportunity, and laid before the king the opinion of father Joseph and another priest, who had agreed, that as the law of God did not require children to keep their parents always near their persons, Lewis might, without committing the smallest sin, banish his mother to whatever place he chose.

All scruples being thus removed from the mind of Lewis by the complacency of two casuists, whose ideas of honour and conscience appear to have been regulated by other principles than those of religion, determined to make his mother feel the weight of his

²⁷ Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1621.—Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xv.—Lumières pour l'Histoire de France.—Mémoire seconde de Vittorio Siri.—Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv. 29.

repentment. Richelieu, however, prevailed upon him not to proceed to extremities until he had previously submitted his intentions to the discussion of his council. The council was accordingly assembled, but when the cardinal was called upon to give his opinion on the proposition for banishing the queen-mother from court, with an affectation of modesty, which the whole tenour of his conduct belied, he earnestly besought the king to permit him to be silent on a subject in which he must appear too deeply interested to speak with impartiality. His eagerness in enforcing this request was proportioned to the strength of his conviction that the king would not comply with it; and no sooner had Lewis issued his command, than Richelieu, with grief on his countenance, and joy in his heart, began a speech which he had prepared for the purpose ²³.

He represented, that the emperor, the kings of Spain and England, and the duke of Savoy, compelled to yield to the victorious arms of France, were envious of the prosperity of Lewis: that they incessantly laboured to frustrate his just designs, either by carrying on an open war against him, or by exciting, by means of their agents and emissaries, factions and insurrections in his dominions: that the two queens and the duke of Orleans entered into these intrigues, and, under the pretext of frivolous discontents, formed an union with each other hostile to the welfare of the state: that even the parliaments and the people secretly favoured them, in the hope that these domestic dissensions would weaken the authority of the king, the diminution of which was earnestly fought for by certain turbulent and seditious persons: that several of the principal nobility had attached themselves to Mary of Medicis and to Gaston, with a view to the advancement of their fortune, or the augmentation of their power: that the intrigues of certain ladies, and of the duke of Buckingham, at the court of France, had nearly set the kingdom in a flame: that the new cabal formed by the queen-mother appeared more formidable than any of the preceding factions: that the number and quality of the ladies who were concerned in it were infinitely more considerable: that the malecontents were privately instigated by the Spaniards: that the king of England supplied them with money, and had offered pecuniary assistance to the duke of Orleans when he left the kingdom: that the duke of Lorraine had engaged in these intrigues, and that Mazarin had told him that that prince had exerted himself to prevent the accommodation between France and the empire: that the duke of Guise and the parliament of Provence were actually endeavouring, in concert with Mary of Medicis and the duke of Orleans, to excite the Provençals to sedition: that a relation of mareschal de Marillac had refused, at the instigation of the queen-mother, to give up the citadel of Verdun, of which he was governor, to the king, in order to constrain his majesty to release the mareschal from confinement: that the intrigues and imaginary discontents of Mary of Medicis had alone given rise to

²³ Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1631.—Vie du même par Aubery, liv. iv. chap. 12.—Mémoire reconduite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 302, 303, &c.

all these disorders : and, that the house of Austria would, under various pretences, refuse to do justice to the duke of Mantua and the other allies of the crown, so long as they could have any reason to hope that the king would be so much embarrassed with his domestic affairs as to be precluded from paying proper attention to the motions of foreign powers.

In order to rouse the fears and apprehensions of Lewis, Richelieu proceeded thus ; —“ I will sincerely explain to your majesty the different obstacles opposed to the success of your just undertakings : it is your business to remove them and to choose the best expedients for that purpose. All the designs of the queen-mother are founded on the hope she has conceived of effecting my ruin. That is her only object. She has openly declared it to M. de Bullion ; and you must not hope that she will ever desist from her efforts to accomplish it. Monsieur flatters himself that his mother will finally succeed ; he therefore remains closely united to her, and your endeavours to separate them will prove fruitless. So long as this cabal subsists, your majesty must neither expect tranquillity at home, nor prosperity abroad. You will daily find the number of malecontents encrease. Those who appear to be most firmly attached to your service and your person, will become importunate and insupportable by the exorbitancy of their demands. Who can pretend to say that you will not be reduced to such a dreadful situation that it will no longer be possible to remedy an evil, rendered incurable by continued indulgence ? If God, as a punishment for our sins, should suffer you, Sire, once more to fall sick, may not the malecontents render themselves masters of the government, and even of your person, without the possibility of prevention from your faithful servants, who would themselves be exposed to persecution ? On such an occasion every man turns towards the rising sun. The same accident is to be apprehended in case your arms meet with any unforeseen disgrace. The malecontents will ascribe it to the misconduct or negligence of those who will have taken all possible care to prevent such a misfortune, and we shall remain at the discretion of a sex vindictive and implacable in their hatred.

“ Since you command me, Sire, to explain my sentiments on the mode to be pursued for remedying these inconveniences, I will frankly confess that violence and severity will cure the evil which mildness and forbearance will only tend to encrease. Either an honourable and lasting peace must—if possible—be made with the house of Austria, or a reconciliation be immediately effected with the queen-mother. There is no medium. If your majesty wish to remain at court, you must dismiss certain factious men who are perpetually with the queen-mother ; and who cherish and encourage her ill-humours to the great prejudice of the state. May I venture, Sire, to speak my mind with freedom ? The sure method of obtaining the repose you seek for, is to request your mother to withdraw herself for some time, from court, because her presence irritates the evil which you wish to cure. So long as Monsieur
“ shall

“ shall remain at his estate, and the queen-mother at Paris, not the greatest dexterity,
 “ the most consummate prudence, will suffice to put your officers in a proper situation.

“ I know not whether the expedient I propose, of concluding an immediate accom-
 “ modation with foreign powers, be practicable. They seek to profit by our domestic
 “ dissensions; and we must not flatter ourselves that the emperor, the king of Spain,
 “ and the duke of Savoy would now accept a peace, unless your majesty would aban-
 “ don your allies; a step which would be productive of more harm than good, and
 “ would speedily be followed by a fresh war. A reconciliation with Monsieur appears
 “ to be a measure equally difficult of accomplishment; since every attempt to gain
 “ those who have acquired an absolute ascendancy over his mind has proved fruitless.
 “ They are people who cannot bear the idea that the state should be governed by the
 “ good and salutary maxims established by your council; nor that your majesty should
 “ be permitted to chuse your own ministers. They wish to be masters, and to have the
 “ absolute disposal of every thing.

“ It is your ardent wish, Sire, to appease the queen, your mother; I wish, with all
 “ my heart, it were possible; but you know her obstinate and vindictive temper. She
 “ is versed in the arts of dissimulation, and has well retained the maxim of her fa-
 “ mily, that it is less dangerous to forgive those who have offended us, than to be re-
 “ conciled to those whom we have ill-treated. Unmindful of the services I have ren-
 “ dered her, and of the good I have done to the state, she has endeavoured to ruin me
 “ in your opinion. That attempt is sufficient to render me an object of more implaca-
 “ ble resentment, than I should be, if I had grievously offended her. The entreaties of
 “ your majesty would be fruitless and unavailing. Without any respect for the situa-
 “ tion to which you was reduced, by sickness, at Lyons, she continued to press her
 “ demand for my expulsion from your council; nor could the pain which her un-
 “ just solicitations occasioned you, induce her to desist. Is it then to be expected that
 “ she will adopt a different line of conduct? I know the queen-mother. She must
 “ have the absolute disposal of every thing, and your majesty must give her full liberty
 “ to dismiss such persons as may have the misfortune to displease her. Without that
 “ she will never be satisfied. God grant that her passions may not carry her still farther
 “ than she wishes to go!

“ If my retreat from court, Sire, appear to you the most sure and efficacious remedy,
 “ do not hesitate a moment in adopting it. I shall obey without a murmur, and even
 “ with pleasure. I must only entreat your majesty to consider whether it be probable
 “ that the queen-mother and Monsieur will be content with this sacrifice. Will they not
 “ also wish to dismiss all the other ministers? will they not attempt to render themselves
 “ masters of the government of the state, and of your authority? If my dismissal be

“ not likely to put a stop to their cabals, if it be to be feared that it will encrease the audacity of the malecontents; I see no other resource than to request the queen-mother to absent herself, for a while, from Paris, and to dismiss from her service and presence those persons who give her evil advice, and who cherish her discontents by the propagation of false and malicious reports. But it is of importance to observe, on the present occasion, greater circumspection than before, and to pay her all external marks of respect. You will find, Sire, many obstacles to the execution of the project I propose. It will be opposed by persons of great power, who are interested in its prevention. But a small degree of firmness will suffice to overcome all difficulties. Only be careful to take your measures well before you enter on the business. Destruction almost inevitable would be the consequence of commencing an affair of this importance, without going through with it.

“ I confess, Sire, that this remedy will appear violent to those who are not aware of the extent of the evils it is calculated to avert. You must imitate the conduct of a skillful surgeon, who, in order to save the life of his patient, does not hesitate to take from him the greater part of his blood; nor even to deprive him of a leg or an arm. If, in matters which affect the service of your majesty, and the welfare of your state, I consulted my own private interest and reputation, I should not advise you to banish the queen-mother. All the hatred which such an action will give rise to must fall upon me. I shall be accused of ingratitude, and of expelling from the court the very person to whom I am indebted for my introduction to your majesty. How many satirical libels will be published against me! When I reflect on the consequences of the advice I now give you, Sire, I feel that it would be more advantageous to me to avoid the degradation to which I expose myself. Any other person than myself would probably rather die than subject himself to the cries and reproaches of the dependants of the queen-mother and Monsieur. But no consideration can make me shrink from the performance of my duty, when the interest of the public, the safety of your person, and the preservation of your authority are at stake. I have only one favour to ask: Permit me, Sire, to withdraw myself from public life at the same time. After the departure of the queen-mother all cabals will soon cease; and her mind will become open to conviction, when no longer irritated by the artful insinuations of those by whom she is now surrounded. Foreign powers, then despairing to profit by your domestic embarrassments, will comply with your just demands. Content with the retreat you shall point out to me, I will continually offer up most fervent prayers to the Almighty for your prosperity; and will wait the approach of death with perfect resignation to his will, since I shall convince the world, by the sacrifice I make, that far from wishing to establish my fortune on the disgrace of a queen who has loaded me with benefactions, I condemn myself to a perpetual exile, by advising you to prefer the repose of your subjects to the just and tender sentiments

“ ments you entertain for a mother whom passion has unfortunately rendered blind to
 “ your interest and her own ²⁹.”

Of all the points contained in this artful harangue, the last was that which most displeased the king. He took the advice of his council on the subject, who unanimously represented the dismissal of Richelieu as a remedy at once dangerous and impracticable; and advised him rather to banish his mother, to which he readily consented. For this purpose it was resolved that the court should depart secretly from Compiègne, and leave Mary of Medicis in the town, under a sure guard; which was accordingly done on the twenty-third of February. That princess betrayed the most violent indignation when she found herself again a prisoner: she wrote several letters to the king, in which she justified her conduct, and complained of the ill-treatment she experienced; but finding all her applications treated with contempt, she at length became more patient, and made a virtue of necessity. Richelieu wished, soon after the departure of the court, to make her leave Compiègne, as being too near the metropolis, and to send her either to Moulins in the Bourbonnois, or else to Angers; the king even offered her the government of either of those provinces. But she constantly refused to accept his offers, and started such obstacles to her removal as it was found difficult to overcome. The more they wished her to change her residence, the more obstinately she persisted in remaining at Compiègne: she was treated, however, with all external marks of respect, and was allowed to walk wherever she chose.

Mareschal D'Etrées, who had been appointed to guard her, with eight companies of the king's guards, fifty light horse, and as many men at arms, had orders to send her favourite, the princess of Conti, to her seat in Normandy, without permitting her either to see Mary of Medicis, or pass through Paris. The duchesses of Ornano and Elbeuf received orders, at the same time, to retire from court; and mareschal Bassompierre, who was accused of nothing more than his attachment to the princess of Conti, was committed to the Bastille, where he remained till the death of cardinal Richelieu. Vautier, the queen-mother's first physician, experienced a similar treatment ³⁰.

The duke of Orleans had retired to the capital of his duchy, where the inhabitants, attached to his person, offered to defend him against all his enemies ³¹; but the approach of the king with a formidable army induced him to quit that city, in the

²⁹ Le Vaffor, tom. vi. liv. xxix. p. 642, et suivantes.

³⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 359.

³¹ Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans.—Lettre du Duc d'Orleans au Roi, en 1631.—Rélacion de ce qui s'est passé en 1631, dans le Recueil de diverses Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu.—l'Histoire du Marechal de Toiras, liv. iii. 1631.—Memorie ricondite di Vittorio Siri.

month of March, when he fled, first into Burgundy, and then to Besançon, in Franche-Comté. The king, who pursued him, published, at Dijon, a declaration in which the count of Thoret, the dukes of Elbeuf, Rouannez, and Bellegarde; Le Coigneux; Puylaurens, and all the other partisans and attendants of Gaston, were pronounced guilty of high-treason. This declaration was sent to all the parliaments of France to be registered and verified. The provincial magistrates obeyed the royal mandate without hesitation; but the parliament of Paris displayed greater vigour and equity: the declaration having been conveyed thither, several of the members observed that the domestics of Gaston were declared guilty of high-treason, without having committed any act of violence against the authority of the king, or any hostility whatever; and that the only crime of which they could be accused was that of having followed their master: whence these magistrates concluded that it would be proper to remonstrate with the king, before they came to any resolution on a matter of such importance, in which his majesty's only brother, the presumptive heir of the crown, was concerned. Others maintained that it would be unjust to condemn people without any previous examination into the truth of the charges exhibited against them; and that before they proceeded to the verification of the declaration, it was their duty to institute a process against those persons who had followed the duke of Orleans, in order to know whether they had really committed any crime against the state. The matter was warmly discussed in the parliament, and, on a division, the votes appearing equal, on the twentieth of April, an *arrêt de partage* was published, importing that the court could not verify the declaration as required by the crown-lawyers, because there was not a majority of voices in its favour.

Richelieu, whose measures and whose principles invariably tended to the establishment of arbitrary power, persuaded the king to resent the conduct of the parliament. "Your majesty"—said he to Lewis—"did not send your declaration to the parliament that the magistrates might institute a process for the verification of a fact which every body knows to be true. When they came to take leave of you before your departure for Orleans, you told them yourself all that is contained in your declaration. Your letter, sent into the provinces, also mentions several enterprizes of the domestics of your brother, which are evidently of a treasonable nature. By a refusal to verify a declaration, founded on facts affirmed by yourself, the magistrates express their doubts of your sincerity, and contest the truth of your assertions."

Lewis, thus instigated by his minister, and ever jealous of his authority, assembled an extraordinary council at the Louvre, at which he summoned the princes of the blood, the dukes and peers, the marshals of France, the officers of the crown, and the principal councilors of state to attend; declared his discontent at the *arrêt de partage* pronounced by the parliament; and expatiated on the dangerous consequences that might result from thence.

thence. The keeper of the seals, and some other members, insisted that the parliament of Paris ought to make no more difficulty to verify the declaration than the other sovereign courts; and that those tribunals being established for the sole purpose of administering justice to individuals, had no right to take cognizance of state-affairs, without an express commission from his majesty³².

The council being unanimous in their opinions, Lewis ordered the parliament to repair to the Louvre, on the thirteenth of May, *on foot*, and the secretary to bring the register in which the arrêt complained of was inserted. The magistrates obeyed the summons, and hastened to the palace, attended by vast crouds of people, who vented their execrations on the minister. Lewis received them on his throne, surrounded by the count of Soissons, cardinals la Valette, and Richelieu; the dukes of Nemours, Angoulême, Longueville, Montmorenci, and Chevreuse; the marshals Créqui, Schomberg; Saintluc; and Effiat. The magistrates were compelled to remain *on their knees* in the presence of the king, who tore in pieces the *arrêt de partage*; and inserted in its place the arrêt of the council. Some of the magistrates were suspended, and others banished.

The duke of Orleans, meanwhile, had left Besançon, and retired to Nanci in Lorraine, whence he addressed a long letter to the king, in the form of a manifesto against Richelieu. He sent this letter to the parliament of Paris enclosed in another, in which he thus expressed himself—"There is no man of sense, who on considering the
 "conduct of cardinal Richelieu cannot discover his intentions, and the extent of
 "his ambition. His only object in pursuing me with so much violence, and in seeking to promote my destruction, is the advancement of his own pernicious designs;
 "and, therefore, all the means I may employ in future for frustrating his attempts will
 "be just and lawful. But my birth engaging me to take a peculiar interest in what
 "ever concerns the welfare of the state, and the service of the king, I could never forgive myself, if, before I had recourse to extraordinary means of defence which might
 "disturb the tranquillity of the public, I omitted any measure capable of stopping;
 "without any such commotion, the dangerous enterprizes of cardinal Richelieu, and of
 "preventing the ruin of the king, my mother, and myself, as well as the total destruction of the kingdom. I have therefore resolved to make a last appeal to the good disposition and good sense of his majesty; conjuring him to recall me to his kingdom,
 "not to consent to my oppression, and to consider what my mother and myself have to
 "fear from the cardinal."

In his letter to the king, Gaston expatiated at great length and with great energy

³² Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xv.—Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Richelieu, 1631.—Mercure François, 1631.

on the tyrannical conduct of Richelieu, who rendered every thing subservient to his own ambitious views. After commenting on the manner in which that minister had acquired a degree of power equal to that formerly enjoyed by the mayors of the palace; on his artifices and his calumnies employed and propagated with a view to promote the destruction of the duke of Orleans; the grand-prior of France; marechal Ornano; Chalais; and even his patroness, the queen-mother; Gaston thus concluded his letter: “ Nothing now remains to be said, Sire, but to protest to you before God, that my anxiety to justify myself with regard to the atrocities imputed to me by the cardinal, my ardent zeal for the safety of your person, and that of the queen my mother; for the relief of your people, and the prosperity of the realm, are the only motives which induced me to write this letter. Until you shall have provided for your safety and my own against the evil designs of the cardinal, permit me to retire to any place you may please to appoint, so that I shall be exempt from the attacks of my mortal enemy. There I shall live without murmuring at my bad fortune, and without affording any subject of complaint to your majesty, for whom I shall ever preserve inviolate the love and respect which I owe you. In this kind of exile, I shall at least find that repose, which I have been unable to meet with at your court, or even in my own house; and will wait for a more favourable period, when I may hope to experience, from your kindness, the same marks of fraternal tenderness which I formerly received, and to serve your majesty, and the kingdom, more effectually than by my absence. I shall not only bear my fate with patience, but with joy, so long as it is necessary to the safety of your person; to the satisfaction of the queen, my mother; to the prosperity of your house; and the welfare of the state.”

Lewis was so infatuated with Richelieu, that any reflection on the conduct of that minister he was induced to resent as an insult offered to himself. He answered his brother's letter, which was couched in terms of moderation and respect, in a tone of imperiousness, pride, and decision, that sufficiently showed his determination to sacrifice the happiness of his whole family to the caprice of his minister. “ It neither becomes you, nor your dependents”—said the king to the duke of Orleans—“ to censure my actions, or those of my ministers. You have no power over them; but I have a right to punish your servants, when they do wrong. My cousin, cardinal Richelieu, has served me, on all occasions, with equal courage and fidelity; his advice has been of such advantage and utility to me, that I ought to testify to the whole world my perfect satisfaction at the signal services he has rendered, and which he continues daily to render, to my person and the state. I should ill deserve the surname of Just, if I forbore to acknowledge them, and if, far from repenting what I have done for him, I suffered any opportunity to escape of conferring fresh favours on him. My affairs cannot be in better hands. Know once for all, that I have a perfect confidence in him, and that he has never done any thing but by my express command, and with the ut-
“ most

“ most fidelity : I shall consider every thing that you may say or do, against a person rendered dear to me by his services, as said and done against myself³³.”

In the month of July, Mary of Medicis presented a request to the parliament, in which she complained, that, without having committed any offence, either against the king or the state, she was detained a prisoner at Compiègne, under a close guard : she accused Richelieu of being the cause of all the divisions which prevailed at court, and requested that she might be permitted to appear as prosecutrix against the cardinal and his adherents. Thus did this princess—who, during her administration, treated the parliament of Paris with such contempt, and rejected their remonstrance by observing, that a company, whose functions were confined to the decision of causes between individuals, had no right to interfere in matters of state—at length find herself reduced to the necessity of becoming a suppliant, and of having recourse to magistrates, who might have been able to defend her against her persecutor, if she had not set him the pernicious example of stopping their mouths, and of subverting the best laws of the kingdom³⁴. It was now too late to remedy this evil. The liberty of the parliament was so far destroyed by the imperious minister, that the magistrates did not dare to receive the letter from the duke of Orleans, nor to present the manifesto of that prince to the king. Mary of Medicis did not expect they would venture farther for her : she rather wrote for the purpose of rendering Richelieu more odious to the people, by the circulation of her letters and requests, than in the hope of being permitted to institute a legal process against him. We cannot but regard with abhorrence the strange effects of that arbitrary power which could prevent the just complaints of a queen-dowager of France, and a presumptive heir to the crown, against a priest who oppressed them, from being heard. The parliament, whose justice they implored, far from being at liberty to make the smallest remonstrance in favour of the two first persons in the kingdom, were constrained to register fresh declarations which attacked the honour and reputation of Mary and the duke of Orleans, merely to conceal the infamy of a minister, whose talents only served to render his vices more detestable.

There are strong grounds for believing that Richelieu wished to facilitate the means of Mary's escape from Compiègne ; since he had removed her guards from the town, and distributed them in the avenues in the vicinity, that she might not have them continually before her eyes. Mary profited by this indulgence : in the night of the twenty-eighth of July she left Compiègne, attended only by La Mazure, lieutenant of her guards, and took the road to Capelle, a frontier town in Picardy, where the son of the marquis de Vardes, who was governor of the place, had engaged to receive

³³ Le Vassor, tom. vi. liv. xxx. p. 724, 725.

³⁴ Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Richelieu, 1631.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du même,—Mércure François, 1631.

her ³⁵. The cardinal, apprized of her intentions, sent the old marquis to Capelle, who secured his son, and shut the gates of the town against the queen-mother. Nothing was more easy, at that time, than to intercept her flight, if such had been the wish of the minister; but the cardinal, who would derive greater advantage from her departure from the kingdom, than he could do from her confinement, was very glad to afford her an opportunity for the commission of an error, which finally proved fatal to that princess. Being refused admission into Capelle, and not knowing any place of retreat within the kingdom, where she could remain secure from the insults of the inexorable Richelieu, she retired to Bruxelles, where she was received with all possible honours.

It was no difficult matter for the cardinal to make his master believe that the retreat of Mary of Medicis was the consequence of a premeditated scheme, formed in conjunction with the Spaniards, without which, he affirmed, she never would have ventured to take refuge in their territories. The king was so firmly convinced of the truth of this assertion, that all his mother's protestations to the contrary were disregarded; and Richelieu, being the only person in whom Lewis confided, thenceforth became absolute master of the government.

In the month of August, the king held a bed of justice at the parliament, which was attended by the dukes of Montmorenci, Uzes, Retz, Ventadour, Crequi, and Chevreuse; marshals Châtillon, Saint-Luc, D'Etrées, and D'Effiat; and by several others of the nobility. After the usual ceremonies on such occasions, they proceeded to the registration of a declaration, which condemned, as traitors and disturbers of the public peace, all persons who had persuaded the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans to leave the kingdom; and all such as had accompanied, or should follow them, or either of them, were likewise declared guilty of treason, and deprived of all their posts, dignities, and employments: their fiefs holden of the crown were confiscated and re-annexed to the royal demesnes. In order to show that the minister was determined to execute the declaration with the greatest rigour, and to prosecute all the parties accused without any distinction, the property and the dower of the queen-mother were immediately seized, although she was not named in the declaration as one of those who were guilty of treason.

While Lewis thus dishonored his mother and brother, and deprived them of the means of subsistence, he continued to load the author of their disgrace with an accumulation of honours and rewards. His estate at Richelieu was erected into a duchy,

³⁵ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xv.—Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. iv. chap. 15.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du même.—Journal de Bassompierre, tom. ii.—Mercure François, 1631.—Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 333, 334.

and thenceforth the haughty priest was distinguished by the appellation of the *cardinal-duke*. The king also bestowed on him the government of Brittany, vacant by the death of marechal Themines.

The party attached to the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans was neither formidable from its numbers nor the extent of its resources. The severity exercised against all who evinced a disposition to espouse their cause restrained many persons from joining them, and Mary of Medicis was unable to raise money on her jewels, because it was feared that the king would lay claim to them. The duke of Orleans, meanwhile, who had always maintained a correspondence with the duke of Lorraine, endeavoured to persuade that prince to support his party, and he so far prevailed as to induce him to levy troops for that purpose. Richelieu eagerly embraced this opportunity to declare war against him; and marechals La Force and Schomberg were sent with an army into Lorraine, with orders to take several towns in the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which, it was pretended, had been usurped by the duke. The king and his minister wished to accompany the troops in person, but they thought it necessary first to enforce the execution of the declarations against the partisans of the queen-mother. They were afraid that if that matter were left to the decision of the parliament the magistrates would not display sufficient warmth in seconding the designs of the minister. For this reason Richelieu established a chamber of justice, to proceed with rigour against Mary of Medicis, the duke of Orleans, and their adherents.

The parliament at first refused to verify the declaration concerning the establishment of this new chamber, unless all the members were taken from among themselves; they afterwards relaxed in their demands, and only required that they should have the appointment of the secretary and one other officer. But the cardinal, unwilling to afford an opportunity for absolving, or deferring the condemnation of, those persons whose ruin he wished to effect, engaged the king to establish the chamber in question, at the arsenal, by letters-patent, dated the twenty-third of September. It was composed only of two councillors of state, six masters of requests, and as many members of the grand council. The king afterwards established another chamber, called the chamber of the domain, to follow the court and execute their commands.

By this unusual and arbitrary proceeding the authority of the first tribunal of the kingdom was virtually annihilated. In order to prevent the abuses which were expected to result from these measures, the parliament convened all their members, and came to a resolution to present a remonstrance on the subject to the king. In the mean time, the magistrates issued a prohibition to the new commissioners to act in virtue of their commission, and ordered a rigid enforcement of their own sentences. They re-assembled on the tenth and twelfth of December; and published an arrêt confirmatory of the resolutions they had already adopted. The king was no sooner apprized of the

conduct of the parliament, than he annulled their proceedings, by an arrêt of the council; and ordered all the magistrates, who had been concerned in the measure, to appear in his presence, before the expiration of a fortnight ³⁰.

During this time the king's troops had seized all the towns in Lorraine to which Lewis had any pretensions. The duke, unable to resist so powerful an enemy, repaired to Metz, where the king and his minister then were, and experienced a reception apparently favourable. After some negociation the terms of a treaty were settled, and the treaty itself was signed at Vic, on the sixth of January following. The duke of Lorraine engaged to give up all correspondence, leagues and associations which he might have entered into with any prince or state, to the prejudice of the king, and of the territories under his domination; as also to expel from his dominions all the king's enemies, and all such of his subjects as had quitted the kingdom without his permission, and never, in future, to afford them any protection or retreat.

Though Richelieu's attention had been principally directed to those internal factions which threatened the destruction of his power, he had by no means neglected foreign affairs. By the intervention of the pope's nuncio and the Imperial and French ambassadors, an accommodation took place between the dukes of Mantua and Guastalla. A general treaty was also concluded, after much negociation, on the sixth of April (1631) at Quieras; of which the following were the principal articles.

“ That the duke of Nevers should be put in possession of the duchies of Mantua
 “ and Monferrat, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, excepting only such
 “ places as were to be ceded to the duke of Savoy, who should enter on them as soon as
 “ the duke of Nevers should have received his investiture from the emperor: that all
 “ the foreign troops should begin to evacuate the duchy on the eighth of April, so that
 “ on the twentieth of the same month all the places which had been taken by the em-
 “ peror, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, in the duchy of Mantua, the
 “ territory of Venice, Monferrat, Piedmont and Savoy, should be restored to their
 “ respective lords, except Mantua, Porto, Canettro, Pignerol, Briqueras, Suza, and
 “ Avigliano; and that as soon as the emperor should have received intelligence of the
 “ completion of the treaty, he should grant the investiture of the two duchies to the duke
 “ of Mantua: that, immediately after, the baron Galeazzo should withdraw the garrison
 “ from Mantua, and, on the same day, mareschal Toiras should restore Avigliano, Suza,
 “ Briqueras, and Pignerol to the duke of Savoy: and, lastly, that all the towns and forts
 “ in the Valteline should remain at the free disposal of the Grisons, as before.”

³⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 366.

The peace of Italy was restored by this treaty; but in a very short time it was discovered that the contracting parties had only been actuated by a desire of deceiving each other. Victor Amadeus had long evinced a disposition to be reconciled to the French, who were in possession of a considerable part of his dominions; and Mazarin, who was aware of this, had given him to understand that, in order to engage the French in his interest, and to secure their confidence, it would be necessary to give the king of France some certain pledge of his good-will; and he mentioned the cession of Pignerol as an act which would not fail to gain him the favour of Lewis, and to secure him an ample compensation. Richelieu was well-convinced of the advantage to be reaped by the crown from the possession of this important post; but the grand difficulty consisted in retaining it without breaking the peace of Italy; a difficulty which could only be removed by obtaining the consent of the duke of Savoy. As Richelieu had already a great esteem for Mazarin, and as he knew also that he had some influence over the duke's mind, he entrusted him with this negociation, which he conducted with infinite skill, and soon brought to a successful termination. The duke of Savoy having agreed to leave Pignerol in possession of the French, they ceded to him, in return, the district of the Canases, which was dismembered from the duchy of Montferrat, by the treaty of Quieras.

The Spaniards and Imperialists were greatly astonished when they discovered the secret of this negociation; but all their efforts and intrigues to secure Pignerol for themselves were rendered abortive by the vigilance of the French. The duke of Mantua, meantime, was reduced to such a distressed situation, by the expences of the war which he was unable to support, that he was obliged to allow the French to throw a strong garrison into the citadel of Casal, lest it should be seized by the Spaniards, in revenge for the conduct of the French with regard to Pignerol.

A. D. 1632.] In consequence of the treaty of Vic, Marfal was restored to the king, and the duke of Lorraine returned home with a full determination to break the treaty, which he had only signed through fear of losing his dominions, on the first favourable opportunity. The duke of Orleans, immediately after his arrival at Nanci, had concluded his marriage with the princess Margaret, sister to the duke, by the advice of Mary of Medicis, who now began to be fearful that the king would oblige his brother to espouse Maria di Gonzaga. By the treaty of Vic, however, it was stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should be separated from his wife, and retire into the Low Countries, where the archduchess, Isabella, had offered him an asylum. He there settled his plan of operations with the queen-mother, having previously received a promise of assistance from the king of Spain; from the duke of Montmorenci, who was discontented with the court; and from the duke of Lorraine, who promised to make an irruption into France, as soon as Gaston should enter that country. Richelieu was unacquainted with the connection established with the duke of Montmorenci; but in order to frustrate the designs of the

emperor and the king of Spain, the cardinal had so far engaged the king of Sweden and the prince of Orange in his interest, that the malecontents received but little assistance from the house of Austria, sufficiently engaged in defending itself against the attacks of those illustrious warriors, in Germany and the Netherlands. Richelieu also took proper measures for preventing the duke of Lorraine from making his threatened incursion into France.

After Richelieu had wreaked his vengeance on the mareschal Marillac, who had been arrested for peculation, and was now condemned and executed in violation of all law and justice, merely to gratify the revenge of a vindictive minister, he placed the king at the head of his troops, who, having displaced such officers as were suspected of attachment to Mary of Medicis, entered Lorraine with an army of five-and-twenty thousand men, under the conduct of mareschals La Force and D'Effiat. Lewis was successful in every encounter; Pont-à-Mousson, Bar-le-Duc, and Saint Michel, opened their gates at his approach, and he extended his incursions as far as Liverdun, in the vicinity of Nanci. The duke of Lorraine then sent envoys to the king, with offers of submission, which Richelieu was induced to accept, from his apprehensions with regard to the motions of the dukes of Orleans and Montmorenci, and a treaty was accordingly signed on the twenty-sixth of June.

It was stipulated, that the king should restore to the duke the town and castle of Bar; the town and castle of Saint Michel; Pont-à-Mousson; and all the other places which he had taken from Charles since his entrance into his territories: that the duke should sequester in the hands of the king, for a term of four years, the towns and castles of Stenai and Jametz, with all the artillery and ammunition contained therein, which, at the expiration of that term, should be restored to Charles in the same state: that the duke should, for a valuable consideration, cede to Lewis the town of Clermont in Argonne, on which he had some claims: that, within the space of a year, Charles should do homage to the king for the duchy of Bar: that the duke should religiously fulfil the five first articles of the treaty of Vic, of which the present treaty should be deemed a confirmation: that he should join his arms to the king's, assist his majesty in all the wars in which he might be engaged, and grant a free passage through his territories to the French troops whenever required so to do. The cardinal of Lorraine, the duke's brother, surrendered himself as a hostage until the final execution of the treaty. Charles immediately delivered up the places he had agreed to cede; and Lewis returned to Paris, where the movements of the duke of Orleans rendered his presence necessary.

Gaston had recently published a manifesto, in which he represented cardinal Richelieu as a tyrant, an enemy to the king and royal family. He assumed the title of lieutenant-general to the king, for the purpose of redressing the abuses and checking the violence of Richelieu; declaring that he had only taken up arms that he might open the eyes
of

of his majesty, and prove to his conviction how grossly he had been deceived by his minister. He then entered France by Bassigny, and threw himself into the province of Burgundy with about two thousand men; but the presence of Noailles, the king's lieutenant in that district, prevented him from committing any depredations.

The king, immediately after his return to the capital, went to the parliament to procure the verification of a declaration against the malecontents. All such as should afford any kind of assistance to his brother were declared rebels and traitors, and the magistrates were ordered to proceed against them with the utmost rigour of the law. A term of six weeks was allowed to the duke of Orleans to return to his duty; and, in the mean time, two separate armies, under the command of marshals La Force and Schomberg, were sent against him, from different quarters, for the purpose of surrounding him. But as it was deemed dangerous for subjects to attack the presumptive heir to the throne, without being authorized by the presence of the king, Lewis took the resolution of repairing to the army himself.

Not one of the provinces, through which the duke of Orleans passed, would declare in his favour: the states of Languedoc alone, at the instigation of the duke of Montmorenci, espoused his cause, placed themselves under his protection, and engaged to supply him with money for the payment of his troops. Gaston was to have received a supply both of men and money from Spain; but the former never arrived, and the latter was so trifling as to afford him but very little assistance. The court, too, having intercepted a considerable sum, that was sent him from Paris, the duke's party found themselves destitute of every necessary, and wholly unable to resist the royalists. But as the two armies had not yet effected a junction; as Schomberg, who had advanced to the vicinity of Castelnaudary, had, as yet, only one thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, with no artillery; and as the duke had two thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, a great number of volunteers, and three pieces of cannon, the duke of Montmorenci thought it advisable to profit by this superiority, in order to attack the royal army.

Having, accordingly, placed himself at the head of the van, while Monsieur led on the main body, he advanced, with the counts of Moret, Rieux, and La Feuillade, to support a detachment which he had sent to secure an advantageous post. The count of Moret was the first who attacked the cavalry of the royalists, which he threw into disorder. The duke of Montmorenci, unwilling to see another monopolize the honour of the day, quitted his post, galloped to the place of action, followed only by a single attendant, and, leaping over a ditch, rushed into the thickest of the fight, where, forgetting the duties of a general, he performed the functions of a private soldier. Some of the royal infantry, who had been hitherto concealed in the ditches, now started up, and discharging their pieces, made a dreadful havoc among the enemy. The counts of
Moret,

Moret, Rieux, and Feuillade, with several other officers, were killed; the duke of Montmorenci was severely wounded, and his horse being killed under him, he fell, and was taken prisoner³⁷.

The capture of Montmorenci in a moment destroyed all the hopes of the duke of Orleans. As the party only found subsistence in Languedoc from the influence and authority of the governor of the province, its ruin now appeared inevitable. The troops newly levied, disbanded, and the consternation became so general, that the duke's *gend'armes* refused to advance. Whole companies were seen flying different ways, with such precipitation, that had Schomberg only sent two hundred horse after them, he might have taken the duke of Orleans, and all that were with him. But the *mareschal* did not chuse to pursue the presumptive heir to the crown; content with having the duke of Montmorenci in his power, he gave the duke of Orleans time to retire to Beziers, and to reflect on the expediency of concluding an accommodation with his brother.

Gaston was so much discouraged at the defeat he had sustained, that he immediately dispatched Chaudebonne to the king, with the most earnest protestations of future fidelity, and a request that he would accede to the following terms—" That Montmorenci should be set at liberty, and be restored to the possession of his posts and property: " that the dukes of Elbeuf and Bellegarde, and all the other nobles who had followed " Mary of Medicis and Gaston, should likewise be restored to their governments and " estates: that his majesty should cede to the duke of Orleans some fortified town, " where he might reside in safety, with a reasonable garrison: that the king should restore to the duke of Lorraine the places which had been sequestered in his hands: that " the estates and pensions of the queen-mother should be restored to her, and that she " should be allowed to retire wherever she pleased: that the king should give his brother a million of livres for the payment of the money he had borrowed: and that " Lewis, who was already at Pont-Saint-Esprit, should advance no farther with his " army." On these conditions, the duke offered to renounce all leagues and alliances whatever that were prejudicial to the king.

Bullion, director-general of the finances, and the marquis des Fosse, governor of Montpellier, were sent to negotiate with Gaston; and, after considerable difficulties on both sides had been started and removed, a treaty was concluded and signed at Beziers, on the twenty-ninth of September, by which it was stipulated, that Monsieur should acknowledge his fault in writing, and request the king's forgiveness; that he

³⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 379.

should give the strongest assurances that he would never commit a similar fault in future, and abandon all kind of intrigues, as well in the kingdom as in the neighbouring states, and hold no farther commerce with the Spaniards, the duke of Lorraine, or the queen-mother, against the will of his majesty: that he should reside in any place the king might please to appoint, and there live like a good subject and a true brother: that the vacant posts in his household, and particular that of chancellor, should be filled by persons agreeable to the king: that Puylaurens (chancellor to the duke) under pain of forfeiting the pardon now granted him, should apprize his majesty of all the negotiations which had been carried on with foreign powers, against the interest and welfare of the state, and the authority of his principal ministers: that the duke of Orleans should command all his servants to reveal whatever they knew that was prejudicial to the king, and that their discoveries should be confirmed by an oath, if his majesty required it. Gaston, also engaged, by a secret article, to *esteem all the king's ministers*, and particularly cardinal Richelieu, whose zeal and fidelity his royal highness professed to have ever admired.

On these conditions, the latter of which sufficiently explains by whom the treaty was dictated, and is almost equally disgraceful to the king and the duke, Gaston was restored to the good graces of his brother. He was permitted to retire to Tours, or else to Champigni, a seat belonging to the ancient dukes of Montpensier. The estates of all his attendants were restored, (except those of the duke of Bellegarde; the president le Coigneux; and Monfigot) and they were allowed either to accompany him to the place of his retreat, or to follow him thither. Gaston then dismissed his foreign troops, and pledged his plate to procure money for paying them. An interview between the two brothers was talked of; but it was deferred to another time. The duke of Orleans left Beziers on the first of October, and the king entered that city on the same day³⁸.

The states of Languedoc had been transferred from Carcassonne to Beziers, and the king, anxious to bestow on them some public censure, for their attachment to the duke of Montmorenci, resolved to preside in person. The keeper of the seals, having exaggerated the enormity of the rebellion, and exalted the goodness of the king, as signalized in repeated exertions of clemency, the secretary of state read a declaration, by which his majesty restored the privileges of the province, and regulated the imposts to be levied in future in Languedoc. After the dissolution of the states, the king sought to conciliate esteem by the distribution of honours and rewards. Urbain de Maillé, marquis of Brezé, was made marshal of France, in the room of the marquis D'Effiat, and was appointed governor of the town and citadel of Calais. La Force obtained the post of grand-master of the wardrobe: and marshal Schomberg—who died a few

³⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 383.

months after his preferment—was declared successor to the duke of Montmorenci, in the government of Languedoc.

It has been pretended that Montmorenci, when taken, had, on his arm, a rich bracelet, set with diamonds, and containing a portrait of Anne of Austria³⁹. Pomponé de Bellièvre, afterwards first president of the parliament of Paris, but then intendant of the army under mareschal Schomberg, having perceived it, moved by his friendship for the duke, determined, if possible, to avert the ill-consequences which he expected to result from such a discovery. With this view, he approached the bed where Montmorenci lay under pretence of examining him, preparatory to the institution of a judicial process, and disengaged the portrait from the bracelet. But notwithstanding the caution he exerted on this occasion, he could not complete his purpose, without being observed by one of Richelieu's spies, who informed his master of the circumstance. The cardinal did not fail to mention it to the king, with all the additions that were necessary to inflame the resentment of the monarch; whose jealousy, being thus revived, rendered him inflexible to all the entreaties that were urged in favour of Montmorenci.

Richelieu had taken such pains to persuade the king that it was necessary to make an example of the duke, that his fate became inevitable. He engaged that weak prince to appoint the parliament of Toulouse for his judges, although his offence came properly within the cognizance of the parliament of Paris. Châteauneuf, who had been page to the constable Montmorenci, father to the prisoner, and six masters of requests, accordingly, repaired to that city, (whither the court went from Beziers) in order to preside at the trial. As Montmorenci had been taken in arms, the trial was short, and he was declared guilty of treason, and sentenced to die the death of a traitor. As soon as his sentence was pronounced, the king sent the count de Charlus to ask him for the insignia of the order of the holy ghost, and the mareschal's staff, which the duke immediately surrendered: Charlus, on his return from the prison, found the king playing at chess with Liancourt; and, after delivering a message from Montmorenci expressive of his remorse for having offended his majesty, he threw himself at his feet, and bursting into tears, most earnestly implored his mercy. All who were present at the time imitated the example of Charlus, and the king had the mortification to see, that the rigour he displayed on this occasion was highly disapproved by every person, except Richelieu and his dependants. He told the count that the duke had nothing to expect but the death he deserved; and the only favour he could be prevailed on to grant was, that the place of execution should be changed, and his estates not be confiscated. Montmorenci suffered decapitation on the same day that his sentence was pronounced.

³⁹ Contin. de Mézerai, tom. i. p. 389.

Lewis, on his return to Paris, received a letter from the duke of Orleans, written from Montereau-faut-Yonne, on the twelfth of November : it was a kind of manifesto declaratory of Gaston's resolution to quit the kingdom a second time. Having received information, at Tours, of the death of the duke of Montmorenci, he thought his honour would not permit him to remain in France, and conceived himself lawfully discharged from all the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Beziers. Before the conclusion of that treaty he had protested to the king's commissioners, that if, notwithstanding the positive assurances of his majesty, any act of violence should be exercised on Montmorenci, he should consider it as a violation of the treaty, and would not observe any of its conditions. He had only submitted so implicitly to the will of the king in the hope of saving the life of a nobleman whom he highly respected, and to whom he was under particular obligations. Such were the ostensible motives of Gaston's departure from the kingdom ; the real cause of which was his marriage with the princess Margaret of Lorraine, which he knew Lewis would never pardon. His majesty answered his brother's letter, on the twenty-fifth of the same month ; and the duke of Orleans retired into the Low-Countries, where he met with a most cordial reception from the Infanta Isabella.

A. D. 1633.] The queen-mother, under a pretence of changing the air, had left Bruxelles and repaired to Ghent the day before her son's arrival in the Low-Countries, being discontented with Gaston for having abandoned her interests in the treaty of Beziers. The duke followed her, but all his entreaties were insufficient to prevail on her to return to Bruxelles ; and all his endeavours to justify his own conduct, on the plea of necessity, proved fruitless and vain. Cardinal Richelieu artfully availed himself of this coolness between the mother and son, to promote the ruin of them both.

The death of the gallant Gustavus, king of Sweden, who expired in the moment of victory at the battle of Lutzen, had a sensible effect on the affairs of Europe. The cardinal, at an extraordinary council, assembled on the occasion, represented that the first object, at this conjuncture, was to amass money at any rate, so as to promote the continuation of the war in Germany and the Netherlands, without, however, declaring against the house of Austria, and on condition that the princes who should thus be supplied with money should neither conclude a peace, nor truce, without the consent of France : but that should it be found impossible to carry on the war, the French ought certainly in that case to become a party in the general accommodation : that it was even worthy of consideration whether the king ought not rather to come to an open rupture with the house of Austria, and join the Protestants of Germany and the states-general of the United-Provinces, than to subject himself to the danger of having a peace or truce concluded without being comprized in it himself : that if a peace were concluded in Germany, or a truce in the Netherlands, France would have to sustain, alone and unsupported, a defensive war that would inevitably be carried into the heart of the

kingdom, and in which the party of Monsieur and the queen-mother would become as powerful as it was then feeble : that, on the other hand, if Lewis should begin the war, every body would believe that it had been undertaken without necessity, and with a view to favour the enemies of the Catholic faith : that, therefore, if it should be deemed expedient to form an alliance with the Protestants of Germany, it must only be on the following conditions ;—that they should maintain the Catholic religion wherever it was then established ; that they should sequester in the hands of his majesty all the places they held on the French side of the Rhine, together with the principal towns of the Palatinate, and all the towns and forts in their possession in Alsace and the bishoprick of Strasburgh ; that they should assist Lewis in the reduction of Philipsbourg and Brissac, and bind themselves not to sign any treaty or truce without his consent :—that the same terms should be exacted from the states-general ; with regard to the maintenance of the Catholic religion in the conquered towns ; and that they should be farther required to cede all the maritime towns that might be reduced by the combined forces to France ⁴⁰.

The advantages to be derived from this line of conduct Richelieu maintained to be these :—that without drawing the sword, the king would extend the limits of his dominions to the banks of the Rhine : that, by the means of those towns, for the surrender of which he would stipulate, he would secure an entrance into the territory of Strasburgh, into Franche-Comté and the duchy of Luxemburgh ; and that he would so confine the duke of Lorraine on all sides, that he would, in future, be unable to undertake any thing prejudicial to his interest. The cardinal admitted the necessity of keeping a greater army in pay than before, but, he observed, that the confiscated dower of the queen-mother, and the appanage of the duke of Orleans, would more than suffice to discharge the additional expence thereby to be incurred.

The advice of Richelieu, who, at this period, appears to have been absolute master of the kingdom, was unanimously adopted by the council ; and ambassadors extraordinary were accordingly dispatched to the different courts, in order to enforce the execution of his plan. But previous to the commencement of his operations, he was particularly anxious to draw the duke of Orleans and his mother from the Spanish dominions, convinced that, during a war, they might essentially serve the enemy, by exciting some commotions in the kingdom ; and in the event of a general peace, the emperor and the king of Spain would have an undoubted right to stipulate favourable terms for the illustrious fugitives who had placed themselves under their protection, since Lewis himself would insist on becoming a party in every treaty, though not openly at

⁴⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 387, 388.—Le Vassor, tom. vii. p. 435, 436, 437.

war with the house of Austria. All his efforts, however, for inducing them to withdraw themselves from the only asylum in which they could remain with security, proved abortive; and his disappointment was sufficiently evinced by his severe treatment of the friends and adherents of Mary and her son, whom he persecuted with unrelenting cruelty, sacrificing honour, equity and justice, to the gratification of his revenge.

Complaints were now preferred against the duke of Lorraine, who, it was pretended, had been guilty of repeated infractions of the treaty of Liverdun. It was said, that the duke levied troops, which he immediately disbanded on the frontiers, that they might enter into the service of the emperor or the king of Spain. Lewis sent Guron to reproach him with his conduct, and to demand satisfaction; but the duke having avoided an interview with the French envoy, was treated, by the king, as a rebel, and his duchy of Bar was confiscated to the crown, by an arrêt of the thirtieth of July.

The opportunity for reducing the duchy of Lorraine was too tempting to be suffered to escape; and Richelieu, ever intent on the aggrandizement of the kingdom, at once flattering to his ambition, and consonant to his interest, eagerly persuaded the king to seize it. The supplications of the duke for averting the threatened invasion were disregarded; the French army advanced with rapidity, unchecked by opposition, and, on the twenty-eighth of August, hoisted their triumphant banners on the walls of Pont-à-Mousson. Thither repaired the cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke, who offered to surrender to Lewis the towns of Saverne, Dachstein, and la Mothe, together with the person of the princess Margaret, consort to the duke of Orleans. The king, accepted, with alacrity, the offer of the princess. But, instead of the places mentioned by the cardinal, he required the cession of Nanci, the capital of Lorraine. Convinced, by this request, that the destruction of their house was the object of Lewis, the duke of Lorraine and his brother immediately sent their sister to Thionville, a town belonging to the Spaniards.

Lewis expressed the greatest displeasure, on the reception of this intelligence, and issued orders for immediately besieging Nanci in form. Unprepared for resistance, and on the point of losing a place on which the preservation of his dominions depended, the duke was constrained to sue for peace, and to accede to such terms as his enemy chose to impose. On the sixth of September a treaty was signed, by which he engaged, within the space of three days, to surrender his capital to the king, who might place in it such a garrison as he should think expedient, and retain possession of it, until the duke's good conduct, or the peace of Germany, should convince his majesty that he had nothing to fear from him. He farther consented that the marriage of the princess Margaret should be declared null; and that, within a fortnight, she should be surrendered to the king, who consented that she should remain at Nanci, in order to facilitate the investigation of that affair. After the ratification of the treaty, Lewis returned to Paris. The queen-mo-

ther and the duke of Orleans himself made some overtures, towards the end of this year, for an accommodation with the king, but the extreme arrogance, and revengeful spirit of the cardinal, who insisted on the sacrifice of all whose services to Mary and her son had rendered them odious to him, prevented a reconciliation from taking place.

A. D. 1634.] The duke of Lorraine having neglected to comply with the stipulations of the last treaty, by delivering up his sister to the king of France, it was resolved by Lewis and his minister to proceed to a formal declaration of the nullity of the marriage of Gaston with the princess Margaret, on the ridiculous plea that the duke of Lorraine had *carried off* the duke of Orleans. The parliament required time for reflection, on a matter which to them appeared of the utmost importance, but the arbitrary principles of Richelieu could ill brook opposition or delay, and the presence of the king, whose mandate by this time was law, removing every obstacle, the necessary edict was pronounced and registered on the eighteenth of April ⁴¹.

The duke of Lorraine, meanwhile, that he might be at liberty to act against a monarch, who had injured him so essentially, without risking the loss of the small territory that remained in his possession, had resigned, on the nineteenth of January, all his dominions to his brother, Nicholas Francis, cardinal of Lorraine: after which he retired into Germany with eight hundred horse and two thousand foot, and joined the Imperial army.

The first thing required of the new duke, by the court of France, without, however, either approving or disapproving the abdication of his brother, was a declaration of the invalidity of his sister's marriage: it was likewise insisted that he should deliver up all deeds relating to that transaction; name the priest who had performed the ceremony, and the persons who had been present at the same. The ministers delivered to Contrifin, the duke's envoy, a list of all the articles to which they required an answer, but Richelieu was extremely enraged on receiving information, that the duke, after examining all the notaries in Nanci, had neither been able to discover any minutes of the contract of marriage; nor the dispensation which had been granted with regard to the publication of the banns; that the names of the witnesses were not known, and that the monk who performed the ceremony had since left the country. Richelieu observed, on the occasion, that the duke of Lorraine wished to follow the example of his brother; that though hitherto his friend he would thenceforth prove himself his greatest enemy; and that as to the marriage, the king would soon convince him of the extent of his power.

⁴¹ Mercure François, 1634.—Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 108, 109.—Le Vaffor, tom. vii. liv. xxxvi. p. 114.

Richelieu's resentment against the duke was farther encreased, when he learned, that, instead of marrying his niece as he had expected, he had espoused his cousin, Claude of Lorraine, sister to his brother's wife. Francis had been induced to accelerate the conclusion of his marriage, through fear that mareschal de la Force, who was in the neighbourhood with the French army, would seize the two princesses, and convey them into France, that Lewis might avail himself of the claims which it was pretended they had on the duchy of Lorraine, to the exclusion of the princes of that house. In fact, the mareschal was no sooner apprized of the marriage, than he invested Luneville, seized the whole party, and carried them to Nanci.

Duke Francis immediately dispatched an envoy to the court of France, to complain of the violence offered to his person, to require that he and the princesses might be immediately set at liberty; and to express his willingness to fulfil and confirm all the treaties which his brother had concluded with Lewis. But, far from complying with these reasonable requests, he was told that, as he had betrayed the same disposition as his brother, the king found himself obliged, in his own defence, to seize the rest of his dominions.

Meanwhile mareschal de la Force laid siege to Le Mothe, the only place of strength, except Biche, of which the duke of Lorraine still retained possession. Duke Charles, who was in Alsace with the imperial army, marched to its relief with a considerable body of troops; but having been intercepted and defeated by the Rhingrave Otho, who commanded the Swedish army, it was with difficulty he could effect his escape, with the scattered remnant of his troops, into Franche-Comté.

As cardinal Richelieu continued to press the conclusion of the process he had caused to be instituted against Charles of Lorraine, duke Francis and his consort, they deemed it prudent to quit the country; and, watching an opportunity of escaping from Nanci, they fled to Besançon, and from thence to Florence. It was then that Richelieu first mentioned his project of re-annexing the duchy of Lorraine to the crown, under pretext that having been formerly a fief holden of the counts of Champagne, whose territories had long been in possession of the kings of France, it ought, of course, to follow the country.

Lewis, vexed at the evasion of the princess Claude, whom he wished to separate from her husband, earnestly solicited the duchess Nicole, consort to Charles (who had remained at Nanci) to repair to France. She accordingly arrived in the month of April, and was received with great distinction at Fontainebleau, where the court then resided. Fearful, however, that she might be betrayed into some engagement hostile to the interests of her house, she had, previous to her departure from Nanci, entered up a formal protest, in which she declared, that, unable to refuse obedience to the orders of the
king.

king, who enjoined her to repair to Paris, any thing she might there do contrary to the interests of the house of Lorraine should be deemed null and invalid, as having been extorted from her against her will.

The duke of Lorraine, meantime, having published an edict in his dominions, forbidding his subjects to obey the French, whom he represented as usurpers and tyrants, the king ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed against him: Charles was accordingly summoned to appear before the court. During these transactions the marshal de la Force reduced the castle of Biche, and the town of La Mothe, which capitulated on the twenty-eighth of July. The parliament then proceeding to confiscate the duchy of Bar, the cardinal ordered the arrêt to be executed with the utmost rigour. He established a chamber of justice at Nanci, which adjudged to the king a number of places in Lorraine, which, they pretended, had been alienated from the territory of the three bishopricks. He also caused the rest of the country to be seized in order to defray the expences of the war; and compelled the clergy, nobility, and people to take an oath of fidelity to the king of France. The minister talked of Lorraine as a part of the kingdom, which had been formerly detached from the rest by usurpation and violence, and which therefore it was just to re-annex to the crown: and, in order to deprive the inhabitants of all opportunity of revolt the greater part of the fortified towns in that duchy were dismantled.

During these transactions, Mary of Medicis, disgusted with the conduct of the duke of Orleans, and mortified at the inattention of the marquis D'Aytoure, governor of the Low-Countries, determined to court an accommodation with her son, and even with his minister. For this purpose she resolved to dispatch Rebours de Laleu to Paris, with three letters, one for the king, a second for the cardinal, and the third for Bouthillier, secretary of state. They all contained assurances of her disposition to do whatever the king should require of her, and particularly to be reconciled to the cardinal, in order to obtain permission to return to court. Nothing could be more submissive than the queen-mother's letter to the cardinal, nor better calculated to make an impression on him, had he been susceptible of feeling, honour, or gratitude. The following is a specimen of the style in which the widow of Henry the Great condescended to address an ungrateful and implacable domestic:—"Cousin, the Sieur Bouthillier
" having informed me from you that my displeasure affected you most sensibly, and
" that, regretting to see me so long deprived of the honour of visiting the king, it
" would give you the greatest satisfaction to employ your power for procuring me
" that happiness, I thought it necessary to testify to you, by means of the Sieur Laleu,
" whom I have sent to the king, the pleasure I derive from these expressions of your
" good will towards me. Place your confidence in him, and believe me, cousin,
" most truly your's, &c."

Laleu,

Laleu was charged to tell the king, that the Sieurs Villiers and Jacquelot, having informed the queen-mother that his majesty could not be persuaded that she loved him unless she also loved the cardinal, he had orders to assure his majesty that that princess would, from respect for the king her son, love the cardinal, and dismiss from her mind all resentment for his past conduct towards her. Mary of Medicis only addressed herself to the king, from a regard to decency; it was before the minister that she humbled herself; it was he whom she regarded as the absolute master of every thing, as the sovereign arbiter of her peace and happiness.

The conduct of Richelieu, on this occasion, betrayed a total want of that humanity of soul, that meekness of spirit, that forgiveness and forbearance, which invariably mark the true christian. Pride, arrogance, and revenge must excite detestation wherever they are found; but when suffered to disgrace the character of a minister of religion they become doubly odious, extort a double portion of abhorrence, and rouse those strong sentiments of disgust, which time, far from effacing, only tends to strengthen and perpetuate. The difficulties which Laleu experienced in procuring an audience of the king, gave him just grounds for believing that the cardinal would prevent the accommodation from taking place. A council was called, at which, at the instigation of the minister, it was resolved to require, as an indispensable preliminary, that the queen-mother should deliver up three of her domestics, Father Chanteloube; the Abbot of Saint-Germain; and the viscount Fabroni, a Florentine. When Richelieu had sufficiently persuaded the king to adhere to this resolution, Laleu was sent for to Ruel, where he was much surprized at finding no one but the cardinal: Richelieu, however, treated him with great honour, observing that the respect he entertained for the person who sent him would induce him to shew him every mark of attention. But his answer to the solicitations of Laleu sufficiently betrayed the source whence this compliment flowed. In vain did Mary of Medicis renew her protestations in the most humble terms, in vain did she offer to send her confessor to court to convince the king of the sincerity of her professions; she was told that her proposals could not be listened to unless she would pledge her word to deliver up the three persons whom the king had demanded of her. Laleu was compelled to return to the Low-Countries with this discouraging news, which deprived the queen-mother of all hopes of again seeing her son.

Puylaurens beheld with secret satisfaction the inutility of Mary's submission, which gave him the greater pleasure as he hoped to succeed in the private accommodation of his master, whom the king and his minister most earnestly wished to recall. They caused the most pompous promises to be made to Monsieur and his favourite, in order to draw them to France; but Gaston raised a new obstacle to his reconciliation by procuring a solemn ratification of his marriage, in the Netherlands. To this he was induced by a report that was spread, that the cardinal, disappointed in his hopes of marrying his niece to duke Francis, of Lorraine, was only anxious to obtain the dissolution

tion of the marriage of the duke of Orleans, in order to reduce that prince to the necessity of espousing la Combalet. But the princess of Phalsbourg took care to prevent a measure so highly prejudicial to the honour of her sister Margaret. She engaged the duke of Orleans to consult the university of Louvain on the validity of his marriage; which being established, he had it confirmed by the archbishop of Malines, in the presence of seven witnesses.

Richelieu, however, having intercepted Gaston's ratification of a treaty with Spain, became fearful that the connections of that prince with the enemies of the kingdom might soon become so close as not to be easily dissolved. This circumstance induced him to overlook some obstacles to a reconciliation which, at another time, he would, probably have deemed insurmountable, and a formal negotiation was opened. The chief difficulty that retarded its conclusion consisted in the disposal of *Madame*, whom the king wished his brother to deliver into his hands: he also required that Gaston should consent to submit the validity of his marriage to the decision of commissioners to be appointed by the pope: requisitions which decency should have forbidden to urge, and honour, to grant. When Gaston's refusal was delivered in to the council, Richelieu made the following strange observation—"I see only two modes of preserving the king from the evil designs of Monsieur; one depends on the blessing of Heaven, and the other on the prudence of his majesty. The first is the birth of a dauphin, which, by depriving Monsieur of the hopes of succeeding to the throne, will make him lose the desire of seeing it soon vacant. The second expedient consists in a close connection between those persons on whose fidelity the king can rely ⁴²."

Though the negotiation was suspended for a time, an incident soon occurred which accelerated its conclusion. This was an attempt made upon the person of Puy-laurens, who was attacked and wounded by some persons unknown, as he was ascending the steps of the palace at Bruxelles. The duke of Orleans made a great noise on the occasion, as he ascribed the attempt to the duke of Elbeuf, or some of the attendants of the queen-mother. Others were of opinion, that the Spaniards, apprized of the negotiation carrying on between Puylaurens and Richelieu, on the subject of Monsieur's return, wished to put a stop to it by the assassination of the person who had first set it on foot. Puylaurens, alarmed at the attempt, no longer thought his life in safety at Bruxelles, and therefore urged the duke of Orleans to conclude his accommodation with the king. That prince consented to do whatever his favourite required, who, on his part, paid no regard to the honour of his master. The treaty was accordingly concluded, and signed by the king at Escouan, on the first of October.

⁴² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 410, 411.

The principal articles were these—that, in the affair of the duke's marriage, both Lewis and Gaston should submit to the usual mode of decision in similar cases, the king permitting his brother to satisfy his conscience on the subject in the usual way: that, in case the marriage should be dissolved, Monsieur promised the king not to marry without his consent, as the king, on his part, engaged to impose no restraint on his brother, in that particular: that, wherever the duke should, with the king's permission, establish his residence, he promised to live as a true brother and a faithful subject, and to maintain no correspondence, offensive to his majesty: that the king should grant an amnesty for him and his domestics, excepting Vieuville, Cogneux, Monsigot, Vieuxpont and some others: that all the estates, appannages, and pensions of Monsieur should be restored; and that the king should give him, immediately after his return, four hundred thousand livres for the payment of his debts at Bruxelles and elsewhere, and one hundred thousand crowns for the re-establishment of his household: it was also stipulated that Lewis should give his brother the government of Auvergne in lieu of that of the Orleansois and the Blefois.

These terms were granted to Monsieur, on the express condition that he should declare his acceptance of them in a fortnight, and return to France before the expiration of three weeks. The government of the Bourbonnois was given to Puylaurens, with a promise of the dignity of a duke and peer, and the hand of a near relation of Richelieu's, who agreed to marry him eight days after his return ⁴³.

The duke of Orleans and his favourite, almost equally rejoiced at the conclusion of a treaty which they deemed advantageous to themselves, immediately began to devise proper measures for effecting their escape from the Netherlands, where they expected to be stopped by the Spaniards. They watched their opportunity when the marquis D'Aytone was absent from Bruxelles, and left that city, on the morning of the eighth of October, under pretence of taking the amusement of the chase. Monsieur did not take leave of a single friend, not even of his wife, whom he afterwards recommended, by letter, to the care of Mary of Medicis. He proceeded with the utmost expedition to Capelle, and, from thence, to Saint-Germain en-Laye, where he was graciously received by the king.

Soon after the return of Monsieur, Richelieu, anxious to procure the dissolution of his marriage, sent several ecclesiastics to excite religious scruples in his mind; but the officious priests met with the repulse they merited; and Gaston, though generally wavering, inconstant, and indecisive, evinced, on this occasion, a laudable firmness. “The

⁴³ Mémoires Anonimes sur les Affaires du Duc d'Orleans.—Mémoires de Montresor.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Mémoire reconditte di Vittorio Siri, tom. viii. p. 101, 102, 160.

“ pretended nullity of my marriage”—said the prince—“ is founded on a sentence of the parliament, which declares that the princes of the house of Lorraine seduced and compelled me to espouse their sister, the princess Margaret. If that declaration be false, my marriage is valid and lawful. Now I declare to you that those gentlemen intended that their sister should take the veil, and they only gave her to me because they could not resist my urgent and repeated solicitations, influenced by the high esteem I entertained for her merit and virtue. If then any seduction and violence were employed, it must have been on my side. If the king absolutely command me to live separated from my lawful wife, I will obey his majesty ; but I never will take another so long as she lives, nor will I ever consent to the dissolution of a marriage which I have lawfully contracted.”

To avoid the persecutions of the court on this subject, Gaston retired with his favourite to Blois ; where he soon found reason to complain of Richelieu’s neglect to fulfil the promises he had made to Puylaurens. The minister, fearful of exciting some fresh commotions, informed his royal highness that Puylaurens might repair to Paris whenever he chose for the purpose of celebrating his marriage with the second daughter of the baron of Pont-Chateau. The duke of Valette was to marry the eldest sister the same day ; and the count of Guiche, son to the count of Grammont, was also to espouse Mademoiselle du Pleffis-Chivrai, another relation of the cardinal’s. The duke of Orleans accompanied his favourite to the capital, and Richelieu conducted them both to Saint-Germain, that the affair might be finished in the presence of the king. The three contracts of marriage were signed, and the ceremony of the betrothal performed at the Louvre on the twenty-sixth of November : the next day, the king’s declaration, in favour of Puylaurens and others who had followed the duke of Orleans into the Netherlands, was registered in the parliament of Paris ; and the nuptials were celebrated, on the twenty-eighth, with great pomp, at the Arsenal. The lordship of Aiguillon, purchased, for six hundred thousand livres, of Maria di Gonzaga, who inherited it in right of her mother, from the late duke of Mayenne, was erected into a duchy, under the title of Puylaurens, and given to the favourite of Gaston. On the seventh of December the new duke took his seat in the parliament, and Monsieur returned to Blois somewhat less discontented than before.

A. D. 1635.] The commencement of this year was distinguished by an establishment that will render the memory of Richelieu, as a friend to the cultivation of science, respected, long after his political talents, and his private vices, shall have been consigned to oblivion. This was the establishment of the *French Academy*, by an edict which the cardinal obtained from the king in favour of certain literary men, who had, for some time, assembled in private, actuated by a laudable desire of purifying and perfecting the French language ; which has, by the success attending this institution, become

come an object of study to all the European nations, and been rendered almost as universal as the Latin language was in the time of Augustus.

But while the cardinal enlarged the sphere of his renown, by the encouragement of scientific pursuits, and extended the bounds of his authority by the destruction of his domestic enemies, he was alarmed by the progress of the foreign foes of France, and the returning prosperity of the house of Austria. At Nordlingen the victories of Gustavus had been effaced by the total defeat of the Swedes; and the Imperialists beheld twenty thousand of their adversaries lifeless on the field. The policy of Richelieu revived their fainting courage with liberal and constant pecuniary supplies; but, at the same time, he had stipulated for the immediate possession of Philippsburgh and Spires, in Germany; and the cession of Alsace, on the frontiers of Lorraine, as soon as he should declare war against Spain.

Lewis had hitherto been allowed to reap the advantages of war without subjecting his country to any of its calamities; but the situation of his allies gave the French no farther pretext for delay, and every thing seemed to indicate the approach of an open rupture with the house of Austria. After the reduction of Philippsburgh by the forces of the emperor, the cardinal concluded a treaty with the United-Provinces of Holland⁴⁴. On the intelligence of this hostile negotiation, the court of Spain determined, by activity and vigour, to anticipate the designs of her enemies, and all her operations were inspirited by the personal enmity which the Condé duke of Olivarez bore to the French minister. The Spaniards attacked with vigour and success the country of Treves, surprised the capital, and seized the elector, who had acceded to the league with France. This bold and successful enterprize was resented by an open declaration of war, on the part of Lewis. The marshals Châtillon and Brezé received orders to march to the support of the prince of Orange, then in the neighbourhood of Mæstricht; on their road, they encountered the forces of Spain, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and drove them from their fortified camp at Avein, after killing fifteen hundred, making three thousand prisoner, and taking all their baggage and artillery. Animated by success, and joined by the prince of Orange, they forced open the gates of Tirlemont, and invested Louvain; but the dissensions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this enterprize with disgrace; and an army which threatened to subvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was wasted in vain attempts, or consumed by sickness or fatigue.

Richelieu, meanwhile, had detached from the court of Spain the dukes of Savoy and Parma; and marshal Crequi was instructed, in concert with those princes, to as-

⁴⁴ Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. v. chap. 6.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du même, tom. i. —Nani Historia Veneta, liv. x. 1635.—Memorie ricondite, di Vittorio Siri, tom. viii. p. 224, 225, 226.

fert the liberties of Italy. Being defeated, on the banks of the Po, by the superior forces of the Spaniards, he boldly ascribed his misfortune to the enmity and discontent of the duke of Savoy, who rather thwarted than assisted his operations.

The king had beheld with impatience not only his foreign conquests shaken, but even his hereditary dominions insulted: the appearance of the duke of Lorraine in his ancient territories revived the zeal of his subjects; several important towns opened their gates at his approach; but his career was checked by the unexpected presence of Lewis himself, who, at the head of a small army hastily assembled, flew to maintain his former acquisitions, retook Saint-Michael, and returned triumphant to Paris; while the duke of Rohan, who had been recalled from exile to take the command of the French forces in the Valteline, emulated the glory of his sovereign, and, in two bloody and successive engagements, broke, in that country, the strength of the Imperialists and Spaniards.

The operations of war proved insufficient to monopolize the attention of Richelieu, who never lost sight of his favourite project for dissolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans. An obsequious assembly of venal priests, convened by the minister, declared that the want of the king's consent was a radical defect, which no subsequent proceeding could cure, and that the duke's marriage therefore was null. No sooner was Mary of Medicis, who had retired to Antwerp with the duchess of Orleans, apprized of this declaration, than she wrote to the pope, requesting his interference in the business; and his holiness accordingly instructed his nuncios at Paris to complain to the king of the conduct of his minister, in attempting to annul a marriage lawfully contracted. Richelieu, vexed at the failure of his scheme, wreaked his vengeance on Puylaurens, whom he caused to be arrested on some frivolous pretext, and thrown into prison, where he soon after died, either by poison, or from the rigour of his confinement.

A. D. 1636.] But though the prelates were willing to comply with the requisitions of the minister, where their own interest was not affected, they betrayed a very different disposition when called on by the king to contribute to the support of the war; and an impost of four millions of livres was not levied on the clergy without great difficulty and opposition. To answer the current expences, Richelieu had also recourse to the ancient mode of encreasing the number of magistrates in the different courts of justice, as well as to the imposition of numerous and oppressive taxes on the people. By the former measure he excited the resentment of the parliament, who, at first, betrayed great spirit and energy in their conduct, though they were finally compelled to yield to the irresistible exertions of arbitrary power.

At the opening of the campaign, Metz was reduced by the forces of the emperor, but the Germans were compelled to raise the siege of Colmar by the cardinal Valette, who
despising

despising the duties of the church and the admonitions of the pope, aspired, in imitation of Richelieu, to military glory. In Italy, the war was carried on with varied success; at the siege of Fontanet, marechal Toiras lost his life by a musquet ball; but the town was carried by the duke of Savoy, who afterwards effected a junction with the troops under marechal Crequi, and proceeded onwards to protect from the ravages of the Spaniards the territories of the duke of Parma. On the twenty-third of June, the combined forces were overtaken by the enemy, who disputed, with desperate courage, the passage of the Tefino; the slaughter was dreadful on both sides; and night put an end to the contest without deciding the victory. The Spaniards retreated before the return of day, and the French were left masters of the field, though disabled from pursuing their operations.

In Franche-Comté, the prince of Condé had laid waste the country, and laid siege to Dole; the vigorous defence of the garrison and the approach of the forces of Spain, and the empire, compelled him to desist from the enterprize, after a vain assault, and to retreat into the province of Burgundy. The islands of Saint-Margaret and Saint-Honorat having surrendered to the Spanish arms, an attempt was made to recover them, but the arrival of the Spanish fleet frustrated the designs of the French, and rescued the garrisons from insult.

To support the war in so many different quarters, France had stripped of troops the frontiers of Picardy, and exposed it to the incursions of the enemies. The Spanish army, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and reinforced by the celebrated Piccolomini, entered the defenceless province, seized Capelle and Catelet, forced the passage of the Somme at Brai, in defiance of the French troops under the count of Soissons, and, in less than a week, reduced the strong town of Corbie. The Parisians were seized with consternation at the accounts of the rapid and unexpected approach of their foes, and vented their execrations on Richelieu, whom they considered as the author of all their calamities⁴⁵. That minister himself was not exempt from inquietude: indeed, so great at first was his alarm, that he thought of retiring with the king to Orleans. But when he had somewhat recovered from his fears, he had recourse to exertions of vigour, and suiting his conduct to the necessity of the times, expatiated on the necessity of diminishing the taxes, and recalling the exiles, and exerted every art his ingenuity could devise to conciliate the esteem and confidence of the people. The Parisians, either impelled by their loyalty, or roused by their fears, hastened to give their sovereign the most unequivocal marks of their fidelity and attachment. Every citizen agreed to sup-

⁴⁵ Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, par Aubery, liv. v. chap. 38.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du même, tom. i.—Histoire du Marechal de Guebriant, l. i. ch. 12.—Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. xvii.—Journal de Bassompierre.—Vie de Pere Joseph, tom. ii. ch. xviii.—Grotii Epistolæ passim, 1626.—Nani Historia Veneta, liv. x. Mémoire recondite di Vittorio Siri, tom. vii. p. 438, 439.

port a certain number of men; the parliament promised to pay fortwo thousand five hundred infantry; the chamber of accompts, for seven hundred; the court of aids for four hundred; the king's secretaries for an equal number; and the chancellor, the two superintendants of the finances, and their clerks, for five hundred horse. The Carthusian and Celestine Friars offered to advance money for raising and paying eight hundred men; and the university of Paris promised to supply four hundred. The alacrity, evinced on this occasion, roused the drooping spirits of Richelieu, who, for the first time, experienced the displeasure of his sovereign; a circumstance which so far discouraged him, that he was on the point of quitting the helm of government ⁴⁶.

Besides these voluntary levies, other means were adopted for recruiting the army. In this emergency no gentleman was suffered to retain more than one servant; no artizan more than one apprentice; and the erection of all new buildings, whether public or private, was stopped, that the workmen employed thereon might contribute to swell the number of the troops: the king ordered all persons who had more than two horses to deliver up one for the service of the state; and he commanded all gentlemen, all who were exempt from the payment of the *taille*, and all the officers of his household, to repair to Saint-Denis, within six days. By this means an army of fifty thousand men was assembled in a short space of time.

Richelieu would willingly have assumed the command of the troops himself, but the count of Soissons refused to serve under him; and the cardinal entrusted the fate of France to that prince, and the duke of Orleans, whose jealousy of each other he imagined would prevent them from combining in any intrigues dangerous to his authority. On this occasion the discernment of Richelieu deserted him; the two generals, indeed, acted with perfect unanimity, compelled the Spaniards to repass the *Somme*, and retook Corbie; but at the same time they concerted the destruction of the cardinal, and held a council at Peronne, for the purpose of deciding on the best means of effecting it. Some were of opinion, that his credit with the king might be destroyed by representing him to Lewis as the author of all the misfortunes that had occurred since the commencement of the war; but the majority voted for his assassination, as the only effectual mode of getting rid of him. It was determined to put their scheme in execution the first time a council should be called at Amiens, where the cardinal resided during the siege of Corbie. The king repaired thither every day from a neighbouring castle, where he had established his quarters. Four conspirators were to perform the deed just as the cardinal was leaving the council, and after Lewis had retired. Already had the two princes stopped Richelieu, under pretence of asking him some questions, at the bottom of the stair-case leading to the council-chamber; already had the conspirators taken their stations behind him, wait-

⁴⁶ Mémoires du Pere Joseph.—Le Vassor, tom. viii. liv. xxxv. p. 498.

ing only for the signal from the duke of Orleans, when the resolution of that prince forfook him, and, hastily returning to the council-chamber, he declared that his conscience would not permit him to shed the blood of a cardinal, an archbishop, and a priest. The minister was not apprized of his danger till some time after, and he resolved to be more cautious and circumspect in future.

Having failed in their attempt, the princes determined to have recourse to the other mode of effecting his ruin, by destroying his credit with the king; but the cardinal, apprized of their intentions, resolved to revenge himself by driving them both from court. For this purpose he caused a false report to be spread that the king intended to arrest them, on which they immediately fled with precipitation, the duke to Blois, and the count to Sedan. The king was greatly surprized at their sudden departure, and still more so, when he heard of the report propagated by the princes, and the pretended design formed against their person. He caused them to be assured that he had never harboured any such intention; and the cardinal himself wrote to the duke of Orleans, reproaching him with his facility in paying equal attention to good and bad advice. Several persons were sent to Gaston to enquire what was the subject of his complaints; and, after various explanations on the subject, Gaston at length delivered a paper to Chavigni, in which, after promising never to be guided in future by the advice of the count of Soissons, he earnestly besought the king to remove all grounds of dispute between them. As the marriage of the duke of Orleans was the grand object of contestation, Lewis promised to acknowledge its validity, on condition that Gaston would never consent to espouse the interests of the duke of Lorraine, nor form any connection prejudicial to the welfare of the state. The conditions, after some delay, were accepted on both parts, and the agreement was rendered public in the month of February in the following year.

A. D. 1637.] The ensuing campaign opened with events the most inauspicious to France. The duke of Parma, besieged in Placentia, was compelled to renounce the alliance of that crown, and to conclude an accommodation with Spain. The duke of Rohan, neglected by cardinal Richelieu, who still regarded him with jealousy, after exhausting his private credit, was constrained to evacuate the Valteline. But these disasters were followed by a series of splendid success; the count of Harcourt recovered the islands of Saint Margaret and Saint Honorat; the duke of Valette reduced several forts which the Spaniards had seized in Guienne; the duke of Halluin (son to marshal Schomberg, whose name and rank he afterwards bore) raised the siege of Leucate in Languedoc (of which province he was governor) and defeated Serbellon, the Spanish general, on the twenty-eighth of September, taking from him all his baggage, ammunition and artillery. Cardinal de la Valette again planted the standard of France on the walls of Capelle; the marshal de Châtillon successfully invested Damvilliers in Luxemburg; and the duke of Longueville extended his conquests in Franche-Comté.

In

In Italy, the duke of Savoy, seconded by marshal Crequi, triumphed over the Spaniards, led by the duke of Modena; and, in the Netherlands, the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange compelled the garrison of Breda to surrender.

An attempt was made about this time by father Caussin, the king's confessor, at the instigation of father Minod, a Jesuit, confessor to Christina, duchess of Savoy, (whose husband had lately expired) to procure the recall of Mary of Medicis to court. As Caussin was sensible that this could never take place so long as Richelieu should continue in favour, he undertook the dangerous task of advising the king to dismiss him.

The remonstrances which Caussin made to the king, on the conduct of his minister, were confined to four principal points. The first of these was the banishment of the queen-mother, who was left in such an indigent situation, that she frequently wanted necessaries; a consideration which appeared to have great effect on the king: the second, was the exorbitant power of the cardinal, who usurped the royal authority, and left to Lewis nothing but the mere name of king: the third, was the oppression of the people, who were reduced to the greatest misery by the imposition of burdensome taxes: the fourth was the interest of religion, which Richelieu seemed anxious to annihilate (in the opinion of Caussin) by the assistance he afforded to the Swedes and Protestants of Germany. The inference which the confessor drew from these allegations was the indispensable necessity of the cardinal's dismissal. The king appeared to be shaken by the arguments of the priest, but unable, from habit, to conceal any thing from his minister, he afforded an opportunity to Richelieu of confuting the charges preferred against him, by reasons, the validity of which Lewis had long been accustomed to acknowledge. Caussin's temerity was speedily punished by the loss of his post of confessor to the king, from whom Richelieu obtained an order for his arrest and confinement at Quimpercorentin in Brittany⁴⁷.

A. D. 1638.] The death of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, rather increased than diminished the influence of France, since his widow, the sister of Lewis, was appointed regent during the minority of her infant son. In Italy, the campaign was opened by the siege of Brema, on the Po, the garrison of which fortress greatly incommoded the Spaniards, by their frequent incursions into the Milanese. This post, though important from its situation, was but ill-fortified, and therefore stood in need of immediate relief. Marshal Crequi was accordingly dispatched to the assistance of the garrison, but a random ball deprived him of life on the seventeenth of March, and, a few days after his death, the fort of Brema surrendered to the Spaniards.

⁴⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 452, 453.

In Germany, duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who had been trained to arms in the school of Gustavus, and who, maintaining an independent authority over an army of various nations, was supplied from the treasures of France, invested and reduced the city of Rheinfeld. John de Wert, duke Savelli, and some other Imperial generals, having advanced to the relief of the town, with a body of two thousand men, Bernard was advised, by his friend the duke of Rohan, who accompanied him as a volunteer, to march forth to meet them. An obstinate conflict took place, in which the Imperialists were defeated, but the duke of Rohan received two wounds, of which he died on the twenty-third of April, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. This worthy nobleman, who had learned the profession of arms under Henry the Great, by whom he was, at one time, considered as presumptive heir to the kingdom of Navarre, possessed most of those virtues which render man the friend of his fellow-creatures, and give dignity to human nature. Pious, affable, brave, generous, and humane; an accomplished gentleman; a skilful general; an able statesman, and a good christian: he did honour to the party he espoused, and frequently tempered, by the purity of his principles, the bigotry of his adherents. The court of France had not virtue enough to regret the loss of a nobleman whom they had been accustomed to regard as formidable, even in exile. Foreigners, however, did him justice; and the Venetians received with gratitude the gift of his arms, which they still preserve as a mark of the affection which one of the greatest captains of the age bore to their republic. His body was conveyed to Geneva, and interred in the great church all the magnificence due to his rank and merit.

The reduction of Rheinfeld was followed by that of Fribourg, all Brisgau, and several towns in Suabia. The grand object of the duke of Weimar was the blockade of Brisac, which he completed after two successful actions with the Imperialists. All attempts to relieve the town having been rendered abortive by the vigilance of the duke, the garrison was compelled, from a want of provisions, to capitulate in the month of December.

Mareschal de Châtillon, meanwhile, had entered the province of Artois, and, after laying waste the circumjacent country, formed the siege of Saint Omer, towards the end of May, which place he expected to carry in a short time. But his vigilance being eluded by the superior skill of prince Thomas of Savoy, and Piccolomini, he was obliged, after remaining six weeks before the place, to raise the siege, although he had been previously reinforced by the mareschal de la Force. The reduction of the small fortress of Renti being deemed, by the king, an inadequate compensation for the disgrace which his arms had sustained before the town of Saint Omer, he deprived Châtillon of the command of the troops, and placed la Force at their head. The campaign was closed, in that quarter, by the reduction of Câtelet, by Du Hallier, the last place possessed by the Spaniards of all they had taken, during the invasion of the preceding year⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 456.

In the southern provinces of France, an army was collected, and entrusted to the care of the prince of Condé, with orders to enter the Spanish territories, and lay siege to Fontarabia. But the prince suffered himself to be defeated, by an inferior force, under the admiral of Castile, and with the remainder of his army with difficulty escaped to his ships. This miscarriage, however, was balanced by a domestic event of the highest importance. The queen, after a continued sterility of three-and-twenty years, was, at length, delivered of a son on the first of September, 1638. The birth of this child—who, from coming at a time so wholly unexpected, received the appellation of *Dieu Donné*, Given by God—while it secured the peaceable succession to the throne, operated as a check on the levity of the duke of Orleans, and tended to establish the power of Richelieu.

On the formation of the league between France and Holland against the house of Austria, England had been invited to preserve a neutrality between the contending parties. But Charles replied to D'Estrades, the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a squadron ready, and would cross the seas, if necessary, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in order to prevent the projected conquests of the combined powers. This answer irritated cardinal Richelieu; and, in revenge, that minister, with more zeal than honesty, carefully fomented the first commotions which broke out in Scotland during the reign of that unhappy monarch, Charles the First, and secretly supplied the Covenanters with money and arms, in order to encourage them in their opposition against their sovereign.

Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, Mary of Medicis went over to England, in the month of October, in order to engage the English monarch and his consort to make some farther efforts for procuring her recall to France. She spoke to Bellièvre, the French ambassador at London, and told him that her long-continued afflictions had inspired her with far different sentiments from those which she had entertained when she left the kingdom: she begged him to let the cardinal know, that she earnestly supplicated him to relieve her from her misery, and from the necessity to which she was reduced of begging her bread: that she ardently wished to be near the king, not with a view to interfere with his affairs, but merely to pass the short remnant of her life in repose, and in preparations for a future state: that if the cardinal could not obtain the king's leave for her to return to court, he would at least procure his permission for her to live in some part of the kingdom, where he might provide her with the means of subsistence: that, in order to obtain this indulgence, she would dismiss from her service all such persons as were odious to, or even suspected by, the minister, being ready to do whatever the king might require, or the cardinal advise. The ambassador told her he had no authority to interfere in this business; but the queen of England having given him to understand, that this mode of application was adopted, because Lewis had declared that he would
never

never suffer the interference of foreigners, Bellièvre consented to write to the cardinal such a letter as the queen-mother dictated.

A. D. 1639, 1640.] Richelieu paid no more attention to the letter than he had done to all the former applications of his benefactress. Under the pretence that her return would prove the means of exciting fresh commotions in the kingdom, he presumptuously rejected all her demands, and dictated a most severe answer, which the king signed with his own hand, having too long been accustomed to pay implicit obedience to the will of his minister. The letters which the queen of England wrote on the occasion produced no better effect; in the answers that were sent to them, composed by Chavigny, the good intentions of Henrietta were commended, but that princess was earnestly requested to abstain from all farther interference in the business. Inflexible severity of a weak prince, who, through fear of displeasing an absolute minister, stifled all the sentiments of nature!

In order, however, to avert, in a certain degree, the censure, which such inhumanity towards his mother could not fail to excite, Lewis refused to give his opinion at the council that was called on this occasion. He ordered his ministers to commit their sentiments to writing; but those sentiments were dictated by him, and they did nothing more than subscribe their names to the paper. The result of their deliberations was this: that there was no other means of preserving the tranquillity of the kingdom, than that of suffering the queen-mother to live, in want, in a foreign country, unless she rather chose to go to Florence: and, that princes ought to consult the good of the state, rather than their own feelings, or those of their parents⁴⁹. This last maxim is strictly just, but wholly inapplicable to the object of their consultations: if the queen-mother's return must inevitably have produced the evil consequences which Richelieu ascribed to it, the rejection of her demands would have been equally sanctioned by justice and policy; but the present state of the kingdom, and the advanced age of Mary, were, of themselves, sufficient to destroy the supposition on which the arguments against her were founded; and, at all events, no danger could possibly be incurred by Lewis, in fulfilling his *duty*, by sheltering an aged parent from the pangs of want, and the misery of dependence. To the dictates of policy, and the suggestions of fear, not only the feelings of nature, but the principles of justice, have been too frequently sacrificed; and where a mind, unimpressed with a due sense of religion, is bent on the attainment of a particular object, no subterfuge appears too pitiful, no violation too gross; but time's unerring hand will, invariably, remove the veil that is employed for the concealment of infamy; take off those false colours which vice lays on as a disguise to her actions, and hold up guilt to censure or abhorrence, according to the extent of its enormity, however illustrious its author!

⁴⁹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 462.

The disgrace sustained by the French arms at the siege of Fontarabia had, by the prince of Condé and his friends, been ascribed to the duke de la Valette, who was second in command; and that nobleman, aware of the power, and of the *principles*, of his enemies, had left the kingdom, and retired to England. But this step, instead of averting the prosecution, was deemed an augmentation of the crime; and the king, at the instigation of his minister, now caused a criminal process to be instituted against him for treason and felony—the first charge being founded on his neglect to take Fontarabia when it was in his power so to do; and the last, on his departure from the kingdom, without the permission of his sovereign. An offence of this nature came properly within the cognizance of the parliament of Paris; but Richelieu, averse from controul, and fearful that the magistrates of that court might not be sufficiently subservient to his will, had, at an early period of his administration, established a despotic court, composed of a few commissioners, selected from the parliament and the council of state. To those he referred the case of La Valette, and ordered them to sit at Saint Germain, that they might be immediately under his own eyes. Of all the members of the parliament, one only had the spirit to assert the dignity of the court, and to remonstrate with the king on the impropriety of his conduct, in language firm, manly, and upright.

The president Bellièvre, observed, “ That he thought it extremely odd that the king
 “ should be present at the trial of one of his subjects: that the French monarchs had
 “ been accustomed to reserve to themselves the right of pardoning, and to leave the task
 “ of condemnation to the tribunals of justice: that he could never have believed his
 “ majesty would have the courage to behold a man, one moment, at the bar, and the
 “ next, dragged to the gallows: that the presence of the king was a sign of forgiveness,
 “ it removed ecclesiastical interdicts, and ought to give content to every one: that it
 “ was a pernicious custom thus to intimidate the judges, and deprive them of all freedom
 “ of discussion, by forcing them to give their opinion before the king: that, for his part,
 “ he should persist in the opinion he had ever maintained, that the cause in question
 “ ought to be referred to the parliament.” The king replied, with anger, “ That he
 “ hated those who wished to deprive him of the right of trying a peer in any manner
 “ he thought proper: that they were blockheads, unworthy of their places, and he did
 “ not know whether he should not deprive them of them: that he would be obeyed:
 “ that he would convince them all privileges were founded only on a bad custom, and
 “ that he would no longer suffer them to be mentioned.”

The commissioners found the duke de la Valette guilty of treason and felony, passed sentence of death upon him, and he was accordingly executed in effigy, on the eighth of June. Thus did Lewis, surnamed the *Just*, procure the condemnation of his brother-in-law, (for the duke had married a daughter of Henry the Fourth) against all forms of law, and all principles of justice.

In Piedmont, the brothers of the late duke of Savoy disputed with his widow the succession to the regency. Supported by the marquis of Leganez, they surprized Chivasso, were received into Quieras, Montcallier, and Goree, and assaulted Turin so suddenly, (in the night of the twenty-sixth of July) that the duchess had scarcely time to retire into the citadel, whence she retreated to Grenoble, where she had a personal interview with her brother.

Lewis, at the instigation of the cardinal, resolved to profit by the misfortunes of his sister, in order to get her son, and his territories, into his own hands. Prince Maurice having gained over the governors of Nice and Villefranche, the fear of losing everything had already induced the duchess to consent to deliver up the towns of Susa, Avigliano, Gelasse, and Taillon to the king. The cardinal also insisted on the cession of Montmellian, but no arguments he could employ could prevail on the duchess to resign that important post.

During this time the marquis de la Meilleraie had opened the campaign in Artois, by the siege of Hesdin, while the marquis of Feuquieres had orders to invest Thionville with a small army that was entrusted to his care. The town was very strongly fortified, and although Feuquieres was neither deficient in courage nor address, he was extremely unwilling to attack it with fourteen thousand men, a force he deemed wholly inadequate to the undertaking. But the dread of displeasing a minister, who could not bear the smallest contradiction, led him to pay implicit obedience to his commands. Before, however, he could secure his quarters, they were attacked and forced, by Piccolomini, with a superior army; great numbers of the French were cut to pieces, and Feuquieres himself was wounded, taken prisoner, and conducted to Thionville, where he died soon after.

Piccolomini, anxious to improve his victory, entered Champagne, and laid siege to Pont-à-Mousson; but, on the approach of marshal Châtillon, he deemed it prudent to desist from his enterprize, and to march to the relief of Hesdin, which was closely besieged by la Meilleraie. The fortress, however, surrendered before his arrival; and the king, having entered the town by the breach, rewarded the conduct of la Meilleraie with a marshal's staff. The campaign was closed in Picardy by the reduction of Yvoi, taken by Châtillon in the month of August.

In Germany, the duke of Weimar carried on the war against the Imperialists, more on his own account than for the French, who, nevertheless, derived an advantage from it, since it compelled the emperor to divide his forces. The duke was now intent on the preservation of Brisac, which he meant to make the capital of an independant principality which he was anxious to form for himself. Immediately after the reduction of that city, Richelieu had informed the duke that his presence would be necessary at Paris, in order

order to settle the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign; but the duke eluded the invitation under various pretexts, and could only be prevailed on to send Colonel D'Erlach, governor of Brisac, to the cardinal. Richelieu exacted a promise from that officer, that, in case of the duke's death, he would deliver up the town to the king. That event soon happened: the duke, after an illness of eighteen days, expired at Newburgh, at the age of thirty-six; and his death was generally ascribed to poison administered by orders of cardinal Richelieu⁵⁰. By whatever means it was accomplished, the cardinal, with his usual dexterity, availed himself of his decease; he procured from his successors in command not only Brisac, but Fribourg also, and he prevailed with his army to acknowledge the authority of the duke of Longueville.

The augmentation of imposts, occasioned by the continuance of the war, had given rise to popular tumults in Normandy, where the peasants assembled in a riotous manner, and proceeded to acts of open outrage. The parliament of Rouen, more anxious to soothe than forward to punish, was suspended for its lenity; and the chancellor Seguier, who was detached with six thousand troops to quell the commotion, determined to avoid a similar accusation, and extinguished the insurrection with the lives of the insurgents.

In Rouffillon, Salces, which had been captured by the prince of Condé, was recovered by the Spaniards, but the count of Harcourt acquired fresh laurels in Piedmont. He relieved Casal, besieged by the marquis of Leganez, and retook Turin, though defended by prince Thomas of Savoy, in person. At sea, the French obtained a signal victory over the Spanish fleet; and in the Netherlands, the marshals Chaulnes, Châtillon, and Meilleraie invested Arras. The cardinal Infant, brother to Philip the Fourth, who advanced to the relief of it, was repulsed, in a vigorous attack on the French lines; in which he lost twelve hundred men; and the city, after a defence of thirty-five days, was compelled to surrender, on the tenth of August.

• A. D. 1641.] But the imprudence of her own ministers proved more fatal to Spain, than the enterprizes of her foreign enemies: the Catalans, indignant at the open violation of their ancient privileges, erected the standard of revolt: and Portugal, disdain-
ing any longer a dependent situation, shook off the yoke of Philip, and raised to the throne John, duke of Braganza. To the support of the former Lewis detached the marshal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who reduced the city of Constantin; and with the latter he concluded a close and solemn alliance. Meanwhile in Germany the count of Guebriant, who had been trained to war under the martial duke of Weimar, maintained, against the Imperialists, the glory of the French name; and the viscount Tu-

⁵⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 469.

renne, a pupil of the same school, happily seconded in Piedmont the gallant and successful efforts of the count of Harcourt. At home, the tranquillity of the kingdom received additional security from the birth of another prince, (on the twenty-first of September, 1640) who received the name of Philip, with the title of duke of Anjou.

We have already noticed the discontent and flight of the count of Soissons, who still remained at Sedan, firmly resolved never to submit to the discretion of a minister, whose conduct and whose principles he alike disapproved. On his arrival at Sedan, he had written to the king, to assure him of his fidelity, and had promised him that, during his residence in that city, he would not undertake any thing prejudicial to his interest. This promise he had hitherto religiously fulfilled, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the Spaniards; but the insults and injuries he continually sustained from Richelieu, at length, induced him to depart from the resolution he had adopted, and to lend a favourable ear to the suggestions of the duke of Bouillon. These two noblemen now concluded a treaty with Don Miguel di Salamanca, the Spanish minister, and another with the court of Vienna. John Francis Paul di Gondi, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of cardinal Retz, entered into the intrigue, and undertook to gain over the inhabitants of Paris, where the count of Soissons was as much beloved as Richelieu was detested. Marechal Vitri and the count of Cramail, both prisoners in the Bastille, engaged in the scheme, as did also the duke of Guise, who hastened to Liege in order to levy troops, which, joined to those at Sedan, were destined to form a junction with the Spaniards, and give battle to marechal Châtillon, who commanded the king's army on the Maese.

Richelieu, apprized of this circumstance, ordered Châtillon immediately to march to Sedan, and reduce the count to submission. But Soissons, being reinforced by a Spanish army under general Lamboi, marched out of the city, and encountered the royal forces, on the sixth of July, in the battle of Marsée. The troops of Châtillon were already broken and dispersed, when the fruits of victory were ravished from the conspirators by the death of the count himself, who perished by a random-ball. The circumstances of his fate were dark and mysterious, but the policy of Richelieu prevailed on the king to consign to oblivion the guilt of his associates, and the duke of Bouillon was again admitted to the presence of his sovereign, and permitted to retain the principality of Sedan.

The dread excited by the uncontrolled authority of the minister facilitated the execution of every scheme he engaged in, by removing every obstacle that stood in his way. He privately solicited the king of England, in so strenuous a manner, to oblige Mary of Medicis to quit his dominions, that that monarch, who was unhappily engaged in a violent contest with his subjects, fearful that the influence of the cardinal would tend to encrease the calamities of internal dissensions, deemed it prudent to comply, and, accordingly, entreated his mother-in-law to retire into some foreign country. Mary, incessantly

cessantly pursued by the violent resentment of this implacable priest, was, for some time, at a loss for a retreat; at length, however, she retired to Cologne, where she passed the remainder of her days in a situation that reflects indelible infamy on Lewis and his minister.

Independent of the pleasure which the vindictive cardinal derived from the misfortunes of this unhappy princess, another source of satisfaction was opened to him at the conclusion of the year 1641. The pope, who had recently made a promotion of twelve cardinals, at length raised to that dignity the minister's friend Mazarin, in whose favour the king had long solicited the friendship of the court of Rome, and whom Richelieu already destined as his successor in the administration.

A. D. 1642.] Absolute master of the king's mind, he proposed to Lewis to go in person to Catalonia, in order to take possession of that principality, and to ensure to the Catalans the full possession of their ancient rights and privileges. This proposal, which flattered the king with the easy reduction of Roussillon, proved highly acceptable, and the necessary measures for putting the scheme in execution were immediately adopted. Lewis had not sufficient penetration to dive into the ambitious designs of the cardinal, who wished to send his sovereign to a distant country, and place him between two armies commanded by his nearest relations and immediate dependents, that, in the event of his death, he might obtain the dignity of regent for himself. No doubt, indeed, was entertained at court, but that this expedition had been proposed by the cardinal merely with a view to accelerate the death of his sovereign⁵¹; and the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, as well as the measures taken for the government of the state during the king's absence, were received as an ample confirmation of this opinion. In fact, Lewis intended to take the queen and the duke of Orleans with him; to send the dauphin and his brother to the castle of Vincennes, the governor of which was wholly devoted to the cardinal; and to leave the prince of Condé at Paris, with the title of governor, but in reality subjected to the will of the minister, since he could do nothing but in conjunction with a council entirely composed of his creatures. But the queen frustrated the design entertained by the king of taking her with him, by declaring she would never suffer herself to be separated from her children; Lewis, therefore, after much entreaty, permitted her to remain at Saint-Germain.

Disease, which had long preyed upon the sinking frame of Richelieu, was unable to damp the flame of ambition which age rather seemed to invigorate. Lewis, too, though his declining health seemed to threaten his speedy dissolution, prepared to accompany the army into Roussillon. But at Narbonne, the indisposition of the cardinal en-

⁵¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 501.

creased to such a dangerous height, as compelled him, reluctantly, to stop there, while the king, with marshals Meilleraie and Schomberg, pursued his route, and encamped under the walls of Perpignan.

While Lewis pressed the siege of that city, and Richelieu languished on the bed of sickness, a confederacy was formed, that promised to extinguish the power and shorten the life of the latter. The lively temper, agreeable person, and elegant manners of Cinq-Mars, the second son of marshal D'Effiat, seconded by the recommendations of the cardinal, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the king; but the favourite, haughty and intractable, regarded with aversion the superior ascendancy of the minister: Richelieu had prevented the king from bestowing on Cinq-Mars some honours to which he aspired, and his gratitude for past favours was thus sunk in resentment for supposed injuries: weak himself, and incapable of great designs, he listened to the suggestions of De Thou, son to the celebrated historian; by the advice of that gentleman, he connected himself with the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon; and, soon after, in conjunction with those princes, concluded (on the third of March) a treaty with Spain, by which the Spanish monarch engaged to supply the duke of Orleans with an army of twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all veteran troops, besides four hundred thousand crowns, to enable him to make fresh levies. The duke engaged, on his part, to repair to Sedan, to take the command of this army, and to enter France, with a view to compel cardinal Richelieu to consent to a peace between the two crowns, which was the avowed object of the treaty.

But these intrigues, however secretly conducted, could not escape the jealous vigilance of the cardinal. Cinq-Mars, it is pretended, had even formed the design of assassinating Richelieu; but neither the duke of Orleans, nor De Thou, to whom he mentioned it, would give his consent to a deed so atrocious. Some authors assert, however, that he renewed his design at Lyons, where a great number of the nobility of Auvergne went to see him, and that he proposed it to the king, one day when he evinced some symptoms of displeasure at the conduct of his minister; but that Lewis, seized with remorse, at the moment of execution, recalled his consent⁵². Be that as it may, Richelieu, on the first intimation he received of the conspiracy, urged the king to quit the walls of Perpignan, and to repair to Narbonne. The defeat of the marshal Grammont, on the banks of the Scheld, disposed the monarch to listen to the solicitations of his minister, in whose abilities alone he could confide to retrieve the disaster. By the advice of Richelieu, Lewis proceeded to his capital, after investing the cardinal with discretionary powers for the destruction of his enemies.

⁵² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 505.

The duke of Orleans, on this occasion, degraded his rank by the servility of his submission. Mindful only of his own safety, he made an ample confession of his guilt; wrote the most abject letters to the cardinal, and condescended to implore the protection of his mother's domestic. The minister, whose vanity was flattered by the humiliation of a prince of the blood, haughtily prescribed the terms of his pardon: while Gaston, instrumental to his own degradation, entreated, as a signal favour, that he might have permission to live as a private person, without guards, without retinue, without any mark of distinction; and, to complete the baseness of his conduct, he consented to serve as evidence against his old friend, Cinq-Mars, in whose crime he was an accomplice. In consequence of his testimony, Cinq-Mars and De Thou were sentenced, by commissioners appointed by Richelieu to try them, to suffer decapitation; and they were accordingly executed, on the twenty-second of September, the very day on which the sentence was pronounced. On the morning of their execution intelligence was received of the surrender of Perpignan, and Richelieu apprized the king of both events by a single and expressive line:—"Your troops are in Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."—The duke of Bouillon purchased his pardon by the cession of his principality of Sedan.

During these transactions, Mary of Medicis had (on the second of July) expired at Cologne. The last years of her life had been embittered by the pressure of want, the discord of her sons, and the ingratitude of those whom, in the hour of her prosperity, she had warmly patronized. The reverse of fortune, experienced by this princess, affords a dreadful instance of the instability of human greatness:—though daughter to a sovereign prince, and the sister of an emperor; wife to a powerful monarch; mother to a king, and to three sovereign princesses, she was still destined to experience—friendless and oppressed—the pangs of indigence and the misery of exile. Of her character the facts we have related will afford the surest criterion; it appears to have been composed of qualities which, though apparently contradictory, are often found to exist together, in the human mind. Though her conduct to Henry the Great affords ground for suspicion, her sufferings cannot fail to excite commiseration. The filial affection which Lewis had denied her while living is said to have been revived on the news of her death: and the remorse he now experienced must be considered as a just punishment for his injustice towards a parent, who, whatever might be her failings, could never be accused of a want of tenderness for her son.

In Germany, the count of Guebriant, with a detachment of French troops, joined to the army of the late duke of Weimar, successfully checked the progress of the Imperial arms. Reinforced by four thousand Hessians, he besieged and reduced the city of Ordlingen; he then attacked the Imperialists, in their camp, at Kemper; and, bursting through their entrenchments, pursued his advantage with such promptitude and vigour that he gained a complete victory. The Imperial general, Lamboi, was taken prisoner, together with general Merci, the count of Laudron, all the colonels in the army, and
five

five thousand soldiers and subaltern officers: more than two thousand of the enemy were killed, and all their baggage and artillery were taken ⁵³.

On the return of Richelieu to Paris, though his declining health sufficiently warned him of his approaching dissolution, he betrayed a greater anxiety to gratify his revenge, than to prepare himself for a future state; all who were so unfortunate as to incur his suspicions were consigned to imprisonment; and so great were his apprehensions, that, he made his guards accompany him to the king's closet, not thinking himself secure even in the royal presence. At length, however, the hand of death put a stop to all his projects; and the joint efforts of a pleurisy and a fever brought him to the grave on the fourth of December.

The pen of many an able historian has been employed in delineating the character of Richelieu; but, dazzled by the splendor of his achievements, his political talents appear to have been over-rated, and his vices not sufficiently portrayed. Possessed of unlimited power, his ability to do good will not be disputed, but the frequent perversion of that power, for the gratification of hatred or revenge, too plainly indicates the depravity of those principles by which his conduct was actuated. That he paid little attention to the welfare and happiness of the people, over whom he exercised an absolute sway, the sanguinary effects of his administration most clearly evince; while he opened to them the paths to science and renown, he subverted their privileges, despoiled them of their rights, and robbed them of their freedom; impatient of controul, he established a despotism the most odious, and entailed on the *nation* a curse, merely to secure to *himself* the *sweets* of arbitrary power. Impelled by vanity or swayed by ambition, he braved the storms of war to bask in the sunshine of victory; so that his brows were incircled with laurel, he cared not how many graves were shaded with cypress. Eager to extend the limits of the kingdom, he oppressed its inhabitants, for the attainment of barren conquests, that could neither promote their felicity nor conduce to their interests. Regardless of the consequences, he sought to encrease his own importance, by promoting the aggrandizement of his sovereign.

When bent on the accomplishment of a favourite scheme, Richelieu neither suffered probity to guide, nor principle to restrain his actions: and to this determined perseverance, joined to the possession of arbitrary power, must the success which attended his projects be chiefly ascribed. The man who, unchecked by religion, uncontrolled by authority, is possessed of means commensurate to his undertakings, can claim little commendation for attaining the object of his pursuits. To Richelieu, however, must not be refused the merit of vigilance, activity, and penetration. He had a comprehensive

⁵³ Histoire du Marechal de Guébriant, liv. 6.

mind, and was capable of forming great designs. Like most other ministers, he was indebted, for the origin of his fortune, to a fortuitous combination of favourable circumstances; but its confirmation and continuance were indisputably the work of his own prudence and understanding. It formed a part of his political system to spare neither pains nor expence in gaining over to his interest all persons of merit, or in effecting their ruin when unable to secure their attachment. Thus he appeared warm in his friendship, and became implacable in his enmity; whence those on whom he placed a reliance had every thing to hope from his bounty, and those who opposed his views every thing to dread from his revenge. The features of his countenance and the whole of his external appearance bespoke a mildness and serenity of temper; yet was he fervent in all his desires, and peculiarly subject to the most violent ebullitions of love and hatred: indeed many of the principal events of his life had their source in one or other of these passions. All the principal nobility whom he could not reduce to obedience, were either devoted to prison, exile, or obscurity; and he ever chose to secure the safety of his person and the preservation of his post by rigour and by blood, rather than trust to the doubtful effects of clemency, moderation, and forbearance. In short, Richelieu, as a statesman, was more able than upright; as a priest, neither devout nor religious; and as a man, violent, vindictive, and ungrateful.

Although the king was inwardly content at being delivered from an imperious minister, who had always kept him in a state of subjection, he, nevertheless, appeared to regret his loss, and paid respect to the recommendations which Richelieu on his death-bed had urged in favour of Mazarin. As he found himself incompetent to conduct the affairs of the state without the assistance of a prime-minister, he did not hesitate to choose a man, who, having been formed after the maxims, and by the hands, of Richelieu, seemed to him more proper than any other for conducting business on the plan established by his predecessor.

A. D. 1643.] The strict attention that was paid to the inclinations of Richelieu, whose influence was supposed to have been extinguished with his life, excited great surprise: the king confirmed all those parts of the cardinal's will by which he had nominated persons to succeed to the principal posts, and most important offices in the kingdom: and the astonishment of the public was increased at seeing Mazarin, and Chavigni, and Des Noyers, secretaries of state, appointed members of the privy-council, to the exclusion of all other persons.

As the cardinal's influence extended beyond the grave, so did his resentment. A few days before his death, he had advised the king to make the parliament register a declaration which he had drawn up for the purpose of excluding the duke of Orleans from the regency of the kingdom, after the decease of his brother: and on the evening preceding his

his dissolution he had put the deed into the king's hands. Lewis, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the urgent solicitations of all who had the interest of Gaston at heart, complied with the will of the minister, and had the deed registered in the parliament in the month of December. Thus the duke was almost the only person who remained sacrificed to the animosity of the cardinal; for all the officers whom the policy of the minister had banished, were recalled by the clemency of the king.

Chavigni, however, who was chancellor to the duke of Orleans, found means to interest Mazarin in behalf of his royal highness; and the joint efforts of these ministers were successfully exerted in persuading the king to recall his brother to court. The object of Mazarin, in espousing the cause of Gaston, was to procure for himself some support against the party of the queen, who, he imagined, must necessarily hold him in detestation, as having been the principal confidant of her persecutor, Richelieu. The reconciliation between Lewis and the duke bore every mark of sincerity; and the former revoked the declaration he had caused to be registered in the parliament for excluding Gaston from the regency. This event was followed by the release of marshals Bassompierre and Vitri, and the count of Cramail, whom Richelieu had committed to the Bastille. Marshal D'Estrées also obtained permission to return to court; as did Baradas, and the duke of Saint Simon, who had formerly enjoyed a great portion of the king's favour; and the duchess-dowager of Guise, who had retired to Florence.

The health of Lewis was observed daily to decline, and the rapid progress of disease resisted all the arts of the faculty: a slow fever incessantly hung upon him; and his body exhibited the symptoms of gradual but certain decay. Mazarin and Chavigni, aware of his approaching dissolution, most strenuously urged him to regulate his affairs, while it was yet in his power to chuse that form of government which was most proper for excluding from the administration those persons whom he suspected of disaffection to the state. Lewis could not prevail on himself to declare the queen regent, nor yet resolve to divide the regency between her and his brother. The suspicions which he had formerly entertained of his consort, and which he had never been able to banish from his mind, kept him in a continual state of mistrust with regard to her. His prejudice, in this respect, was so great, that when Chavigni went one day from the queen to request he would pardon any part of her conduct that might have given him offence, and to disclaim all knowledge of the crimes and machinations that had been laid to her charge, Lewis replied—“ *In my present situation it is my duty to forgive, but not to believe her.*” His suspicions of Gaston were equally strong, so that he, probably, would never have been persuaded to make any regulation favourable to them, had not Mazarin and Chavigni devised an expedient, which seemed likely to prevent either of them from abusing

the

the power with which they were entrusted⁵⁴. This was a proposal so to limit the authority of Anne of Austria and the duke of Orleans, that they could do nothing without the advice of a council to be established for that purpose.

In fact, the king, by a declaration, bearing date the nineteenth of April, 1643, ordained, that the queen should be regent, and that to her should be entrusted the education of his children, and the government of the kingdom; and that his brother, the duke of Orleans, should be lieutenant-general to the infant monarch, under the authority of the queen: but that neither Anne nor Gaston should do any thing without the advice of the sovereign council of regency, to be composed of his cousins, the prince of Condé, and cardinal Mazarin; and of the sieurs Seguier, chancellor of France. Bouthillier, superintendent of the finances, and Chavigni, secretary of state. Of this declaration it was said, that if it were invented by Mazarin and Chavigni, they had taken particular care to render it acceptable to the king, who believed his consort to be incapable of attending to business, and too warmly attached to the house of Austria. That princess, however, signed it without hesitation, and her example was followed by the duke of Orleans. Having been read, in the king's chamber, in the presence of the principal nobility and chief officers of state, it was sent to the parliament, and there duly verified and registered.

The ceremony of christening the dauphin, which had been hitherto deferred, was performed on the twenty-first of April, when cardinal Mazarin and the princes of Condé stood sponsors to the infant prince, who received the name of Lewis. When the dauphin returned to his father's chamber, the king asked him his name, "*I am Lewis the Fourteenth*," said the child: "Not yet, my son, not yet," replied his father, who betrayed more uneasiness than the occasion seemed to justify.

Lewis now prepared to meet, with firm composure, the last scene of human greatness, and of human misery. He expired, on the fourteenth of May, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. In the character of this prince, no strong nor prominent features are to be discerned: the ascendancy which he suffered Richelieu to acquire over his mind threw him so far into the back ground of the political picture, that he appears engaged in the performance of a subordinate part in the history of his own reign. Content to adopt the passions and the vices of his minister, he must necessarily incur the censure they extort. His acquiescence in the schemes of the cardinal, whom he neither esteemed nor liked, affords a sufficient proof that they were congenial to his own sentiments, and plainly indicates that both Lewis and Richelieu were actuated by the same spirit of ambition and personal aggrandizement. The many violations of law, perversions of justice, and acts of cruelty, which marked this era of despotism,

⁵⁴ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 522.

shew the epithet *Just*, which the voice of superstition⁵⁵ bestowed on Lewis the Thirteenth, to have been grossly misapplied.

During this reign, in the year 1620, Lucilio Vanini, an Italian *philosopher*, was sentenced, by the parliament of Toulouse, to have his tongue cut out, and afterwards to be committed to the flames, for having endeavoured to propagate principles destructive of religion, and favourable to the establishment of Atheism. In the month of March, in the same year, a Jewess underwent a similar punishment for various acts of profanation.

John Francis de Gondí (afterwards cardinal Retz), who was translated to the diocese of Paris, in 1622, was the first *archbishop* of that capital, which was then detached from the province of Sens, and erected into an archbishoprick, by pope Gregory the Fifteenth, at the solicitation of Lewis the Thirteenth.

In 1611, father Michaëlis, a Dominican monk, obtained permission, from the general of his order, to establish, at Paris, a convent of *Reformed Preaching Friars*. He first retired to a private house, behind the church of Saint Andrew des Arcs, with a few monks who had followed him; but their number augmenting, their general, father Galamin, obtained letters-patent, in September, 1611, by which the king gave leave to father Michaëlis to build a new monastery. This establishment, however, though sanctioned by the bishop of Paris, was disputed by the prior and syndic of the convent in the street of Saint Jacques; but after many disputes, which lasted upwards of a year, the permission was confirmed by a sentence of the parliament of Paris. Many persons of consequence contributed to the establishment by supplying father Michaëlis with money to purchase several houses in the suburb of Saint Honoré, which stood on the spot now occupied by the monastery of the Reformed Jacobines.

The *bare-footed Carmes* having obtained permission from Mary of Medicis, during her regency, to establish themselves at Paris, the sieur Vivian, master of accompts, purchased for them a garden, in the Rue Vaugirard, where they began, in 1603, to build the monastery, and the beautiful church, which are still to be seen there.

The same year, the sieur de la Tour having bequeathed to the Capuchins a house

⁵² Vittorio Siri, a contemporary writer, whom we have often had occasion to quote, informs us that this epithet was bestowed on Lewis, at his birth, because he was born under the sign of The Balance.

and close in the suburb of Saint Jacques; those monks, with the assistance of other charitable persons, began to build a convent on the spot.

Mary L'Huilier, lady of Saint Beure, having, also procured leave to erect a monastery for maids and widows, to be employed in the instruction of young females, built, in the same suburb, the convent of the *Ursulines*, so called, because they took Saint Ursula for their patroness.

The congregation of the Holy Virgin, established for the same purpose, had been set on foot a few years before, at Bourdeaux, under the patronage of a widow lady, of the name of Lestonac; but it was completed, during this reign, by Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, who transferred the establishment to Annecy, and prescribed rules for their observance. These ladies were afterwards cloistered, and were obliged to admit into their order young women of delicate or infirm constitutions, who were unable to support the rigour of orders more strict and austere.

But the establishment in which Lewis and his mother most interested themselves, was that of *The Congregation of the Priests of the Oratory*, of which father Berulle was the first projector. By letters-patent, granted by Lewis the Thirteenth to Berulle, and verified in parliament, on the fourth of December, 1612, this congregation was honoured with the appellation of a royal foundation; and the queen regent, by other letters, declared herself its foundress. On the death of cardinal de Joyeuse, father Berulle purchased his mansion, then called the Hôtel du Bouchage, and transferred his congregation thither from a private house, which they had hitherto occupied, in the suburb of Saint Jacques. The king fixed on their church, as a chapel for the palace of the Louvre, and chose the priests of the Oratory for his chaplains. The exemplary conduct of the members of this congregation induced several bishops to procure them establishments in their respective dioceses. Cardinal Retz gave them the abbey of Saint Magloire, in the suburb of Saint Jacques, and obtained the grant of an adjoining building, which they converted into a seminary.

Mary of Medicis contributed, by her bounty, to the erection of various hospitals in the metropolis, for the reception of the poor. As soon as these were finished, the parliament (on the fifteenth of September, 1613), published an arrêt, ordering all beggars, who were not natives of Paris and its district, to repair to the places of their birth, and exhorting all others to apply themselves to some profession by which they might gain a subsistence; in failure whereof, eight days after the publication of the arrêt, they were to be confined in one of the hospitals, there to obey the commands of the governors.

In 1614, the order of *Knights of the Holy Magdalen* was instituted by a gentleman, named John Chefnel, lord of La Chappronaye. The knights made a vow to renounce all duels and private quarrels. But though the privy council sanctioned the establishment by their approbation, it did not succeed. Chefnel himself retired to a hermitage, at the extremity of the forest of Fontainebleau, where he passed the remainder of his days in acts of penitence, under the name of *The Pacific Hermit of Saint Mary Magdalen*. In 1615, the order of *Knights of Jesus Maria* was instituted by Paul the Fifth.

In 1618, Antoinette D'Orleans, daughter to Lewis, duke of Longueville, founded, at Poitiers, a convent of *Nuns of The Calvary*, who professed to follow the ancient rules of Saint Benedict.

In the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, the forces of France did not exceed eighty thousand effective men. Her navy, which, on his accession, he found annihilated, was somewhat restored by Richelieu. The revenue of Lewis amounted to about eighty-five millions of livres. Commerce was confined to a few persons, and the police of the kingdom was wholly neglected—a sure sign of a bad administration. Richelieu, intent on his own aggrandizement, attached to that of the state, had begun to render France formidable abroad, but not flourishing at home. The high roads, neither watched nor repaired, were infested with robbers; and the streets of Paris, narrow, ill-paved, and covered with filth, were filled with thieves.

A spirit of discord and faction had extended throughout the kingdom, and infected all the smaller towns and corporate bodies: every thing became an object of dispute, because nothing was settled by rule: even the inhabitants of the different parishes in the metropolis frequently came to blows, and religious processions often engaged in hostilities, for the honour of their respective banners. The canons of Nôtre-Dame had been repeatedly seen to encounter their brethren of the Holy Chapel; and on the very day (in the year 1638) when Lewis, influenced by the superstitious spirit of the age, submitted his kingdom to the protection of the Holy Virgin, the magistrates of the parliament, and of the chamber of accounts, fought for precedence, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame.

LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

A. D. 1643 to 1647.] ON the very day of his father's death, Lewis the Fourteenth, then only in his fifth year, was proclaimed king, with the usual ceremonies, and three days after he went to the parliament, to hold his bed of justice, for the first time. In vain had the late monarch adopted such measures as to him appeared necessary for limiting the power of the regent, after his decease: no sooner were his eyes closed, than the queen hastened to Paris, with a resolution to release herself from the shackles imposed upon her by a declaration which, because it placed bounds to her authority, she deemed injurious to her honour. Having previously gained over the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé, by the promise of honours and rewards, Anne of Austria assembled the parliament, on the eighteenth of May, and procured a formal arrêt, which annulled the declaration, and invested her with unlimited powers. The duke of Orleans was suffered to retain his title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the prince of Condé that of chief of the council, in the absence of his royal highness; but the choice of members of the council, as well as all real authority, became vested in the queen, who soon resigned herself to the influence of cardinal Mazarin.

Although the spirit of Richelieu may justly be said to have reigned after the death of that minister, whose relations and dependents still occupied the most important posts in the kingdom, yet a material difference subsisted between the two governments; what the one had accomplished by the means of violence and terror, the other effected by mildness and finesse. This difference proceeded from the different dispositions of the



J. Jones fecit.

LOUIS XIV.

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two cardinals, whose object, indeed, was the same—to render their own administration absolute, and the king's power arbitrary. Richelieu has been accused, and justly, of having subverted all the forms of justice, and established the *royal will* as the sovereign arbiter of life and property¹. This immoderate power continued to subsist, in the administration of the finances, after his death; and the oppressive extortions and despotic conduct of the superintendant Emeri served as a pretext not only for interrupting the tranquillity, but for endangering the very existence, of the state. The first year of the regency passed smoothly on; and Mazarin, who had the principal management of affairs, confined his attention, at the outset of his administration, to the acquisition of friends.

Anne of Austria was obliged to continue the war against her brother, Philip the Fourth, king of Spain, for whom she had a sincere affection. The principal efforts were made on the side of Flanders. The Spaniards marched from the frontiers of Hainault, with an army of six-and-twenty thousand men, conducted by an experienced general, named Francisco de Melos. They ravaged the frontiers of Champagne; attacked the town of Rocroi, and thought of penetrating to the very gates of the capital, as they had done eighty years before. The death of Lewis the Thirteenth, and the necessary weakness of a minority, tended to revive their hopes; and when they found themselves opposed by an inferior army, commanded by a youth of twenty-one, their confidence increased, and their hopes were changed into certainty.

This inexperienced youth, whom the Spaniards treated with such contempt, was Lewis of Bourbon, then duke of Enghien, afterwards so celebrated under the appellation of the Great Condé. Most great commanders have acquired their skill by degrees, but this prince was born a general; the art of war seemed in him to be an instinct of nature²; he and the Swedish general, Torstenson, were the only examples Europe could afford of persons who, at the age of twenty, possessed that plenitude of genius which requires not the aid of experience.

The duke of Enghien had, with the news of the king's death, received orders not to risk a battle; and the marshal L'Hôpital, who had been assigned him as a monitor and a guide, seconded by his circumspection the orders of the minister. But the duke neither regarded the advice of the marshal, nor the commands of the court; he only communicated his intention to camp-marshal Gassion, an officer worthy of his confidence; and their joint arguments overcame the repugnance of L'Hôpital, and convinced him of the necessity of forcing the enemy to raise the siege of Rocroi.

On the nineteenth of May, 1643, the battle of Rocroi was fought: to the superior skill of the duke of Enghien were the French solely indebted for their victory; to that

¹ Mémoires de la Minorité.

² Siècle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, tom. i. p. 264. edit. en 8vo.

coup-d'œil which at once perceived the danger and the means of preventing it; and to that activity, exempt from confusion, which carried him in a moment wherever his presence was requisite. It was he who first ventured to charge with horse the Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible; to attack those veteran bands, as powerful and as compact as the renowned phalanx of the ancients, and which opened their ranks, with an agility unknown to the Greeks and Romans, in order to admit the discharge of eighteen pieces of cannon, enclosed in their center. The duke surrounded these troops, and charged them three times, before he could pierce their ranks; but no sooner was he assured of victory, than he put a stop to the carnage, and took as much pains, after the action, to save the enemy, as he had before exerted to subdue them. The count of Fuentes, who commanded the Spanish infantry, perished in the field, covered with wounds; the duke of Enghien, when apprized of his fate, observed, that if he had not conquered, he should have wished to die like him. Six thousand Spaniards were killed; six hundred taken prisoners, and the whole of their artillery, with one hundred and seventy pair of colours, fell into the hands of the French³.

This victory ushered in the glory of the French nation, together with that of Condé, who hastened to improve the advantage he had gained. His letters induced the court to resolve on the siege of the strong fortress of Thionville, in the duchy of Luxemburg, which Richelieu had not dared to risk, and which Mazarin, himself, was averse from undertaking: but the majority of votes prevailed in the council, and, on the return of the messenger, dispatched by the duke to obtain the desired permission, every thing was prepared for the expedition. On the eighteenth of June the duke appeared before the place, and the operations were conducted with such vigour and effect, that all the outworks were carried, and the garrison reduced to the necessity of capitulating on the tenth of August.

The town of Cirq next yielded to the arms of the victorious Enghien, who, driving the Germans before him, passed the Rhine, and hastened to repair the losses and defeats which the French had sustained in those quarters, after the death of marshal Guebriant, who was killed at the siege of Rotwiél. He found Fribourg in the hands of the enemy, and general Merci encamped beneath its walls, with an army superior to his own. Enghien had under him two marshals of France, Grammont and Turenne, the latter of whom had lately attained to that dignity, after successfully serving against the Spaniards in Piedmont, where he laid the foundation of that splendid reputation which he afterwards established.

³ Histoire de France, sous les Regne de Louis XIV. par de Larrey, tom. i. p. 90.—Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 4.





J. de la Haye fecit.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

Enghien, assisted by these generals, attacked the enemy's camp, advantageously posted and strongly entrenched. On three successive days the combat was renewed with additional ardour: at length the skill and valour of the French, on this occasion not less persevering than impetuous, prevailed. The duke of Enghien, it is said, threw his staff of command into the enemy's entrenchments, then placing himself at the head of the regiment of Conti, recovered it sword in hand. The battle of Fribourg, begun on the thirty-first of August, 1644, was more bloody than decisive. Merci, however, decamped four days after, and Philipsburgh and Mentz, with the forts on the Rhine, formed at once the proof and the fruits of the victory.

After the fatigues of the campaign the duke of Enghien returned to Paris, to receive the acclamations of the people, and ask for rewards from the court. He left the command of his army to marechal Turenne; but that general, in spite of his abilities, was defeated at Mariendal, in April, 1645. No sooner was intelligence of this disaster received at Paris, than the duke flew to the army, and to the glory of again commanding Turenne joined that of repairing his defeat. He attacked the Imperialists in the plains of Nordlingen, on the third of August, 1645, and, after an obstinate conflict, obtained a complete victory. Marechal Grammont, indeed, was taken prisoner; but, on the other side, general Glen, the second in command, fell into the hands of the French, with thirteen hundred of his men; and Merci himself was among the number of the slain, which amounted to three thousand. This general, justly considered as one of the first commanders of the age, was interred near the field of battle, and on his tomb was engraven the following short, but expressive, inscription—*STA VIATOR, HEROEM CALCAS,—Stop, Traveller, you tread upon a hero.*

In Flanders, the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Courtrai, with several other towns; and, in the ensuing campaign, the duke of Enghien confirmed all the advantages obtained in that quarter, by the reduction of the important fortress of Dunkirk, which surrendered to the French, in sight of the Spanish army, on the seventh of October, 1646.

But this splendid career of glory, instead of exciting the gratitude, awakened the jealousy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia with a feeble and ill-provided army. By the death of his father he had succeeded to the title of prince of Condé, which he dignified by the epithet of *Great*, deserved by his actions, and conferred by the gratitude of an admiring people; but his slender force allowed him not, on that theatre, to rival his former actions, and he was compelled to raise the siege of Lerida, which had been successively and ineffectually attacked by the marechal de la Mothe Houdancourt, and the count of Grammont.

The archduke Leopold, brother to the emperor, Ferdinand the Third, having entered Flanders, and recovered several of the places which had been reduced in the preceding

ceding campaigns, it was deemed expedient to send the prince of Condé to oppose him. The prince accordingly opened the campaign of 1648 by the siege of Ypres, which he took on the twenty-eighth of May. The archduke, in return, reduced the towns of Courtrai, and Furnes, with the castle of Eterre, after which he proceeded to invest the city of Lens, in the province of Artois. The prince, though his army was considerably weakened by sickness, marched to the relief of the place, which, however, surrendered before his arrival. But as the archduke, intent on pursuing his advantage, was endeavouring to make an irruption into France, the prince threw himself in his way, and, watching the opportunity when the enemy's cavalry were separated from their infantry, led on his men to the attack. As they approached the foe Condé exclaimed—"Friends, remember *Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen.*" The battle of Lens, fought on the tenth of August, 1648, completed the glory of Condé: Turenne, on that day, had the honour of affording effectual assistance to the prince, and of contributing to a victory which might have tended to his own humiliation. He disengaged the marechal Grammont, who commanded the left wing, which was hard pressed by the enemy; and he took general Beck prisoner. The archduke and the count of Fuenfaldagne with difficulty escaped: the Imperialists and Spaniards, who composed this army, were totally dispersed; they lost more than a hundred pair of colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon: five thousand of them were taken prisoners; three thousand slain, and the rest deserted, so that the archduke was left without an army. Since the foundation of the monarchy, the French had never gained so many successive victories, nor ever displayed so much conduct and courage.

While the prince of Condé was thus treading in the path of glory; and the duke of Orleans endeavouring to follow his example; the viscount of Turenne, had, (in 1644) reduced Landau, expelled the Spaniards from Treves, and restored the elector. In 1647, he gained, in conjunction with the Swedes, the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhausen, and constrained the duke of Bavaria to quit his dominions, at the age of fourscore.

The count of Harcourt took Balaguier in (1645) and defeated the Spaniards, who also lost the town of Portolongone, in Italy. In the succeeding year twenty French ships and as many gallies, forming nearly the whole of the navy re-established by Richelieu, obtained a victory over the Spanish fleet on the Italian coast. Nor was this all: the French arms had completed the expulsion of Charles the Fourth from the duchy of Lorraine, and that imprudent prince had the misfortune to see himself at once deprived of his territory by the French, and detained a prisoner by the Spaniards. The allies of France continued to press the house of Austria, on the south and north: the Portuguese general, the duke of Albuquerque, defeated the Spaniards at the battle of Badajoz, in May 1644: and in the month of March in the following year, Torstenson, the Swedish commander, obtained a complete victory over the Imperialists, in the vicinity of Tabor:—

Tabor:—the prince of Orange, too, at the head of the Dutch, penetrated into the heart of Brabant.

The king of Spain, defeated on all sides, beheld Rouffillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples, too, had revolted against his power, and acknowledged the authority of the duke of Guise—the last prince of the elder branch of that illustrious house. Had the duke proved successful, he would have acquired the appellation of hero; but, failing in his enterprize, he was treated as an audacious adventurer: he had, however, the glory, at least, of making his way, in a small bark, through the Spanish fleet, and of defending Naples, against the forces of Spain, with no other assistance than what his courage supplied.

The success of her enemies at length influenced Spain to the adoption of pacific sentiments; and, unable to subdue her revolted subjects in the Netherlands, she consented to grant that freedom she could no longer withhold. The Dutch, on their part, anxious to confirm the advantages their courage had secured, agreed to a separate peace, which was accordingly signed on the thirtieth of January, 1648; notwithstanding the efforts of Mazarin to prevent its conclusion. By this treaty the Catholick king acknowledged the independence of the United-Provinces, and resigned all pretensions thereto, as well for himself as his successors; and it was stipulated that both the contracting parties should retain possession of all the places they then held, with their territories and dependencies.

This treaty was followed by another, concluded at Munster, on the twenty-fourth of October, between France and the empire; by which the latter ceded to the former the bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, with all pretensions to Pignerol, Brisac, and Alsace. The emperor also permitted the French to retain a garrison in Philipsburg and Pomerania⁴.

Peace, even had it been concluded on terms less advantageous to France and her allies, was essentially requisite to the establishment of domestic tranquillity, which, during the operations of war, had been interrupted by the rage of contending factions. Anne of Austria, in whom the dignity of regent had been confirmed by the unanimous voice of the nation, had rendered cardinal Mazarin absolute master of the kingdom, and of herself. This minister had acquired over Anne that ascendancy which a man of address will ever maintain over a woman born with weakness enough to submit to be governed, and firmness sufficient to persevere in her choice. The cardinal, at first, exerted his power with moderation, and having observed the disgust which the pride of his predecess-

⁴ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 68.—De Larrey, tom. i. p. 441, 442.

for had excited, he had recourse to an opposite line of conduct, and affected a degree of humility ill-suited to the station he filled. The queen was anxious to render her administration and her person dear to the people, and she succeeded in the attempt; while the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé supported her power, and seemed only zealous to serve the state.

New taxes became necessary for supporting the war against the united forces of the house of Austria: but the finances of France were unfortunately reduced to the same wretched state of confusion, whence the zeal and ability of the duke of Sully had extricated them. Ignorance and extortion pervaded every department of the revenue, and the welfare of the state was sacrificed to the avarice of individuals. A Siennese peasant, named Particelli Emeri, had been promoted to the important post of superintendant: the mind of this man was meaner than his birth, and his affected pomp, and extreme debauchery, roused the resentment of the nation. The modes he invented for raising money were, at once, burdensome and ridiculous. He created offices of *comptrollers of faggots*, *sworn venders of hay*, and *king's councillors criers of wine*; and he put patents of nobility up to sale. But what gave most offence and excited the greatest discontent was the retention of eighty thousand livres out of the salaries of the judges.

It may easily be conceived how much the minds of men were irritated against two foreigners, who had come to France, without fortune, to enrich themselves at the expence of the nation. The parliament of Paris, the masters of requests, and members of other courts, formed a party against the minister. In vain did Mazarin deprive his confident, Emeri, of the post of superintendant, and banish him to one of his estates; the very circumstance of his having an estate in France increased their indignation, and Mazarin became an object of abhorrence, although employed, at the time, in completing the great work of the peace of Munster.

The parliament of Paris refused to register the edicts issued for the purpose of raising pecuniary supplies, and, by perpetually thwarting the designs of the minister, the magistrates acquired the confidence of the people. The malecontents did not, at first, proceed to open revolt; it was only by degrees that their minds contracted the necessary degree of irritation for that purpose. The populace may fly to arms in a moment, and fix on a chief, as the Neapolitans did; but magistrates and statesmen proceed with more deliberation, and begin by paying attention to decency and decorum, as far as the spirit of party will permit them.

The parliament loudly demanded the abolition of the office of intendant, which had been instituted by Lewis the Thirteenth, and was considered by the people as calculated for the encouragement of exactions. They went still farther, for, assuming to themselves the legislative power, they abolished the office by an *arrêt* of their own, published on the

the eighteenth of May, 1648, ordering the attornies-general of the different districts to proceed against the intendants. The queen yielded to the torrent she was afraid to oppose, and offered to dismiss all the intendants in the kingdom, except three, but they refused to let her retain any.

During this confusion, the prince of Condé gained the celebrated victory of Lens; and when the news of the event reached Paris, the king, then only in his eleventh year, exclaimed, "*The parliament will be sorry for it.*" This expression sufficiently shewed the parliament were considered by the court merely as an assembly of rebels.

Impressed with this idea, the queen, and her minister, resolved to seize three of the most obstinate members, Novion Blancmenil, and Charton, two of the presidents, and Broussel, one of the inferior judges: these men were not leaders of the party, but instruments employed by the leaders for effecting their purposes. Charton, a man of a confined understanding, was distinguished by the appellation of "*President I say that,*" because, whenever called on for his opinion, he began and concluded his speech with those words. Broussel had nothing to recommend him but his grey hairs, his hatred of the minister, and the reputation of always opposing the measures of the court, whatever they were. He was despised by his brethren, but idolized by the populace.

Instead of carrying them off without noise, in the night-time, the cardinal was of opinion that it would have a better effect on the minds of the people if they were arrested publicly and in open day: he accordingly chose the very time when the people were singing *Te Deum* in the cathedral for the victory of Lens, and when the guards were bringing into the church the seventy-three pair of colours which had been taken from the enemy at that battle. This mistaken idea proved the cause of a civil war. Charton found means to escape; Blancmenil was secured without trouble; but the attempt to arrest Broussel excited an insurrection. An old female servant, seeing her master forced into a carriage by Comminges, lieutenant of the body-guard, raised a mob, who surrounded the coach, and, after breaking it to pieces, would have rescued the prisoner, but for the arrival of the French guards, who dispersed them, and conducted Broussel to Sedan. The people irritated by opposition flew to arms; the shops were immediately shut; the chains were fixed across the ends of the streets; the barricades of the league were revived; and four hundred thousand voices called out *Liberty and Broussel!*

During the night the queen ordered two thousand troops, that were quartered at a short distance from the metropolis, to march to Paris to the assistance of the king's

household. The next day, the chancellor Seguier was attacked, by the people, as he was repairing to the parliament, attended by the officers of the police, with a view to annul the arrêts of the court; he was dragged out of his carriage; the populace fired at the Swiss guards who were conducting him to a place of safety; several of his attendants were killed, and his daughter-in-law, the duchess of Sully, who was with him at the time, received a wound in her arm. Two hundred barricadoes were formed in an instant, and reached within a hundred yards of the palace. The soldiers, after seeing a few of their comrades fall, retreated and suffered the citizens to do what they pleased. The parliament marched in a body to the palace, and demanded the release of their brethren; while the queen, at a loss how to act, and justly fearful for her own safety, was compelled to comply with their request.

The coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal of Retz, boasted of having himself armed all Paris that day, which was called the day of the Barricadoes. This extraordinary man was the first prelate who had excited a civil war in France without having recourse to the usual pretext of religion. He has given a description of himself in his Memoirs, which are written with an air of grandeur, an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality of style and composition, which form a just emblem of his conduct. He was a man, who concealed, beneath the garb of an ecclesiastic, a disposition suited to camps and courts; licentious in his manners, and profligate in his morals, he had courted and acquired popularity, which he employed for engaging the parliament in cabals, and exciting the people to sedition.

The queen, insulted in the metropolis, publicly accused by the people of sacrificing the welfare of the state to her friendship for Mazarin, and exposed to the malignant pleasantries of the Parisians, who dared to impeach her integrity, found herself reduced to the necessity of seeking refuge elsewhere. Accompanied by her children, her minister, the duke of Orleans, and the Great Condé, she withdrew to Saint-Germain, where most of the court were obliged to sleep upon straw. The jewels of the crown were pledged to procure them subsistence; and the king himself was frequently in want of necessaries. The pages of his bed-chamber were dismissed, from inability to supply them with food; the aunt of Lewis, daughter to Henry the Great, and wife to the king of England, who had fled for shelter to France, was there reduced to the extremes of wretchedness; and her daughter, who afterwards married the king's brother, was compelled to remain in bed, from want of fire to warm her; while the people of Paris, frantic with rage, beheld the sufferings of these illustrious personages with pleasure.

Anne of Austria, whose sense, goodness, and personal accomplishments were the theme of universal praise, had been constantly unhappy since her first arrival in France: long treated as a criminal by her husband, and persecuted by Richelieu, she had seen her papers seized and had been obliged, in full council, to sign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

guilt. When she was delivered of Lewis the Fourteenth, her husband refused to comply with the established custom of embracing his wife; and this affront had such an effect on her health, that her life was in imminent danger. And to crown her misfortunes, after having loaded with favours all who implored her assistance, she now found herself expelled from the capital by a people at once flighty and furious.

The regent, with tears in her eyes, besought the prince of Condé to become the protector of his sovereign: and the victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen, and Lens, was flattered with the honour of defending a court which he deemed ungrateful, against the *Fronde*⁶ which sought his support. His brother, the prince of Conti, envious of his reputation, but unable to equal him, and the dukes of Longueville, Beaufort and Bouillon, animated by the turbulent spirit of the coadjutor, and eager after novelty, hoping to build their own greatness on the ruins of the state, and to render the blind movements of the parliament subservient to their own private views, offered their services to the Fronde. The parliament proceeded to the nomination of generals for an army which as yet did not exist.

A. D. 1649.] The magistrates soon established a revenue for raising troops, and supporting the war; and it is worthy of remark, that these very men, who had so loudly exclaimed against the imposition of taxes levied for the defence of the country against a foreign enemy, voluntarily submitted to contributions of fifty times the amount, for the sake of plunging the nation into anarchy and confusion. Ten millions of livres were the amount of their subscriptions: they published an arrêt, ordering the seizure of all money belonging to the partisans of the court; and twelve hundred thousand livres were the fruits of this depredation. By another arrêt of the parliament, twelve thousand men were levied: every house, with a court-yard before it, enclosed with a gate, was compelled to furnish a man and horse, and the regiment thus raised was denominated *the cavalry des portes cochères*. The Coadjutor himself raised a regiment which, from his titular archbishoprick, was called the regiment of Corinth.

But for the evil consequences which must inevitably result from all civil commotions, this war of the Fronde would have been a proper object of ridicule. Condé, with eight thousand troops, invested a city defended by half a million of citizens. The Parisians sallied forth from their gates embellished with gaudy plumes and party-coloured ribbands: while their awkward evolutions afforded an inexhaustible subject of mirth to military men. The smallest detachment of regular troops sufficed to put these metropolitan heroes to flight. The disposition of the people was admirably characterized during the

⁶ This name (derived from the French verb *Fronder*, to censure or ridicule) was assumed by the adverse faction, who piqued themselves on censuring all the proceedings of the court.

progress of these commotions; every thing was converted into raillery: the regiment of Corinth having been defeated by a small party of the royalists, this check was called *the first of the Corinthians*. Twenty new councillors of the parliament, who had received their appointment from Richelieu, were compelled by their brethren to pay a tax, each, of fifteen thousand livres; and the only honour they received in return for this contribution was the appellation of the *Quinze Vingt*.

The Parisian troops, who sallied forth to encounter the enemy, and who were always beat, were received, on their return, with hisses accompanied by bursts of laughter: while couplets and epigrams were considered as a sufficient reparation for all their losses. Their plans of operations were settled, and their councils of war holden, in public-houses and other places of public resort, amidst scenes of conviviality, licentiousness and debauchery. The coadjutor, archbishop of Paris, having taken his seat in the parliament, with the handle of a poniard sticking out of his pocket, the company exclaimed—“*That is our archbishop’s breviary.*” A herald at arms coming to the gate of St. Anthony, accompanied by a gentleman of the king’s household who was charged with proposals for an accommodation, the parliament refused to receive him; but they granted an immediate audience to an envoy from the archduke Leopold, who was then waging war against France.

Gallantry and caprice appear to have been the prevailing motives of action, at this disgraceful and calamitous period; they seem to have influenced alike the decisions of councils, and the operations of war; the opinions of politicians, and the conduct of generals. Turenne, though lately promoted to the dignity of marshal of France, was seduced by the charms of the duchess of Longueville, to betray his duty and forfeit his allegiance. After a vain attempt to reduce the army he commanded to imitate his conduct, he openly joined the Fronde, who derived, however, but little advantage from his military talents.

While these scenes were passing in France, the flames of civil discord raged with uncommon violence in England, which exhibited the new and awful spectacle of a sovereign, brought to trial by his subjects. The unhappy Charles, whose conduct was, unfortunately, more swayed by precedent than by reason, by custom than by law, fell a victim to the seditious arts of a desperate faction, chiefly composed of canting hypocritical sectaries, who, with God in their mouths, and the devil in their hearts, completed the sum of their iniquity, by the murder of their king. The children of Charles were driven into exile, and the sovereign authority was usurped by the arch-regicide Cromwell, who, under the title of protector, ruled the English with a rod of iron.

Meanwhile the hostile operations of contending factions in France were alternately renewed and suspended; while the leaders betrayed their levity and caprice by frequently

quently changing their party. The prince of Condé, having quelled for a while the popular tumults, and brought the court back in triumph to Paris, resigned himself to the pleasure of expressing his contempt for a party he had hitherto supported. Deeming the rewards he received disproportioned to the glory he had acquired, and the services he had performed, he was the first to turn the minister into ridicule, to brave the queen, and to insult the government which he despised. It is pretended that he addressed a letter to Mazarin, with this superscription—" *Al' illustrissimo Signor Faquino.*" He encouraged a young nobleman to make a declaration of love to the queen, and had the presumption to express his displeasure at the resentment she evinced on the occasion. He formed a league with his brother the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, who abandoned the party of the Fronde. The faction of the duke of Beaufort, at the commencement of the regency, was called the faction of the *Importants*; that of Condé now received the appellation of *The Party of the Petits-Maitres*, because they wished to render themselves masters of the state. Of all these troubles the only traces that remain are the two expressions of *Petit-Maitres* and *Frondeurs*; the former of which is now applied to coxcombs, and the latter to the censors of government.

A. D. 1650, 1651.] The coadjutor, eager to attain the dignity of cardinal, which he could only hope to acquire through the interposition of the queen, forsook his party, and attached himself to that princess. In short, every man of importance, real or affected, fought to establish his fortune on the ruin of the state, and yet the public good was in the mouth of every one. The duke of Orleans was jealous of the glory of Condé and the credit of Mazarin; and Condé neither esteemed the prince nor the minister. It was these petty quarrels, and this opposition of private interests, that still kept alive the spirit of revolt. No crime could be imputed to Condé, and yet he was arrested in the palace, with his brother, the prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law, the duke of Longueville, without the observance of any previous forms, and merely because he was an object of apprehension to the minister. This measure, indeed, was a violation of all law; but in the present situation of the kingdom no respect was paid to law by either party.

The cardinal, in order to secure the persons of these two princes, had recourse to an artifice which was dignified with the appellation of policy. The Frondeurs were accused of having attempted to assassinate the prince of Condé; and Mazarin, under pretence that he was about to apprehend one of the conspirators, for which purpose it was necessary the prince should sign an order to the gend'armes of the guards to hold themselves in readiness at the Louvre, obtained from Condé an order for his own arrest. The people of Paris, who had taken up arms in favour of an old magistrate in a state of dotage, made bonfires, when the defender and the hero of France was conducted to the prison of Vincennes.

The mother of the prince of Condé, against whom a sentence of banishment had been pronounced, remained at Paris, in spite of the court, and presented a petition to the parliament; while his wife, after escaping a thousand dangers, took refuge at Bourdeaux, and, assisted by the dukes of Bouillon and La Rochefoucault, excited an insurrection in that city, and roused the Spaniards to arms. The giddy populace, who had rejoiced at the imprisonment of the princes, in the short space of a year assumed a different tone, forced the queen to release them, and to expel from the kingdom her favourite minister: Mazarin himself was compelled to open the doors of their prison, after which he retired to Liege; while Condé returned to the metropolis, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and where his presence renewed all the horrors of civil commotion.

After some hesitation, the prince of Condé at length determined on a war which he ought to have begun before, if his intention were to become master of the state, and which he ought never to have begun, if he had the good of his country at heart. He left Paris, excited the inhabitants of Guienne to arm in his support, and courted the assistance of those very Spaniards on whose defeat he had founded his military fame. The queen, apprized of his motions, sent a courier after him, with propositions that should have induced him to return, and have disposed him to peace. But the messenger mistook his road, and instead of going to Angerville, where the prince was, repaired to Augerville. The letter, in consequence, arrived too late: Condé declared that, had he received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposals it contained; but that since he was already at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth while to return. Thus the mistake of a courier, and the caprice of this prince, re-plunged the kingdom into a civil war.

Cardinal Mazarin, who, in his exile at Cologne, had found means to govern the court, now re-entered the kingdom, with an army of seven thousand men, raised at his own expence, and commanded by mareschal d'Hoquincourt. On the first news of his return, the duke of Orleans, who had demanded his dismissal, began to raise troops in Paris, without knowing for what purpose he meant to employ them. The parliament, on their side, continued to publish arrêts, proscribing Mazarin, and fixing a price on his head.

A. D. 1652.] During these convulsions of the state, Lewis the Fourteenth had attained the age prescribed by the law for assuming the reins of government, and his majority was solemnly declared in parliament; but he was still influenced by the councils of his mother, and seemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin. The first act of authority exercised by the new monarch, was the interdiction of the parliament of Paris, which he immediately transferred to Pontoise. Fourteen members, attached to the court, obeyed the royal mandate, but the rest resisted. Thus, to complete the anarchy which prevailed

prevailed in the kingdom, two sovereign courts subsisted at the same time, whose chief occupation was to abuse and vilify each other.

With an inconsistency which characterized all their proceedings, while the parliament denounced vengeance on the minister they detested, they pronounced the prince of Condé guilty of treason, who had taken up arms against him. While, too, they exhorted the forces raised by the duke of Orleans to march against Mazarin, they strictly prohibited any part of the public revenue from being devoted to their subsistence. Their resolutions had at length fallen into contempt, and the rival factions, disdaining their mediation, prepared to terminate their differences by the sword.

Condé, leagued with the Spaniards, appeared in the field against the king; and the marshal Turenne, who had returned to his allegiance, avowed himself the champion of the court, and took the command of the royal troops. The exhausted state of the finances permitted neither party to keep large armies on foot; but their forces, trifling as they comparatively were, still proved competent to decide the fate of the kingdom. Lewis the Fourteenth, nursed in the lap of adversity, went from province to province, attended by a slender guard, and pursued by a detachment of six thousand men, partly furnished by Spain, and partly levied by the adherents of Condé.

While the prince of Condé was employed in the reduction of Tours, and in the daily augmentation of his party, all the hopes of the court were placed on the marshal Turenne, who had stationed his troops in the vicinity of Gien, on the banks of the Loire. The adverse army were posted at a few leagues distance from thence, under the orders of the dukes of Nemours and Beaufort, whose quarrels had nearly proved fatal to the cause they had espoused. The duke of Beaufort was wholly incapable of commanding even a small detachment; and the duke of Nemours was known to possess more courage than skill. Between them both they ruined their army. The soldiers knew that Condé was at the extremity of the kingdom, and they gave themselves up for lost, when, in the middle of the night, a courier arrived at the advanced guard, in the forest of Orleans. The sentinels immediately recognized, in the person of this courier, the prince of Condé himself, who had traversed, in disguise, and through the posts of his adversaries, the extent of country between Agen and the forest of Orleans, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of his army.

His presence had a great effect on the troops, and his sudden appearance still greater: he accordingly resolved to profit, without delay, by the boldness and confidence with which he had inspired them. The great talent of this prince in war consisted in the instantaneous adoption of the most decisive resolutions, and in the display of equal skill and promptitude in their execution.

The

The royal army was drawn up in two divisions, at such a distance from each other as to admit of a separate attack ; Condé, therefore, directed his efforts against that division which was posted at Blénau, under marshal d'Hoquincourt, and, in a moment, their ranks were broken by his impetuous charge. The panic in an instant communicated itself from the camp to the court, and the minister in alarm hastened to Gien, and, awakening the king in the middle of the night, advised him to fly, and proposed to convey him privately to Bourges. But the king was exempted from the necessity of having recourse to this disgraceful expedient by the skill and perseverance of marshal Turenne. With the remnant of his army he availed himself of every favourable inequality of ground, and checked the progress of the victor in the hour of triumph. Such, indeed, was the skill displayed by both these celebrated commanders; that it was difficult to decide which of the two had acquired most honour—Condé victorious, or Turenne depriving him of the fruits of his victory. It is true, indeed, that not four hundred men perished in the battle of Blénau ; but the prince of Condé was nevertheless on the point of securing all the royal family, together with his grand enemy Mazarin. It was scarcely possible to see a combat so trifling, in which greater interests were involved, or greater danger incurred⁷.

Condé, who could not flatter himself with the hope of surprizing Turenne, as he had done d'Hoquincourt, advanced with his army to the metropolis, there to enjoy the fruits of his glory, in the favour of an infatuated multitude. The admiration excited by the action of Blénau, the hatred which the Parisians bore to Mazarin, and the name and presence of the Great Condé, all seemed to conspire to give him absolute authority in the capital. But the minds of the people were divided, and the multiplication of petty factions, while they weakened his party, diminished the popularity of Condé. The coadjutor, now become cardinal of Retz, apparently reconciled to the court, was no longer the idol of the people, but was reduced to play a subordinate part. He governed with absolute sway the mind of the duke of Orleans, and became the opponent of Condé. The duke of Lorraine, who had been bribed to join the prince, was tempted by a larger bribe, received from Mazarin, to desert his cause. Condé, therefore, remained at Paris, with a power daily declining, and an army diminishing with still greater rapidity.

Turenne, meanwhile, having assembled the royal forces, led them to the gates of the capital, and in the suburb of Saint Anthony they were met and encountered by the troops of Condé. From a neighbouring eminence, accompanied by Mazarin, the youthful monarch beheld a conflict, in which the skill of his best generals was displayed, and the best blood in his dominions was shed. The duke of Orleans, uncertain how to act, remained inactive in his palace of the Luxembourg ; while the cardinal of Retz, equally

⁷ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 304.

indecisive, sought for safety in the inward recesses of his archiepiscopal mansion. The parliament waited to know the issue of the battle, before they would adopt any resolution on the subject. The queen, in tears, was prostrated before the altar, in the chapel of the Carmelites; and the people, who, at this time, were equally afraid of the troops of both parties, shut the gates of the city, and refused to all persons whatever the privilege of entrance or egress: even the nobility of the party, who were wounded in the suburbs, could not obtain admission.

The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury; and it is difficult to say whether Condé or Turenne best supported, on this occasion, the reputation he had acquired. The young nobility, who fought with the former, performed prodigies of valour, and twice repulsed the Royalists, who, animated by their general, renewed the charge with additional vigour. The armour of the duke of Nemours was pierced in thirteen places; and the duke of Rochefaucault, not less famed for his courage than his wit, received a musquet ball beneath his eye, which instantaneously deprived him of sight; though, fortunately, as the wound healed his sight returned⁸. A nephew of cardinal Mazarin's lost his life in the action.

Condé, notwithstanding his own exertions, and the gallantry of his followers, was on the point of yielding to superior numbers, when he received assistance from a quarter whence he had least reason to expect it. Mademoiselle, daughter to the duke of Orleans, disdaining the neutrality of her father, favoured, with her wishes, the party of the prince: from the towers of the Bastille she had anxiously watched the progress of the battle, and finding the tide of success turning against Condé, whose intrepid valour exposed his life to the most imminent danger, she resolved to succour the hero whose conduct she admired. With her own hand she fired the guns of the fortrefs⁹ on the army of the king, and ordered the officer of the guard, at the gate of Saint Anthony, to give admission to the troops of the prince, under pain of being hanged ere the expiration of an hour. The officer, acquainted with the resolute spirit of the princess, obeyed her commands, and, by that means, saved the prince from destruction. The court, on the first discharge of the cannon, thought the city had declared for the king, but finding

⁸ It was on this occasion that the duke of Rochefaucault sent the following couplet to his favourite mistress, the duchess of Longueville:

Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois; je l'aurais fait aux dieux!

Or, as De Larrey has it—

Faisant la guerre au roi, j'ai perdu mes deux yeux;
Mais pour un tel objet, je l'eusse faite aux dieux.

The first, reported by Voltaire, are the best lines; but the latter are most likely to be the true lines.

⁹ Nani Historia Veneta.

they were pointed against the royalists, they sent orders to Turenne to withdraw his troops, and retire to Saint Denis. Mademoiselle ruined herself for ever with the king, her cousin, by this imprudent act of violence; and Mazarin, knowing her extreme desire to marry a crowned head, exclaimed—"These cannon have killed her husband."

This effusion of blood was productive of little advantage to either side; while the continuation of the troubles occasioned a considerable degree of distress that was pretty generally felt. At Paris a pound of bread was worth a shilling; the donations of the charitable were insufficient to relieve the wants of the people; and in many of the provinces an alarming scarcity prevailed. Yet could not these calamities impress on the minds of the Parisians the necessity of peace, nor restrain them from those acts of violence and outrage which are too frequently the concomitants of domestic broils. A quarrel between the duke of Beaufort and his brother-in-law, the duke of Nemours, produced a duel, which proved fatal to the latter, who was shot through the body; while his second, the marquis of Villars, killed Hericourt, second to Beaufort. Not a shadow of justice subsisted in the metropolis; depredations were frequent, and public debauchery was carried to excess: yet in the midst of these disorders a general gaiety prevailed, that detracted, in a certain degree, from the horror they were calculated to excite.

After the late action, the king could not gain admission into the metropolis, nor could the prince himself remain there long. A popular tumult, and the assassination of several citizens, of which he was supposed to be the author, rendered him odious to the people, though he still retained a party in the parliament. That court, pressed by the adherents of the duke of Orleans, declared him, by a formal arrêt, lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the same title that had been bestowed on the duke of Mayenne, in the time of the League. The prince of Condé was, at the same time, appointed generalissimo of the armies. The rival parliaments of Paris and Pontoise, though at variance on every other point, agreed in demanding the expulsion of Mazarin; hatred against whom appears, at this period, to have been considered as constituting the essential duty of a Frenchman.

Every party was now reduced almost to a state of impotency; and that of the court equally so with the rest: they were all in want of money and troops; factions multiplied; and battles produced nothing but loss and regret. The court was once more obliged to sacrifice Mazarin, who, on the twelfth of August, 1652, was sent into banishment to Bouillon; and, immediately after his departure, a deputation from the citizens of Paris waited on the king, and earnestly entreated him to return to the capital. He accordingly repaired thither, and found tranquillity perfectly restored. The duke of Orleans was banished to Blois, where he passed the remainder of his days in repenting his imprudence. The cardinal of Retz was arrested in the Louvre, and was conveyed from

prison

prison to prison; while the prince of Condé, pressed by Turenne, and feebly supported by the Spaniards, waged an unsuccessful war on the frontiers of Champagne.

A. D. 1653.] The calm which the kingdom enjoyed appeared to be the effect of Mazarin's banishment; yet but a short time elapsed after he was expelled by the general cry of the French, and by a royal declaration, before he was recalled by the king; and, to his utter astonishment, he once more entered Paris, omnipotent and unmolested. Lewis received him as a father, and the people as a master: he was conducted, amidst the acclamations of the citizens, to a splendid banquet, which they had prepared for him at the town house; but, amidst the joy he must necessarily experience on such an occasion, the cardinal is said to have betrayed his contempt of the national levity. The magistrates of the parliament, after having treated him as a public defaulter, and fixed a price on his head, now courted his favour and claimed his protection: and they soon after sentenced the prince of Condé, in whose faults they had participated, and whose revolt they had encouraged, for contumacy, to lose his life. Mazarin, who had pressed the sentence against Condé, married one of his nieces to his brother, the prince of Conti, with a view to aggrandize his family, and confirm his power¹⁰.

The king re-united the parliaments of Paris and Pontoise; and, at the same time, forbade all general assemblies of the different chambers. This prohibition superinduced a remonstrance from the parliament, who were, however, soon silenced by the imprisonment of one of their members, and the banishment of some others. *Their* reign was now over, and that of the king established.

While the state had been thus torn by domestic convulsions, it had also been considerably weakened by the successful attacks of its foreign enemies. All the fruits of the battles of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen were destroyed; the important fortress of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who likewise expelled the French from Barcelona, and recovered the town and citadel of Casal, in Italy.

Yet were these losses, in some degree, counterbalanced by the terms of the treaty which Mazarin had been so fortunate as to conclude with the empire. Besides the stipulations already noticed, the emperor sold to France the sovereignty of Alsace, for three millions of livres, payable to the archduke. By that treaty, destined to form the basis of all subsequent treaties, a new electorate was created for the house of Bavaria, the rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and the privileges of all the German gentry, were confirmed; the power of the emperor was restrained within narrow limits; and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, may be said to have given laws to the empire.

¹⁰ Siècle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, tom. i. p. 312, 313.]

At the commencement of the year 1653, Lewis the Fourteenth found himself absolute master of a kingdom still affected by the shocks it had sustained: filled with disorders in every department of government, but fertile in resources; engaged in an offensive war, with no other ally than the duke of Savoy; and with no other foreign enemy than Spain, which was in a still worse situation than France. All the French who had engaged in the civil war were reduced to submission, except the prince of Condé, and a few of his partizans, some of whom adhered to him from friendship and a point of honour; and others, because the court would not buy them at the price they fixed on themselves.

A. D. 1654.] Condé, become general of the Spanish armies, was unable to give strength to a party which he had weakened himself by the destruction of their infantry at the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought with new troops, who did not acknowledge him as their master, against old French regiments, trained to victory under himself, and commanded by Turenne.

In conjunction with the archduke, Condé had laid siege to Arras, which city Turenne, after the reduction of Stenai, hastened to relieve. On the twenty-fifth of August, the fifty-second day of the siege, he attacked the enemy's camp, forced their entrenchments, and compelled them to fly with such precipitation, that all their tents, baggage, and artillery fell into the hands of the French¹¹. Condé alone refused to fly, and with two regiments sustained for a while the efforts of Turenne's army; and while the archduke was following his men, whom in vain he had attempted to rally, the prince beat marshal D'Hoquecourt, repulsed marshal de la Ferté, and retired victorious, while he covered the retreat of the Spaniards. The king of Spain acknowledged his services in a short and expressive letter:—"I have heard that all was lost"—said he—"and that you saved all."—The reduction of Quesnoi and Clermont by the French closed the campaign.

A. D. 1655.] The prince of Condé, anxious to recover the fortress of Quesnoi, the possession of which secured to the French an easy passage into the Spanish Netherlands, took the field early in the spring; but his vigilance was eluded, and his efforts counteracted, by the skill and activity of Turenne, who, dividing the attention of his rival by a separation of his army into various corps, took by assault the town of Câtelet, and threw a strong reinforcement into Quesnoi. Then forming a junction of his troops, he directed their united exertions against the town of Landrecies; the trenches were opened, in the presence of the king, on the eighteenth of June, and, after a vigorous and spirited resistance, the garrison were reduced to capitulate, on the twentieth of the

¹¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 134.—De Larrey, tom. ii. p. 462.

following month. Maubeuge was next reduced, and while the *maréchal de la Ferté* was detached to invest Saint-Guilain, Turenne laid siege to Condé: the former received a check from the Spaniards; but the latter having, in the short space of four days, completed his enterprize, the whole army was employed against Saint-Guilain, which surrendered on the twenty-fifth of August.

In Catalonia the French arms were not equally successful. The prince of Conti and the duke of Mercœur, after the reduction of Cadaques and Castillon, instead of pursuing their advantage by speedily passing the mountains, resigned themselves to pleasurable amusements, and gave the Spaniards time to collect their forces, and oppose their march; the prince then quitted the army, resigning the command to the count of Mérimville, who, indeed, compelled the Spaniards to retire from the walls of Solsona, but who speedily forfeited the advantage he had acquired, by being forced, in his turn, to evacuate Bergues. At sea the French were more fortunate, for the duke of Vendôme obtained a complete victory over the Spanish fleet before Barcelona.

But what tended, more than any thing else, to secure to France a superiority over her rival, was the alliance concluded by Mazarin, about this time, with Oliver Cromwell. That daring usurper, the extent of whose prosperity was alone equalled by the magnitude of his crimes, had rendered himself an object of apprehension and dread to all the European powers. Courted by them all, from the base motives of interest or fear, he had an opportunity of selecting such as were most likely to suit his purpose; but, with a mind incapable of discerning the beneficial effects of preserving a balance of power, so necessary to the welfare and existence of each particular state, he preferred an alliance with France—as more favourable to his projects of ambition—to the friendship of Spain.

Lewis, in compliance with the subtle but dishonest policy of his minister, courted his new ally, by concessions incompatible with his dignity, and repugnant to his honour. Every proposal, made by the usurper, however unreasonable in itself, and however insolently urged, was readily adopted by Mazarin. Bourdeaux was sent over to England as minister, and all circumstances of respect were paid to the tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, a prince so nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwell affected entirely to neglect; and though privateers, with English commissions, committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarin was content, in the hope of accomplishing his object, still to submit to these indignities¹². But of all the circumstances of degradation which marked this ignominious transaction, the most dishonourable for Lewis was that condition of the treaty which obliged him to expel

¹² Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 105, 619, 653.—Hume, vol. vii. p. 250.

from his dominions, the unfortunate prince, Charles the Second, and his brother, the duke of York, sons to the murdered monarch, and consequently grand-sons to Henry the Fourth, who were obliged to seek an asylum in the dominions of Spain. Charles afterwards formed a league with Philip, and raised four regiments of English, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The duke of York, after serving some campaigns in the French army, where he acquired the particular esteem of mareschal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under Don John of Austria, and the prince of Condé.

While Mazarin was employed in negotiating the treaty with Cromwell, Charles the Second, in order, probably, to prevent the conclusion of an alliance so prejudicial to his interest, asked the hand of Mary Mancini, one of the cardinal's neices, but received a refusal. But as soon as the artful minister saw that monarch in a fair way of ascending the throne, he courted the alliance he had before rejected, and was, very properly, refused in his turn¹³.

A. D. 1656.] An attempt to put an end to the war by sending the marquis of Lionne to the court of Madrid, to sound the disposition of Philip with regard to the marriage of Lewis with the Infanta, having failed, the operations of war were renewed; and, towards the middle of June, mareschal Turenne, having effected a junction with the troops under mareschal de la Ferté, laid siege to the strong town of Valenciennes. The importance of this fortress, one of the most considerable places in the Netherlands, induced Don John of Austria, who had superseded the archduke in the command of the Spanish army, to attempt its relief, in conjunction with the prince of Condé. The siege was far advanced when the Spaniards attacked the quarters of La Ferté, which were separated from those of Turenne by a canal, over which bridges of communication were thrown. The French lines were speedily forced, and the sluices of the town having laid the circumjacent country under water, and carried away the bridges, mareschal Turenne found it impossible to assist his colleague, who was, accordingly, defeated and taken prisoner, with a great number of his men. By this means Valenciennes was relieved, and the French were compelled to raise the siege.

Turenne having collected the remnant of his army, directed his march towards Quefnoy, but his efforts were incompetent to prevent the Spaniards from reducing the fortress of Condé. In return, however, he took from them the town of Capelle; and forced the prince of Condé to raise the siege of Guislain, and to give up his design upon Peronne.

The French were, in some degree, consoled for the ill-success of their army in the Netherlands, by the reduction of Valenza, in Italy, which took up the whole campaign.

¹³ Louis XIV, sa Cour, et le Regent, par M. Anquetil, tom. i. p. 43.—*Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 322, 323.

The Spaniards were the more interested in preserving this fortress, as its situation on the Po rendered its possessors masters of the navigation of that river; but the perseverance and valour of the French, who were commanded by the dukes of Modena and Mercœur, overcame every obstacle, and, notwithstanding the strength of the place, and the spirited exertions of a numerous and well-disciplined garrison, it was compelled to surrender on the thirteenth of September.

The Spaniards, alarmed at their loss, renewed their solicitations to the emperor to afford them assistance. The court of Vienna, when pressed on this subject at the opening of the campaign, had evinced a reluctance to comply with the requisitions of Philip, because such compliance would be a manifest violation of the third article of the treaty of Westphalia. They soon, however, found means to elude what they professed an unwillingness to violate; and the troops which the emperor agreed to send into Flanders and Italy, were expressly declared to be destined to act solely against the English and the duke of Modena: and it was observed, that as the latter was a vassal of the empire, he deserved to be punished for his irruption into the Milanese; and, as the former were not comprised in the treaty, it was lawful for the emperor to assist the Spaniards against them. Such were the reasons alledged to the marquis of Vignacourt, who had been sent to Vienna to complain of the infraction. That, however, which the French had failed to procure by negotiation, they effected by stratagem; they found means to excite a mutiny in the Imperial army that was destined for the Milanese, and to that circumstance may the success of the French in Italy, during this campaign, be ascribed¹⁴.

A. D. 1657.] The distress to which the kingdom was reduced, by the exaction of onerous imposts, and other calamities inseparable from war, produced no diminution of the luxury and magnificence of the court, who passed the winter in amusements, and returned in the spring to the business of the field. They were now, however, less diligent than the enemy, who, opening the campaign at the beginning of March, reduced the town of Saint Guilain before the French took the field. Turenne endeavoured to repair this loss by the reduction of Cambrai, but his efforts were frustrated by the undaunted courage of Condé, who, with two regiments of cavalry, cut his way through the camp of the besiegers, and threw himself into the town. This gallant achievement induced Turenne to desist from the hopeless enterprize, and to direct his march to Montmedi.

That fortress, one of the strongest in the duchy of Luxembourg, the citadel being placed on a rock most difficult of access, had already been besieged two months by the marshal de la Ferté, whose ransom had been paid by the king. Lewis himself now repaired to the camp, to hasten, by his presence, the reduction of the place; and the go-

¹⁴ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 151, 152.

governor being killed soon after his arrival, the town surrendered, on honourable terms, on the sixth of August. Turenne next reduced Saint Venant, and compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Ardres. The reduction of La Motte au Bois, by the marquis of Castelnaud, and of Mardyck, a strong fort in the vicinity of Dunkirk, by Turenne, concluded the campaign. The latter was resigned into the hands of the English.

A. D. 1658.] The effects of the league formed by France with the usurper Cromwell, at length, began to be felt by the former. The English had taken and destroyed a fleet of Spanish galleons, not far from Cadiz, and by that means deprived the Spaniards of the only treasures which enabled them to carry on the war: and Cromwell now sent six thousand veteran troops to join marechal Turenne, who, thus reinforced, laid siege to Dunkirk; whilst an English fleet, under the command of Lockhart, blocked up the harbour. The king repaired to Calais, on the twentieth of May, that he might be near the scene of action; and, during his residence in that city, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between him and the English protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, was dispatched to Lewis, and was received with the regard usually paid to foreign princes by the French court. Mazarin sent to London his nephew, Mancini, duke of Nevers, and the duke of Crequi; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honour he had long wished for, of paying, in person, his respects *to the greatest man in the world*¹⁵. Such was the language which the degrading policy of the French minister led him to employ to the assassin of his sovereign's uncle.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, having assembled their forces, marched, under the conduct of Don John of Austria and the prince of Condé, to the relief of Dunkirk. At their approach Turenne quitted his entrenchments, and, on the fifteenth of June, brought them to action at the Dunes, in the vicinity of the city. After a long contest, during which Condé displayed his usual skill and intrepidity, the French obtained a complete victory; and the Spaniards, defeated with great slaughter, fled with precipitation to Furnes. Dunkirk, however, still resisted; but the death of the governor, who was killed in a rally, discouraged the garrison, and induced them to surrender on the twenty-fifth of June. The town was, by agreement, delivered to Cromwell, who submitted it to the government of Lockhart.

This was the last acquisition of that extraordinary personage, who, after obtaining, by the most criminal means, possession of the supreme power, had been compelled, through fear, to refuse a crown—the object of his most ardent wishes—when offered him by a prostituted parliament; and experienced, in his latter days, a total want of that cordial

¹⁵ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 325, 326.

felicity, that tranquil ease, and grateful serenity of mind, which shun alike the fanatical enthusiast and successful villain, and only court the man of virtue and morality. With his dying breath Cromwell acquiesced in the nomination of his son Richard, as his successor in the protectorship; but though his authority was confirmed by the parliament, he was too virtuous to preserve his station, and willingly exchanged the sweets of regal power for the calmer enjoyments of domestic happiness.

The joy that prevailed on the reduction of Dunkirk was soon damped by the sickness of the king, who was seized, at Calais, with a violent disorder, that seemed to threaten his speedy dissolution: but the art of an empiric produced what the skill of the court-physicians had failed to effect; and the timely administration of an emetic—a remedy, with the good effects whereof the faculty of France were, at that time, but little acquainted—by removing the cause of the disease, restored the monarch to health.

After the surrender of Dunkirk, Turenne turned his arms against Bergues-Saint-Vinoc, which he reduced in three days; and Furnes and Dixmude next yielded to his victorious assaults. Gravelines and Oudenarde experienced a similar fate; Menin opened its gates at the approach of the victor, who finished the labours of the campaign by the reduction of Ypres.

In Italy the French also obtained some important advantages. The duke of Modena, now entrusted with the sole command of the forces of France, undertook to force his way into the Milanese, with a view to establish his quarters, and levy contributions, in the heart of that province. He passed the Adda, in sight of the enemy, and, after driving them from the banks of the river, crossed the Tesino, and laid siege to Montara, which he reduced on the twenty-seventh of September. But unfortunately this career of victory was stopped by the death of that gallant nobleman, who survived his conquest only a few days.

The emperor, Ferdinand the Third, had also expired, during the progress of this war, and the ambition of Mazarin had superinduced a desire to place the Imperial crown on the brows of his youthful sovereign. Mareschal Grammont was accordingly dispatched to the diet, then sitting at Frankfort; but destitute of forces to compel, and of money to bribe the electors, the cardinal was obliged to forego his designs, and to acknowledge the futility of his chimerical expectations. Leopold was raised to the throne which his father had enjoyed, after some difficulty, arising from the terms prescribed by the electors as the conditions on which he was to hold the Imperial dignity: they obliged him to promise that he would separate his interests from those of Spain, and preserve inviolate the peace of Westphalia. In order to enforce the observance of this engagement, Mazarin formed a league with different princes of the empire, which was called the *League of the Rhine*. The archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne entered into it; as did

also the bishop of Munster; the elector palatine; the king of Sweden, as duke of Bremen and Werden; the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the landgrave of Hesse. By this treaty, which was signed at Mentz, on the fifteenth of August, the French king, the electors, and confederated princes, promised mutual assistance for the prevention of any violation of the peace of Westphalia, in the empire or elsewhere¹⁶.

A. D. 1659, 1560.] No sooner were the Spaniards apprized of the terms prescribed to the emperor, and the subsequent treaty of the Rhine, than they evinced a disposition to peace, from which hitherto they had seemed averse. It was the business of Mazarin to encourage this disposition, since nothing was wanting to complete the success of his administration, but the conclusion of a peace, and the establishment of the tranquillity of the state by the marriage of the king. The cabals which had prevailed during the king's illness at Calais, had convinced the cardinal of the necessity of an heir to the throne, in order to support the power of the minister. The infanta of Spain, and the princess of Savoy, appeared entitled, by their connections and accomplishments, to participate, with Lewis, the throne of France; but that monarch, it seems, had fixed his affections on another object: Mary Mancini, the niece of Mazarin, who had formerly been refused to the solicitations of Charles the Second, of England, had found means to captivate the heart of a prince, volatile, inconstant, and amorous; and there is reason to believe that his passion was, at this time, so ardent, that he would willingly have made his mistress the lawful partner of his bed and throne.

Madame de Motteville, (the favourite of Anne of Austria) whose memoirs bear the strongest appearance of truth, asserts that Mazarin inclined to suffer the king's passion to take its course, in order to raise his niece to the dignified station of consort to his sovereign. He artfully sounded the disposition of the queen-mother on the subject, by observing, that he was much afraid the king was bent on marrying his niece. But these aspiring hopes were immediately crushed by the decisive conduct of Anne, who replied, with all the dignity of a princess of the blood of Austria, who was the daughter, wife, and mother of a crowned head; and with all the acrimony which her dislike to a minister, who had for some time assumed the tone of independence, inspired—"If the king were capable of such an indignity, I would put myself at the head of the whole nation, accompanied by my second son, and take up arms against the king and you."

It now remained for the cardinal to chuse between the princess of Savoy, and the infanta: Anne of Austria naturally inclined to the latter, as well from the ties of blood as the hopes of peace; but Mazarin's wishes were favourable to the princess of Savoy,

¹⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. i. p. 164, 165.

because one of his nieces had already married the count of Soissons, eldest son to prince Thomas, uncle to the young duke of Savoy¹⁷. An interview, therefore, was agreed on between Lewis and the young princess, and the two courts of France and Savoy accordingly repaired to Lyons.

At first every thing passed agreeably to the wishes of the duchess of Savoy, who was extremely anxious to promote the alliance of her daughter with the king of France; and Lewis, although the lady was not possessed of those personal charms which he had frequently declared he should expect in a wife, paid her every mark of attention and respect which their relative situations seemed to require. But a circumstance soon occurred which changed the face of affairs, and destroyed all the hopes of the duchess of Savoy.

This interview could not be conducted with such secrecy as to prevent an account of it from reaching the court of Madrid. Philip the Fourth, who had always flattered himself with the idea, that he could extricate himself from the embarrassments produced by the war whenever he pleased, by the marriage of his daughter, imagining that he was about to lose that opportunity, dispatched Antonio Pimentel, a member of his privy council, to Lyons, in order to frustrate the negociation with the princess Margaret of Savoy. The queen eagerly embraced the proposal, made by Pimentel in the name of his sovereign, of a marriage between Lewis and the infanta Maria Theresa; and the cardinal was also induced to coincide in the measure. The young king was accordingly founded on the subject; and, notwithstanding the favourable idea he had conceived of the princess Margaret, and the passion he still retained for Mary Mancini, he evinced a disposition to pursue that plan which should be deemed most conducive to his own interest, and the welfare of the state. All that now remained was to communicate the circumstance to the court of Savoy, with as much civility as possible; and Anne of Austria undertook the task of procuring the approbation of her sister-in-law, the duchess of Savoy, of the motives which superinduced a preference to the proposals of Spain, the principal of which was the desire of concluding a peace so essentially necessary to the welfare of both kingdoms. Though the duchess could not but lament her disappointment, she was compelled to acquiesce in the validity of the reasons alledged by the queen. The princess Margaret, who had undertaken the journey much against her will, and merely to oblige her mother, displayed, on the occasion, a degree of firmness, that rendered her an object of universal esteem. The duke of Savoy affected an indifference which he was far from feeling; and to his disappointment in this particular may, probably, be ascribed the equivocal conduct he observed to Lewis the Fourteenth during the remainder of

¹⁷ Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, tom. iv. p. 80, 89.

their reigns. The two courts took leave of each other with reciprocal professions of friendship and esteem, and returned to their respective capitals, differently affected¹⁸.

The negotiations were immediately opened with Spain; but they were entrusted to the care of subaltern agents, until the prime ministers of either country thought them sufficiently advanced to take upon themselves the honour of concluding them. Before Mazarin set out for the isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, where the last conferences were to be holden, he experienced a mortification, which he contrived to turn to his glory. Several young noblemen having met together, during passion-week, at Roissy, a country seat in the vicinity of Paris, were guilty of some irregularity which gave great offence to the neighbourhood, and became a matter of public conversation. Among the culprits was Mancini, the minister's nephew, whom Mazarin immediately banished, in spite of the numerous solicitations that were urged in his favour; while he contented himself with merely remonstrating with his accomplices on the impropriety of their conduct.

The sacrifice which Mazarin made, at the same time, of his niece Mary, on whom, it is pretended, he had founded such ambitious hopes, excited great applause from the majority of the nation. As it was not proper the young lady should remain exposed, during the absence of her uncle, to the solicitations of a prince whom she loved, and who returned her affection with equal warmth, the cardinal sent her, together with her sisters, to a convent at Brouage, a town in Saintonge, of which he was governor. The separation was truly affecting, and the adieus were of the tenderest kind. The king could not refrain from tears—" *You weep*"—said Mary, with an air of tenderness mixed with indignation—" *You weep, who are a king, and yet suffer me to be torn from you*¹⁹."

The cardinal's conduct in these two instances, particularly in the last, greatly pleased the queen, who was apprehensive that the king's passion, if kept alive by the presence of the object, might prove the cause of considerable uneasiness to her niece, the infanta, whom Lewis was about to espouse²⁰. Deprived, during a long war, of all connection with her family, Anne of Austria rejoiced at the idea of again beholding some of her relations, who might bring to her mind the recollection of her country, and the days of her youth:—Delightful recollection, source of the most pleasing emotions! The first who gave the queen this pleasure, was Don John of Austria, natural son to the fourth Philip, who profited by the cessation of arms, which had been agreed upon between the belligerent powers, to return from the Netherlands to Spain, by the way of Paris, where he

¹⁸ Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv. p. 551. tom. v. p. 3.—Anquetil, tom. i. p. 23, 24. ²⁰ Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, tom. iv. p. 163.

¹⁹ An-

was received by his aunt with those effusions of joy and tenderness which, to a feeling mind, are preferable to the most splendid honours²¹.

Mazarin left Paris in the summer of 1659, and repaired to the isle of Pheasants; and as the treaty drew near to a conclusion, the court advanced slowly towards the southern provinces of the kingdom, where they intended to spend the winter. As the king passed near the convent to which the nieces of his minister had retired, he determined to have one other interview with Mary Mancini. The two lovers had, for some time, maintained an epistolary correspondence, which Mazarin had contrived to stop by *banning* the persons who were charged with the conveyance of the letters. So despotic was the power of this minister, at this period! There was every reason to believe that the interview would be as tender and affecting as the separation had been; but on the part of the king, more politeness than love was displayed, either, because the idea of his approaching marriage had cooled his passion, or because the variety of objects that presented themselves during his journey, had weaned his mind from an early attachment²².

All the articles of the marriage being at length settled, mareschal Grammont, the most gallant nobleman of the French court, was appointed to make a formal demand of the Infanta. He accordingly rode post to Madrid, with his whole suite, sumptuously dressed, to manifest the impatience of his master. On his arrival, the admiral of Castile gave him a magnificent entertainment, but better calculated to gratify the sight than the palate. Seven hundred dishes were served, all embellished with the arms of the admiral, by which means they were so *saffroned* and gilt, that nobody could taste them; and, though the dinner lasted four hours, they all went away as they came²³.

The same gloomy magnificence which marked this singular repast, prevailed at the celebration of the nuptials, (by proxy) which took place at Fontarabia, on the third of June, 1660, where every thing was conducted with true Spanish gravity. The king having received his bride, the ceremony was repeated, on the ninth, at Saint John de Luz; and on the twenty-sixth of August, the king and queen made their public entry into the capital. On this occasion the gaiety of the French formed an admirable contrast with the gravity of the Spaniards. The people, in general, seemed intoxicated with joy²⁴. Madame Scarron, afterwards so celebrated under the name of de Maintenon, at this time confounded in the crowd, says, in a letter to one of her friends, written the day after, that she had been for ten or twelve hours, all eyes and ears; and, carrying her

²¹ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 27, 28.
187, 209.—Anquetil, tom. i. p. 40.
part i.—Mémoires de Mad. de Motteville, tom. v. p. 92.

²² Idem, *ibid*, p. 37.

²³ Mémoires de Grammont, tom. ii. p. 176,

²⁴ Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, tom. iv. p. 249, et tom. v.

thoughts beyond the moment, adds, that "The queen must certainly have retired that evening, well pleased with the husband she had chosen²⁵."

By the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, cemented and confirmed by this alliance, it was stipulated, that Lewis should receive with his consort a portion of five hundred thousand crowns of gold (about two millions, five hundred thousand livres); Alsace and Roussillon were confirmed to him; but he solemnly renounced every succession that might accrue to him, in right of his wife; and to Charles the Fourth he restored the duchy of Lorraine, after dismantling the fortifications of Nanci, and binding down the duke to keep no troops in pay; to Spain he restored the cities of Saint Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde; and he consented to pardon the prince of Condé, who, on his return to court, experienced a most gracious reception from the royal family. Philip, on his side, agreed to extend his forgiveness to the revolted Catalans; to relinquish Vercelli to the duke of Savoy, and Reggio to the duke of Modena; to re-establish the duke of Monaco in possession of his whole territories; and to restore to the duke of Newburgh the city of Juliers, which, for several years past, had been sequestered in the hands of the house of Austria.

The king's marriage was soon followed by the death of his uncle, the duke of Orleans, who expired (on the second of February) at Blois, where he had passed the last seven years of his life in tranquil obscurity. This prince left by his first wife, Mary of Bourbon, duchess of Montpensier, one daughter, Anna Maria Louisa of Orleans, distinguished by the appellation of *Mademoiselle*. By his second wife, Margaret of Lorraine, he had one son, and four daughters: Margaret Louisa, the eldest of his daughters, married the grand duke of Tuscany; the second, named Elizabeth, espoused Lewis Joseph of Lorraine, duke of Guise; the third, Frances Magdalen of Valois, was wife to Charles Emanuel the Second, duke of Savoy; and the fourth remained unmarried.

A. D. 1661.] The epoch of the king's marriage and of the peace with Spain, must be considered as the summit of cardinal Mazarin's glory. The people, who had before loaded him with insults, and expelled him from the capital, now received him with acclamations of joy: and those magistrates who had signed his proscription, hastened to compliment him on this auspicious occasion²⁶. His career was brilliant to the last; but he survived the attainment of his wishes only a few months; dying, in perfect tranquillity, more like a *philosopher* than a christian, on the ninth of March, 1661, at the age of fifty-nine²⁷. Of the seven nieces he had brought with him from Italy, one was married to the prince of Conti; a second to the duke of Mercœur; a third to the duke

²⁵ Lettres de Maintenon, tom. i. p. 26.
tom. v. p. 123, 128, 138.—Mémoires de Saint Simon, tom. iv. p. 153.

²⁶ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 45.

²⁷ Mémoires de Motteville,

of Modena; and a fourth to the count of Soissons; the other three, whom he had refused to solicit sovereigns, remained to be provided for, after the treaty of the Pyrenees. The princes of Savoy and Lorraine had courted his alliance, and, indifferent about money, only wished to have, each of them, a strong fortified town on the frontiers of France; but the minister honourably refused to accede to conditions so disadvantageous to the kingdom; and married his niece, Mary Mancini, to the constable Colonna, with a portion of a hundred thousand livres a year, (the produce of an estate in Italy) and his fine mansion at Rome; Hortensia, the most beautiful of his nieces, he bestowed on the duke de la Meilleraie, grand master of the king's household, on condition that he took the name of Mazarin, with a fortune of sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds *sterling* per annum, and an immense quantity of rich furniture; and, lastly, he settled on the youngest a portion sufficient for an alliance to the house of Bouillon, when she became of age. For the others, who were already married in France, he procured new advantages: for the princess of Conti, he obtained the place of superintendant of the queen-mother's household; and for the countess of Soissons, a similar situation in the household of the young queen. The king refused him nothing; or, rather, he submitted to his will with the docility of a pupil, habituated to obedience, or through gratitude for the care he had taken in forming him; for it is but just to say that if, during his early youth, the cardinal only taught Lewis the Fourteenth how to *act the king*, as he advanced to manhood, he instructed him how to be a king in reality ²⁸.

The immense riches left by the cardinal, suffice to prove his rapaciousness. “Who is there that will not be stricken with astonishment”—says the duke de Saint Simon—“at hearing of the treasures he amassed, in spite of the opposition of two furious factions, during an administration of twenty years? It was proved in court, at the trial of the duke of Mazarin with his son, for the restitution of his mother's dowry, that he gave this lady eight-and-twenty millions of livres,” (upwards of eleven hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling). “To this must be added, the fortunes bestowed on the duchess de Mercœur; the princess of Conti; the duchess of Modena; the constable Colonna; the countess of Soissons, and the duchess of Bouillon; besides the immense property which fell to the lot of the duke of Nevers. And all these treasures were amassed, not in times of prosperity and abundance, but during the prevalence of civil commotions and foreign wars, which lasted till within a year of his death. It should also be remembered, that, like cardinal Richelieu, he had the same military establishment for his household as the king, guards, gens d'armes, light-horse, with an additional company of mousquetaires, all commanded by noblemen, and persons of quality, under them ²⁹.”

²⁸ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 44.

²⁹ Mémoires de Saint Simon, tom. v. p. 247. tom. i. part i. p. 2.

The same noble author is of opinion, that it was the astonishing wealth of the cardinal, joined to the despotism with which he governed the court, that made Lewis the Fourteenth adopt a resolution, from which nothing could ever make him depart, of never having a prime minister, and of never admitting an ecclesiastic into his council. Marechal Grammont observes, that Mazarin's efforts for the accumulation of wealth were not confined to the numberless means supplied by the authority he enjoyed; the sole object of his industry was gain:—He was naturally fond of play, but he played only with a view to enrich himself, and *cheated as much as he could in order to win*³⁰.

Lewis the Fourteenth, when he took the reins of government into his own hands, was endued with an understanding rather above mediocrity, more solid than brilliant; but his mind displayed a capability of forming and refining itself by observation, and of borrowing ideas from others, without appearing a servile imitator. He derived infinite advantage from living with persons possessed of knowledge of the world, and merit of all kinds. When he began to reign, his ministers at home, and in foreign courts, were the most able, and his generals the best in Europe. Of them he learned every thing. The capacity of those accomplished persons, and those of their school, was derived from the troubles which had agitated the kingdom from the time of Lewis the Thirteenth, and which had formed a great number of illustrious personages³¹.

The queen-mother was devout, and the young queen was timid, appearing embarrassed by a great court, so that the most distinguished and accomplished persons, of both sexes, assembled at the house of the countess of Soissons. As superintendant, she had apartments in the palace of the Tuilleries, where she reigned at the time of her uncle's death, and sustained her empire by continuing, in some degree, his former splendour, but still more by her wit and courage. Her residence was the center of the gallantry of the court, and of the intrigues and cabals of ambition. Yet this brilliant circle wore the appearance of a family-party; being composed of persons decorated with titles, and intimately connected by the ties of blood, friendship, or affinity, while no new or unknown associates were admitted. Here the king acquired that air of politeness and gallantry, which he preserved during the remainder of his life, and which was admirably blended with dignity and decorum. The size, the grace, and majesty of his person, which succeeded the softer beauties of youth, even the sound of his voice, and his gait, distinguished him from other men, "as the king of the bees is distinguished from his numerous subjects," and had he been born to a private station of life, the qualifications he possessed must have necessarily secured him distinction in the fields of gallantry and seduction³².

³⁰ Mémoires de Grammont, tom. i. p. 119, édition in two vols. 18mo.

³¹ Saint Simon, tom. i. p. 2.—

³² Mémoires de M. le Duc de Saint Simon, ou l'Observateur Veridique; tom. i. p. 6, 7.

The administration of the kingdom was regulated two days before the death of Mazarin, by his plans and advice; and the machine was already in motion, when Harlai de Chanvalon, president of the assembly of the clergy, then sitting, [having asked his majesty to whom he should apply in future concerning matters of business, was answered by Lewis, *to me*³³. But we learn from de Choisy, that though Lewis always affected to govern by himself, he invariably saw with the eyes, and heard with the ears, of his ministers. At this period he had three whose characters have been ably delineated by the same author. Le Tellier was secretary at war; Lionne, secretary of state for foreign affairs; and Fouquet superintendant of the finances.

The first was an handsome and agreeable man; of an easy temper; timid in the affairs of his family, but enterprising and courageous in those of the state. Sufficiently firm in the pursuit of a plan, but better adapted for the second place than the first. Extremely fearful of making enemies, probably, because he was himself a very dangerous enemy. He was mild and insinuating in his manners, lavish of his promises, regular and civil in his commerce with the world, where he strewed nothing but flowers; and this was all that could be expected from his friendship.

Hugh de Lionne, a gentleman of Dauphiny, was extremely well versed in the interests of princes, and the arts of negotiation, but his abilities were too well known to foreign ministers, to whom, therefore, he was an object of mistrust and suspicion. He seldom worked unless pressed by circumstances, and then did every thing with a skill and superiority which no other man could attain. He sacrificed his fortune, his health, and even his indolence, to his passion for play, to the pleasures of the table, and other sensual gratifications.

Nicholas Fouquet, rendered famous by his disgrace, had a penetrating mind, great taste for science and the arts, and still more for voluptuousness, carried to excess. He often pretended to be shut up alone in his study, at his country house, at Saint Mandé, for the purpose of paying greater attention to business; and while the whole court was in his antichamber, praising the indefatigable spirit of this great man, he descended by a private stair-case into a little garden, where certain nymphs that I could name—says de Choisy—condescended to bear him company for the weighty compensation of gold. He was the greatest and most daring dissipator that France ever knew, or, to use the more blunt and expressive language of madame Motteville, he was a *great thief*.

The king transacted business every day with these three ministers, either together or separately. He rose at eight, then went to prayers, dressed himself, read books or state

³³ Motteville, tom. v. p. 157.—Choisy, tom. i. p. 106, 111.

papers, and made a short breakfast; at ten o'clock he attended the council, where he remained till twelve, when he went to mass. The interval between divine service and dinner he either devoted to the public, or passed with the queens in their apartments. After dinner, he generally continued a considerable time with the royal family; then again shut himself up with one of his ministers on private business, gave audiences, received petitions, and fixed a day for answering them. The rest of the afternoon was passed in conversation, either with the queens, or at the house of the countess of Soissons; at play always moderate, and never at games of mere chance; at the theatre, or in walking, according to the season; without ever breaking into this arrangement, unless on days of hunting, or extraordinary diversions. His favourite meal was supper, which he always prolonged, and sometimes had a ball after it³⁴.

The king's marriage, which had spread such universal joy throughout the kingdom, was soon followed by that of Monsieur, his only brother, which occasioned rejoicings almost equally great. This youthful prince married Henrietta, daughter to the unfortunate Charles the First, king of England, whose son had lately been restored to the throne of his ancestors. The princess had just completed her seventeenth year, but her merit shone conspicuous, and the solidity of her understanding was only equalled by the sweetness of her manners.

A. D. 1662, 1663.] While Lewis excited the astonishment of his courtiers at home by his close application to the business of the state, he attracted the attention of foreign powers by the extreme jealousy he displayed in asserting the dignity of his crown. A dispute for precedence, between the French and Spanish ambassadors at the court of London, was, by the pride of Lewis, converted into a national quarrel. He immediately recalled his own ambassador from Madrid; ordered the ambassador from thence to leave the kingdom; broke off the conferences then holding in Flanders for regulating the limits of their respective dominions; and informed his father-in-law, that, unless he would acknowledge the superiority of the crown of France, and repair the affront his representative had received, by a solemn satisfaction, he would immediately renew the war. The point of pre-eminence has been gravely discussed by Voltaire, who, (with all his affectation of liberality, had imbibed most of the prejudices of his nation,) and decided, of course, in favour of France. Whether the plea of antiquity should be allowed to sanction a claim to precedence, must be left to *state heralds* to determine. Fortunately for the two kingdoms, Philip, on this occasion, shewed more sense than his son-in-law; he ordered his ambassador, Fuentes, to make the required concession, and

³⁴ Motteville, tom. v. p. 137.—Mémoires du Marquis de la Fare, chap. ii.—Mem. de Choisy, tom. i. p. 51, 143.—Mem. de Mademoiselle, tom. iv. p. 136. tom. v. p. 54.

to gratify the arrogance and vanity of Lewis by a public declaration, "that the ministers of Spain should no longer dispute the precedence with those of France."

His success in this instance, encouraged Lewis to an equal display of resolution in another. At Rome, where the French, by their dissipated manners, had rendered themselves peculiarly disgusting to the Italians, and where the unbecoming haughtiness of the duke of Crequi, and the insupportable insolence and riotous conduct of his domestics, who continually raised nocturnal tumults in the city, by attacking the watch, and other acts of licentiousness, tended greatly to increase that disgust, a circumstance occurred which had nearly been attended with serious consequences.

Some of the duke of Crequi's footmen having attacked, sword in hand, a detachment of the pope's guards, the whole corps resented the insult, and, secretly instigated by the pope's brother, Mario Chigi, repaired, in arms, to the residence of the ambassador. His wife's carriage, which was then entering the court-yard, was fired into by the enraged guards; a page was killed, and several servants were wounded in the fray. The duke of Crequi immediately left Rome, publicly accusing the pope's relations, and even his holiness himself, of having favoured the assassination. The execution of two guards, and the banishment of the governor of the city, proved inadequate to appease the resentment of the French monarch, who sent some troops into Italy, and threatened to besiege the pope in his capital. The parliament of Provence cited his holiness to appear before them, and seized the territory of Avignon. Unable to interest the other princes of Europe in his favour, and equally unable to resist the efforts of so formidable an enemy, Alexander consented to send his nephew, cardinal Chigi, to France, to make the desired satisfaction; to break his regiment of guards; and to erect a pyramid, in his capital, with an inscription descriptive of the injury and reparation³⁵.

While Lewis asserted his dignity he sought to augment his power; and he wisely determined, ere he attempted to render himself formidable abroad, to destroy the seeds of corruption at home. On investigating the state of the revenue, and the nature and extent of the national resources, a work to which he applied himself with astonishing diligence, he discovered serious grounds for suspecting the integrity of Fouquet, superintendent of the finances. But the art of the minister must finally have eluded the vigilance of the monarch, had it not been for the assistance of Colbert, in whom, at the recommendation of Mazarin, he reposed his confidence. The accounts which Lewis received from Fouquet in the morning, he communicated to Colbert at night; and from the observation of that agent it appeared clear to him, that the statement of the expenditure was continually exaggerated, and the receipt as regularly diminished.

³⁵ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 356.

Lewis, by the frequent hints he gave Fouquet, must have convinced a man less confident of his power, that his frauds were detected; but the superintendant, relying on the ignorance of the king, continued his depredations, and the latter suffered several months to elapse before he put in execution the plan he had adopted for the punishment of his minister. He even accepted an invitation to a feast given by the superintendant at Vaux, and conducted on a scale of uncommon magnificence; though Choisy says it was for the purpose of having the minister arrested in the midst of a scene which exhibited so striking a proof of his dissipation. But the queen-mother opposed this design, (of which Fouquet was informed, at the time, by his friend, madame du Pleffis Bel-lierre) and the king's vengeance was deferred till another opportunity.

The preparations for arresting Fouquet displayed either the magnitude of his sovereign's apprehensions, or the extent of his art: Lewis must either have thought him formidable, or wished to make him appear more criminal than he really was. Troops were sent into Brittany, under pretence of quelling a sedition that did not exist; and the king himself condescended to play the hypocrite, in order to allure his minister into that province: preparations were made for the siege of Belle-Ile, which was the property of Fouquet; and as much care and caution were exerted as if the safety of the kingdom had been at stake. Fouquet and Colbert, in following their sovereign, sailed down the Loire in different barges, while the surrounding courtiers observed, that, *one of them would sink the other*; but they never imagined that the latter would prove successful in the contest.

Though again apprized of his danger, and urgently pressed by his friends to fly ere it was too late to escape, his confidence was such that he rejected the advice he received, and insisted that Colbert was the object of the preparations he witnessed, and the movements he perceived. He was, however, soon convinced of the fallacy of his expectations; the order for his apprehension was signed; and, on the fifth of September, 1661, as he left the castle of Nantes, after attending the council, he was arrested, and immediately conveyed to the castle of Angers³⁶, whence he was afterwards transferred to the Bastille.

The infidelity of Fouquet, in the employment of the public money, was of itself an offence of sufficient magnitude to authorise his arrest, and justify his conviction; but no sooner were the circumstances of his disgrace made public, than all the arts of calumny were employed to aggravate his guilt, and crimes were imputed to him which he had certainly never committed. He was accused of revealing the secrets of the state to the English, and of harbouring a design of establishing, with their assistance, an indepen-

³⁶ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 84, 85, 86.

dant principality for himself, of Belle-Île, and the duchy of Penthièvre, which he had purchased. A chamber of justice was erected at the arsenal for the purpose of trying the unhappy culprit; the process, which was protracted to the shameful length of two years, was conducted with the most scandalous partiality; every publication which could tend to justify or palliate the conduct of the prisoner was rigorously suppressed, and every person who ventured to undertake his defence was exposed to the most cruel persecution.

A great diversity of opinion, however, prevailed among the judges, as to the guilt and punishment of Fouquet; some were of opinion that the former was not sufficiently substantiated, and as the latter was not fixed by any positive law, others were unwilling to take upon themselves the task of pronouncing sentence. But, at length, by an arrêt, passed on the twentieth of December, 1664, a sentence of banishment, with a general confiscation of property, was pronounced against the prisoner. The ministers were dissatisfied with this decision; and Colbert and Le Tellier, who earnestly wished for the death of Fouquet, represented to the king, that the state would be exposed to imminent danger, if the superintendant were suffered to remain at liberty, since he might discover the secrets of the government to foreign powers. Influenced by their representations, Lewis, by an exertion of arbitrary power the most unjustifiable, changed the punishment of Fouquet to perpetual imprisonment in the citadel of Perpignan, where he languished for the remainder of his days. The office of superintendant was suppressed, and Colbert, a man of austere manners, was placed at the head of the finances, with the title of comptroller-general. The new minister signalized the commencement of his administration by a repeal of taxes to the amount of three millions of livres.

The economy established by Colbert in the administration of the finances enabled the king to purchase the important fortress of Dunkirk, from Charles the Second, whose treasury was kept at a low ebb, as well by his own profusion, as by the parsimony of the English parliament. The price of this acquisition—of such immense consequence to Lewis—was, after much altercation, settled at four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Lewis immediately employed thirty thousand men to fortify it by land and sea, and dug a large bastion between the town and the citadel, capable of containing thirty men of war³⁷. During these events, the queen had been delivered of a son, who was born at Fontainebleau, on the first of November, 1661, a circumstance which afforded infinite satisfaction to the king, and to the whole nation.

A. D. 1663 to 1667.] While intent on extending his dominions, even in time of peace, Lewis acquired, from the duke of Lorraine, the strong fortress of Marsal, his

³⁷ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 356.

mind being fraught with projects of ambition, he was constantly making preparations for war. He strengthened the fortifications of his frontier towns; introduced a more rigid discipline among his troops; augmented their number, and frequently reviewed them. Nor was he inattentive to the interests of commerce, which he sought to extend by the establishment of colonies in various parts of the globe. Two companies, one for trading to the East, and the other to the West Indies, were instituted, under the immediate protection of the king, who advanced them six millions of livres to defray the necessary expences of their establishment. One colony of French was sent from Rochelle to the isle of Cayenne; a second to Canada; and a third to the island of Madagascar; but this last was of short duration.

Though from the time of the first Francis it had been the regular policy of the French monarchs, in all the wars between the Turks and Imperialists, to espouse the interests of the former, in order to counterbalance the encreasing power of the house of Austria, Lewis the Fourteenth adopted a different system, and, with a view to encrease the reputation of his troops, for it is difficult to discover any other motive by which he could be actuated, sent six thousand men, under count Coligni, to join general Montecuculi, then acting against the Turks in Hungary. These troops distinguished themselves, in a desperate battle, fought, in the month of August, 1664, at Saint Gothard, on the banks of the Raab: seventeen thousand of the Turks perished in the field, and the consternation which prevailed at the Ottoman court, on the news of their defeat, facilitated the conclusion of a peace.

In the open assistance which Lewis afforded the emperor, his vanity alone had been consulted, but the secret support which he gave to the Portuguese was dictated by a concern for his interest. Though cardinal Mazarin had formally abandoned the Portuguese by the treaty of the Pyrenees, Lewis did not scruple to send marechal Schomberg, with four thousand French troops, paid by himself, to their assistance; and the united forces obtained over the Spaniards, at Villa Viciosa, a decisive victory, (in June 1665) which secured the throne of Portugal to the house of Braganza.

During these transactions, a war had broken out between the English and Dutch, which raged with great fury, and, without any decisive advantage to either side, had occasioned a vast effusion of blood. The Dutch, however, had experienced some losses, and the defensive alliance in which Lewis was engaged with the states rendered him anxious to terminate a contest which he conceived they were unable to support. He long tried to mediate a peace between the belligerent powers, and for that purpose sent an embassy to London, which proved ineffectual. Lord Holles, the English ambassador at Paris, endeavoured to persuade Lewis to espouse the cause of England, and, in his sovereign's name, made him the most tempting offers. Charles the Second was content to abandon all the Spanish Netherlands to the French, without reserving a foot of ground for

for himself, provided Lewis would allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch. But the French monarch, though the conquest of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his interests. He conceived, that if the English should once establish an uncontrollable dominion over the sea, and over commerce, they would soon be able to render his acquisition a dear purchase to him. When de Lionne, the French secretary, (in August, 1665) assured Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambassador, that the offer had been pressed on his master during six months, "I can readily believe it,"—said the Dutchman—"for I am sensible that "it is the interest of England³⁸."

At this period the French sustained a great loss, in the death of Anne of Austria, whose interference might possibly have restrained the ambitious spirit of her son, as it had already prescribed some bounds to his licentiousness, in the prosecution of his amours. The life of this princess, who expired on the twentieth of January, 1666, was shortened by a cancer; a malady which was doubly dreadful to her, who, beside the pain, was in excessive dread of the other consequences of her complaint. She was remarkably fond of sweet scents, and of course terrified at the idea of the contrary. She was singularly delicate in her sense of feeling, and could with difficulty procure cambric fine enough for her shifts and sheets. Cardinal Mazarin, joking with her on this circumstance, observed, "That if it should be her fate to be damned, her punishment would be to lie in "Holland sheets³⁹."

Anne of Austria had experienced many vicissitudes in life: at one time, tormented by an imperious minister, and pitied by the people; at another, insulted by this same people, enraged against the minister, and infected with the spirit of sedition. In spite of all these excesses, she had a real affection for the French nation, and waged war against Spain with as much vigour as if she had never been allied to, or connected with, that crown: from this conduct she derived the satisfaction of seeing the public prejudice dis- away, and justice done to her good qualities. The king is said to have sincerely regretted her loss; and certain it is that he had sufficient cause for regret; for she discharged with religious scrupulosity all the duties of a mother; and in spite of the embarrassments occasioned by the civil wars, during the infancy of her son, she watched over his early education with infinite attention, and never left to another what she was able to perform herself. Anxious to instil into his mind the principles of virtue and religion, she was careful to remove from his presence all persons whose habits of life were of a contrary tendency; and if Lewis did not fulfil all the duties of a man and a Christian, the failure must not be ascribed to a want of maternal instruction⁴⁰.

³⁸ D'Estrades.—Hume.

³⁹ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 123.

⁴⁰ Idem. *ibid.*—Reboullet, tom. iii. p. 361.

The death of Anne of Austria had been preceded, by a few months, by an event of much greater importance, and pregnant with more serious consequences. Philip the Fourth had expired, after a reign of four-and-forty years, leaving only one son, Charles the Second, who was heir to his extensive dominions. By his first wife, sister to Lewis the Thirteenth, he had Maria Theresa, who married her cousin, Lewis the Fourteenth, who now pretended that the important territories of Flanders, Brabant and Franche Comté, ought, according to the jurisprudence of those provinces, to revert to his wife, notwithstanding his solemn renunciation in the treaty of the Pyrenees.

The council and theologians of France, appointed to examine the rights of their monarch, declared them to be incontestibly valid; but the council of Spain, and the confessor of the queen dowager insisted on their futility; and they alledged, in contradiction to the custom of Brabant, an express law of the emperor Charles the Fifth. By the court and council of France, it was urged, that the dower of their queen had never been paid; but they forgot that the dower of the daughter of Henry the Fourth had also been left unpaid. The voice of reason, however, on this occasion, was silenced by the clamours of interest; and the cool dictates of justice were overpowered by the imperious mandate of ambition.

Those who were most bound to afford protection to the infant prince displayed the greatest anxiety to deprive him of his lawful inheritance. For this purpose the emperor Leopold signed a treaty with Lewis, by which he consented that the French monarch should obtain immediate possession of Flanders; on condition that he himself should be suffered, in the event of Charles's death, to annex the kingdom of Spain to the imperial dominions⁴¹. Leopold, indeed, had no sooner signed the treaty than he repented of his conduct; and for the better concealment of a transaction, which, if known, could not fail to excite universal censure, he required that the treaty should not be communicated to any of the European courts; that no more than one copy of it should be made, and that that should be kept in a metal chest, to which there should be two keys, one for himself and the other for the king of France. The chest was to have been deposited in the hands of the grand duke of Florence, for which purpose it was delivered by the emperor to the French ambassador at Vienna, who, instead of conveying it to Florence, sent it to France. Of this breach of faith, however, the emperor was precluded from complaint, which must have rendered that public he was so anxious to conceal⁴².

A. D. 1667, 1668.] Lewis, thus impelled by his own ambition, and farther instigated by Louvois, the new secretary of war (son to Le Tellier) whose jealousy of Colbert

⁴¹ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 364.

⁴² Voltaire ascribes the silence of the emperor, on this occasion, to a bribe which he supposes him to have received as an inducement to sign the treaty with Lewis; but there are not the smallest grounds for such a supposition, and nothing is more natural than that his desire of concealing a transaction, so truly dishonourable, should have deterred Leopold from complaining of a breach of faith, which reflects no credit on the character of Lewis.

rendered him anxious to terminate a peace, which tended to encrease the glory of that minister⁴³, published a manifesto, setting forth the justice of his views and the validity of his claims. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state in order to support the expences of the war. Louvois had made immense preparations for the campaign, by distributing magazines of every kind along the frontiers; indeed, he was the first minister who introduced this advantageous mode of subsisting an army at a distance, which the weakness of the government had hitherto rendered impracticable. Whatever siege the king was disposed to undertake, on whatever side he wished to turn his arms, supplies of every kind were ready, quarters for the troops were prepared, and the order of their march was fixed and regulated. Military discipline, daily rendered more severe by the inflexible austerity of the minister, kept all the officers to their duty; while the presence of a youthful monarch, the idol of his army, made this severity not only be borne with patience, but supported with pride. It was then that military rank first began to be considered as superior to that which is acquired by birth, and that the justice of an officer's claims to promotion was measured by the number of his services, and not, as before, by the grandeur of his family. Hence merit was encouraged, independent of foreign considerations; and the infantry, on whom fell the chief weight of the war, since the acknowledged inutility of lances, were suffered to participate in those rewards which had till then been monopolized by the cavâly.

The king had recently entered into a league with Portugal, and had contracted an obligation to declare war against the king of Spain, as soon as peace should be concluded with England. But Lewis did not wait for this event to open the campaign. He entered Flanders in the month of May, at the head of five-and-thirty thousand men, besides eight thousand which he detached towards Dunkirk, and four thousand stationed on the side of Luxemburgh. The Spaniards were in no situation to resist so formidable a force; most of their towns in Flanders were ill-fortified, provided with slender garrisons, and a scanty supply of materials necessary for maintaining a siege. Thus the king had only to shew himself before a place to induce it to surrender; acquiring, by that means, the advantages of conquest without the glory of victory. Armentieres and Charleroi opened their gates at his approach; Ath followed the example, and Tournay, after suffering the trenches to be opened merely for form's sake, surrendered without firing a gun. Douai capitulated, on the sixth of July, after a siege of six days; and Oudenarde was reduced on the thirty-first of the same month; the very day on which the peace of Breda was signed by the ministers of England, France, and Holland⁴⁴.

After the reduction of Alost, which surrendered on the fourth of August, Lewis led his victorious troops to the gates of Lille. This flourishing city, the only place in

⁴³ L'Observateur Veridique, tom. i. p. 9.—Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 207.
Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 203.

⁴⁴ Contin. de

Flanders that could boast of any tolerable fortifications, had a garrison of six thousand men, very inadequate to the extent of its works. Eight thousand troops, under the command of the count of Marlin and the prince of Ligne, was the only force which the Spaniards had to oppose the French, and to attempt the relief of their besieged towns; and these were entirely defeated by the marquisses of Crequi and Bellefonds, between Ypres and Bruges; so that Lewis had no farther resistance to encounter. Lille, after a siege of nine days, surrendered to his arms. At the commencement of this siege, which the king commanded in person, the count de Brouai, governor of the city, sent to the French camp, to enquire where his majesty's quarters were situated, that he might avoid firing at them: "*Every where*"—said Lewis; who exposed himself to the same danger as all the officers of the army. One of his pages was killed just behind him in the trenches; and a soldier seeing the king thus exposed, seized him rudely by the arm, and dragged him from the spot, exclaiming—"Is that your place?" But the old count of Charost, who was present at the time, perceiving the king hesitate, took off his hat, which was particularly conspicuous, from a plume of feathers with which it was decorated, and put his own on his majesty's head, whispering in his ear, "*Sire, the bottle is opened, you must drink your wine.*" The king took the hint, remained in the trenches, and ever after acknowledged his obligation to the count⁴⁵.

The governor of Lille knowing there was no ice in the French camp, sent a small quantity every day, to the king; who once begged the gentleman appointed to carry it, to request the governor would send him a little more. "Sire,"—replied the Spaniard, with great gravity—"he is willing to husband it, because he hopes the siege will last a long time, and he is fearful your majesty may feel the want of it." As the Spaniard left the tent, the count of Charost exclaimed—"Tell *M. de Brouai*, not to act like the governor of Douai, who gave up the town like a rogue!" "Are you mad, Charost?"—said the king—"No, Sire, but you should recollect that the count of Brouai is my cousin." It appears that the French were indebted to the Spaniards for the introduction of that refined politeness, which softens the rigours of war, and confines the enmity of foes to the hour of action.

While the grand army of the French, which Turenne commanded under the king, completed, with such rapidity, the object of their expedition, marechal D'Aumont, to whom the conduct of a detached corps was entrusted, displayed equal diligence, and obtained equal success. He reduced Bergue at the beginning of June, and then directed his march to Furnes, which made no resistance; Courtrai surrendered, after a short siege, and Dixmude opened its gates at his approach⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 134.

⁴⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 211.

The rapidity of these conquests filled the city of Bruxelles with terror, and the inhabitants, in fear of an attack, conveyed their effects to the strong fortress of Antwerp. The king seemed to threaten the total reduction of Flanders; but that his troops were not sufficiently numerous to secure all the places that were ready to surrender. Louvois advised him to place strong garrisons in the towns he had reduced, and to fortify them anew. This task was entrusted to the celebrated Vauban, the first man who adopted the mode of fortifying towns on the plan since pursued by all able engineers. The elevated fortifications of preceding times afforded a fair object to the artillery of the enemy; but Vauban reduced them almost to a level with the surrounding country. The citadel of Lille was constructed on this principle; it was the first citadel, the command of which was detached from that of the town. Vauban himself was appointed governor of it.

Though no glory could accrue from the achievements of this campaign, in which so little resistance was experienced, the French took occasion from thence to expatiate on their own prowess, and the heroism and moderation of their monarch. The intention of Lewis, it was pretended, was not to despoil Spain of her territories, but merely to resume possession of places which had been unjustly retained; and, in order to calm the minds of the states-general of the United Provinces, they were told that the king would resign to them a rampart capable of ensuring their liberties from invasion, should they deem any other security than his royal word necessary for that purpose. But these specious declarations were insufficient to quiet the apprehensions of the Dutch, who feared, as their ambassador, Van Beuninghen observed, "*that the king wished to swallow up every thing.*" They exerted themselves, with great industry, to promote an accommodation between the belligerent powers, while the Spaniards, on their side, spared no pains to engage them to enter into an offensive alliance against France, for which purpose they tempted them with an offer of Ostend and Namur⁴⁷.

Lewis, though indisposed to relax in any of his demands, was willing to pay some attention to the mediation of his allies, and therefore consented (in November, 1667) to the following propositions, on condition that the Dutch should procure the consent of the Spaniards to the same, by the month of March in the following year: that the king of France, in satisfaction for the rights devolved to his queen by the death of the king of Spain, would content himself with the formal cession of all the places which he had reduced during the last campaign: that if the Spaniards preferred treating with him for an exchange of those conquests, his most Christian majesty would accept the towns which they now occupied in the duchy of Luxembourg, together with Cambrai and the Cambresis; Douai, Aire, Saint Omer, and Furnes, with their dependencies; and that all the other places subdued by the French arms should be restored to the Spaniards:

⁴⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 213.

but that, if the Spaniards would rather chuse to cede Franche-Comté than the duchy of Luxembourg, his majesty would consent to the change.

It was not the fault of the mediators that these proposals were rejected; but the Spaniards, deeming the conditions unreasonable, preferred being compelled to subscribe them, to a voluntary compliance.

Their hesitation determined the king to pursue his advantage, and to make his troops renew the campaign in the depth of winter. In the month of February, 1668, the command of the army was given to the prince of Condé, who, since his return to court, had been consigned to apparent oblivion, as a punishment for his revolt: and he, probably, would have remained much longer unemployed, but for the jealousy that Louvois had conceived against Turenne, which led that minister to give the viscount a competitor, capable of undermining, by degrees, the credit he possessed with the king. The prince, however, could acquire but little glory in reducing towns, the governors whereof had been previously corrupted by the French. In fact, he experienced in Franche-Comté no greater resistance than the king had met with in Flanders; Besançon surrendered as soon as the terms of capitulation could be settled; and Salins was reduced with equal facility. On the tenth of February, Lewis joined the camp before Dole, which opened its gates to the French on the sixteenth. Grai, and the castles of Joux and Sainte Anne, made a vain show of resistance, and the whole province was subdued in the short space of seventeen days.

Meanwhile, the rapid success of the French, and the overweening ambition of their monarch, had spread a general consternation throughout Europe. The Spanish ministers exclaimed, in all quarters, against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every state, even more than of Spain itself, to prevent the Low Countries from falling under the domination of France. The emperor, and princes of Germany, discovered evident symptoms of discontent; but their motions were tardy, and their conduct was indecisive. The Dutch, though terrified at the thoughts of having their frontier exposed to so formidable a foe, saw no resource, nor could devise any means of safety. England, indeed, seemed disposed to make opposition to the French, but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles deterred the states from making him any open advances, by which they might lose the friendship of France, without acquiring any new ally to counterbalance that loss: and though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered the terms above specified, the Dutch were fearful that the obstinacy of the Spaniards, and the ambition of the French, would prevent them from being carried into execution.

The king of England, with more prudence than he usually displayed in political matters, was the first who laid the plan of a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident

at Bruxelles, received orders to repair secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the states the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, who was actuated by a sincere desire of serving his country, and whose mind was greatly superior to the low arts of vulgar politicians, explained with candour the intentions of his master to the Dutch minister, De Wit, a man of equal candour and integrity, and pressed a speedy termination of the business. These eminent statesmen negotiated a treaty with the same cordiality and openness, as if it were a private transaction between intimate friends. All the mean tricks of hypocrisy, so usually exerted on such occasions, were banished, all mistrust and reserve laid aside; they justly considered the interests of their country as the same, and placed a full reliance on each other's professions and engagements. And though jealousy of the house of Orange might prejudice De Wit against a close alliance with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service.

Temple insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to compel France to relinquish all her conquests: But De Wit prudently rejected this measure, as being calculated to involve the states in dangers which they would be loth to incur. He observed, that the French were the old and constant allies of the republic; and, till matters came to extremities, she never would deem it expedient to abandon a friendship so well established, and totally rely on a treaty with England, who had lately waged so cruel a war against her: that the fluctuations which had prevailed in the English councils, since the reign of Elizabeth, had demonstrated the impracticability of fixing that kingdom in the pursuit of any regular and steady system of policy: that, though the present ministry of England evinced a disposition favourable to the true interests of their country, it would be neither safe nor prudent to repose an entire confidence in them: that the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful, and, if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit: that it would suffice to constrain him to adhere to the offers which he himself had already made, and thereby to save the remaining provinces of the Low Countries from the danger with which they were threatened: and that the other powers, in Germany and the North, would be satisfied with putting a stop to the conquests of the French, without seeking to recover the places they had already reduced.

The English minister was content to accept of the terms proposed by the pensionary, and the treaty was accordingly founded on the proposals made by Lewis to the Spaniards. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to her own conditions, and Spain to accept them. If Spain refused, they agreed that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Hume.

Room had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league, an event received with equal surprize and approbation by the world. The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure, and the part which the Dutch took in it inspired Lewis with sentiments of revenge which he resolved to gratify on the first favourable opportunity⁴⁹. Not only bounds were at present set to his ambition; such a barrier was also raised as seemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of it, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid betrayed equal displeasure. To relinquish any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims, so evidently unjust, and urged with such violence and pride, inspired the highest disgust. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than submit to so cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous measures for their support. But the English and Dutch ministers were better acquainted with the views and interests of Spain. They knew that she must still retain the Low Countries as a bond of connection with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch should happen to die without issue, could secure her independence against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix la Chapelle.

Spain, at last, pressed on all sides, accepted the proffered alternative; but in her very compliance, she exhibited strong symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. It had been manifest, that the Dutch, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spanish monarchy, had been anxious only for their own security; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontier, were indifferent as to the progress he made in other places. She chose, therefore, to recover Franche-Comté, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries: and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces.

But notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter which lay most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany were invited to strengthen the same confederacy. Spain herself,

⁴⁹ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 376.

having,

having, about this time, under the mediation of the king of England⁵⁰, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour and opposition to her haughty and triumphant rival.

A. D. 1669, 1670.] Lewis, compelled to submit to an interval of peace, continued, as he had begun, to fortify and embellish his kingdom, and to regulate its internal police. Intent on projects of ambition, and schemes of revenge, he directed his attention to the acquisition of that strength which was indispensably requisite to enable him to oppose with success the foes he had determined to encounter; by the indefatigable industry of Colbert and Louvois a considerable naval force was created, and the sea-ports which but lately exhibited a scene of ruin and desolation, were restored to their pristine splendour, fortified with works that answered the double purpose of ornament and defence, and filled with sixty sail of large vessels, destined for the purposes of war.

Of these ships a squadron was sent, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, who took with him seven thousand troops, to the relief of Candia, which, for two years, had been besieged by the Turks. Formerly the exhortations of a simple monk were sufficient to raise up armed hosts against the infidels, and the finest countries in Europe were drained of men and money, in order to reduce the sterile province of Judea; but now that the isle of Candia, considered as the rampart of Christendom, was overrun by an army of sixty thousand Turks, the monarchs of Europe beheld its reduction with indifference. A few galleys from Malta and the ecclesiastical states were the only succour which the Venetians had been hitherto able to obtain; and their senate, as impotent as wise, were wholly unable, with their mercenary bands and such feeble assistance, to resist the well-directed efforts of the grand-vizir Kiuperli, an able statesman and experienced general, whose troops were numerous, and resources infinite. The reinforcement sent by Lewis proved of little avail; the duke of Beaufort perished in a rally, and the duke of Navailles, who succeeded him in the command, finding there were no hopes of saving the town, withdrew his troops, and left the Venetians to make the best terms they could with the enemy.

The king, little affected by these events, continued to pursue, with unremitting industry, the measures that were necessary for the accomplishment of his grand design, the reduction of the Low Countries, and the infliction of vengeance on the Dutch, who had wounded his vanity, as well by their successful interposition, as by the numerous satires that were circulated in their country, at the expence of Lewis. The situation of Holland became every day more favourable to his views. Though formidable by sea, the land forces of the republic were in a most wretched state. In alliance with England

⁵⁰ Hume.

and Spain, and at peace with France, she reposed with blind security on the faith of treaties, and the advantages of an immense commerce. The discipline which prevailed in her fleets, was unknown to her armies. The Dutch cavalry was wholly composed of citizens, who never stirred from their houses, and paid the lowest of the people for performing their duty. The infantry was little better; the officers, and even governors of towns, were most of them the sons or relations of burgomasters, destitute of experience, and averse from the labours of their stations.

But before Lewis could attempt the invasion of Holland, it was necessary to detach the king of England from the interests of the triple alliance. He resolved, for this purpose to employ Madame, consort to the duke of Orleans, who was known to possess considerable influence over the mind of her brother. The object of the negociation was neither imparted to the duke, whose communicative disposition rendered it unsafe to trust him with any secret of importance, nor to the minister, Louvois, whose bluntness and pride were peculiarly disgusting to Madame⁵¹.

The fair ambassadors left Paris with the king, who had some time before made known his intention of visiting the coasts of Picardy, under pretence of showing the queen the towns which he had acquired in consequence of her claims to the succession of her father⁵². Lewis was accompanied by his whole court, and escorted by a considerable body of troops under the command of the count of Lauzun. While he remained on the opposite shore, the duchess of Orleans went over to England, and Charles met her at Dover, where they passed ten days together in great mirth and festivity. Knowing the amorous disposition of Charles, over whose mind the allurements of pleasure had the strongest influence, the king had sent with Madame a beautiful young lady of Brittany, of the name of Keroualle⁵³, whose charms he hoped would tend to facilitate the negociation of the princess. Whether the success of Madame may be ascribed to the powerful assistance of this coadjutor, or to the ascendancy which she herself had acquired over the mind of Charles, is of little consequence; certain it is she prevailed on that thoughtless monarch to depart from the most settled maxims of honour and policy, and to finish, in violation of the faith he had pledged, his engagements with Lewis for the destruction of Holland.

But the unfortunate Henrietta did not live to see the consequences of the treaty which she had engaged her brother to sign. She returned to France, at the commencement of June, 1670, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month she died at St. Cloud, after an illness of eight hours⁵⁴. The disorder first evinced itself by the most excruciating

⁵¹ Anquetil, tom. i. p. 159.

⁵² Reboulet, tom. iv. p. 152.—Mémoires de Mademoiselle, tom. vi. p. 197.

⁵³ Lettres de Sévigné, tom. iii. p. 76.

⁵⁴ Bossuet, oraison funèbre.—Abrégé Chron. de l'Histoire de France, par le président Henault, anno 1670.

tortures, immediately after drinking a glass of succory water. Madame's first exclamation was "*I am poisoned!*" this, indeed, she retracted, at the suggestion of her confessor, who pointed out the danger attending the suspicions which such a vague inculpation would necessarily occasion; but, on attentive consideration of all the circumstances which occurred, during the short period of her illness, the grounds for believing she was right in her conjecture appear very strong.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier tells us, (in her Memoirs) that, on her arrival at Saint Cloud, whither she accompanied the king, on the first news of Madame's illness, she perceived no signs of affliction in any one present, but Monsieur evinced a considerable degree of *astonishment*. She found Madame extended on a small bed, with her hair dishevelled, having had no interval of ease that would suffer her to arrange her dress; her cheeks were pale, and every symptom of death appeared on her countenance: yet the company chatted and laughed in her chamber, and continually passed to and fro as if she were in perfect health. Madame evinced some uneasiness at this indecent indifference; while the king attempted to reason with the physicians, on the subject of her illness, but they were at a loss how to answer him. Valot, the first physician, having declared it to be a cholic, which would soon be removed, the rest did not dare to dissent from his opinion. On an observation of Lewis, that a person ought not to be suffered to perish, in that manner, without receiving any relief, they all looked at each other, and remained silent.

M. D'Argenson, in his essays, relates, that among the officers of Henrietta's household, there was one who, after the death of his mistress, found himself rich enough to refuse entering into the service of Monsieur's second wife; who observing that his name was omitted in the list, enquired if he were dead; to which her husband replied "No, but I suppose he will never engage in your service." It was remarked also, that this man was never after known to mention Monsieur's name, nor to go to the Palais-royal, (his town residence) nor to Saint Cloud. It is even pretended that he appeared confused whenever his old mistress was mentioned in his presence⁵⁵.

Madame, the second duchess of Orleans, repeatedly asserts, as a known fact, that Henrietta was poisoned, and even points out the agent (one Morel) who was employed to purchase the fatal powder in Italy⁵⁶. The physicians, who were present when the body was opened, differed as to the state of the noble parts, which some of them pronounced to be in a state of sanity, while others declared them to be unsound, and to have a different appearance from any that could be occasioned by sickness⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ Essais D'Argenson, p. 291.

⁵⁶ Fragmens de Madame de Baviere, tom. ii. p. 94, 96, 97, 98.

⁵⁷ Anquetil, tom. ii. p. 171.

Thus miserably perished, at the age of twenty-six, the beautiful Henrietta, in whom the bloom of youth was heightened by all those mental qualifications which conciliate love and esteem. Endued with a solidity of understanding, and a delicacy of sentiment, peculiar to herself, her conversation was distinguished for a sweetness and affability seldom to be met with in persons of her rank. Though her husband appeared but little affected by her death, she was sincerely regretted by the nation.

A. D. 1671.] This event was not suffered to impede the preparations of the confederate monarchs, intent on the destruction of the Dutch. Lewis had strengthened the confederacy by attaching to his interests the elector of Cologne; the duke of Neubourg, the bishop of Munster; and the prince palatine, whose daughter, the princess Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, was, soon after, married to the duke of Orleans. The bishop of Munster rather resembled the leader of a banditti, than the minister of a Christian church. Son to an assassin, and born in a prison, in which his father had been confined fourteen years, he had obtained the bishoprick of Munster by intrigue; and, immediately after his promotion, he attempted to despoil the city of its privileges; the inhabitants resisting, he laid siege to the place, and desolated with fire and sword the country which had chosen him for its pastor. He exercised similar depredations on the lands annexed to the abbey of Corbie. He was considered as a mercenary plunderer, who one while received money from the Dutch to defend them from the attacks of their neighbours, and another enlisted in the pay of France to wage offensive war against the republick.

It is truly worthy of remark, that not one of the states which had joined the confederacy against Holland, had the smallest ground of complaint, or pretence for taking up arms. Their conduct exhibited a flagrant violation of justice, honour, and humanity. Of all the powers delegated to a prince, that of making war should be exercised with the greatest caution, circumspection, and moderation. It should never be rendered the instrument of passion, nor the engine of oppression. War should be only undertaken with a view to remove some evil actually existing, or to avert some impending evil, pregnant with consequences more fatal to the welfare and happiness of the state, than the means employed for its removal or prevention. To call forth the exertions of individuals in defence of the common weal, when threatened or attacked, is a duty imposed on the sovereign; but wantonly to sacrifice the lives of his subjects to the gratification of ambition or caprice, is a most wicked and unwarrantable perversion of authority.

The states-general, justly alarmed at the danger which threatened them, wrote to the king, requesting, in the most humble manner, to be informed, whether the vast preparations he was making were really destined against them, his ancient and faithful allies—what cause for offence they had given him, and what reparation he required? Lewis haughtily replied, that he should make such use of his troops as was most consistent with

with his dignity, for which he was responsible to no one. The only reason alledged by his ministers as the ground of hostility, was the insolence of the editor of the Dutch Gazette; and a pretended insult offered to Lewis, by Van Beuninghen, by means of an inscription on a medal, which never existed⁵⁸.

The pretext of the English was equally false and frivolous. They preferred some vague complaints of injuries done to the East-India company, which the company itself disavowed; and of the detention of some English in the Dutch settlement of Surinam, who, it appeared, had voluntarily remained there. They expatiated on the refusal of a Dutch fleet, on their own coasts, to strike to an English yacht; and mentioned some abusive pictures as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long ignorant of the meaning of this last article, till it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the perspective of this portrait, the painter had drawn some ships on fire in a harbour. This was construed to be Chatham, where De Wit had really distinguished himself in an attack upon the English fleet, and had acquired considerable honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the insult itself, committed in open war, had so long been forgiven, the picture of it should draw such severe vengeance on his country.

A. D. 1672.] All that the efforts of ambition, and the exertions of human prudence, could prepare for the destruction of a state, had been prepared by Lewis the Fourteenth. History scarcely affords an example of preparations so disproportionate to their object, or of an enterprise commenced with such a formidable regular force, and attended with such vast pecuniary expence. Fifty millions of livres, equal to upwards of four millions sterling of our present money, were expended in the preparations for attacking the Dutch⁵⁹. Thirty ships of war, of fifty guns each, were sent to join the English squadron, which amounted to more than treble that number. Lewis and his brother repaired to the frontiers of Flanders and Holland, towards Maestricht and Charleroi, with an army of one hundred and twelve thousand men; while the bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne took the field with twenty thousand more. The French monarch was assisted by the skill and experience of Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg; while the conduct of the different sieges was entrusted to the celebrated Vauban, who was alike skilled in the art of attacking and defending a town. The active vigilance of Louvois pervaded every quarter; and France had never yet possessed an army so distinguished for its magnificence and discipline.

The king was attended by the troops of his household, consisting of four companies of body-guards, each composed of three hundred gentlemen; two hundred horse-guards, as

⁵⁸ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 389.

⁵⁹ Idem, ibid. p. 391.

many light-horse, and five hundred mousquetaires, all of them chosen gentlemen; twelve companies of the gendarmerie, and the hundred Swifs: the regiments of French and Swifs guards regularly mounted guard before the royal residence. Inspectors of cavalry and infantry were then unknown in the French armies, but the duties since attached to these offices were most ably discharged by the chevalier de Fouréllés and *Martinet*⁶⁰. The former first taught the cavalry those manœuvres and evolutions which they ever since have used; and the latter established a more rigid discipline among the infantry, who were indebted to him for substituting, generally, the use of the bayonet, for that of the pike⁶¹. The vanity of Lewis was conspicuous in all his actions; the troops of his household were dressed in the most splendid uniforms; and he was accompanied by an *historian*, (*Peliffon*) destined for the servile task of celebrating his victories.

That every obstacle to his success might be removed, Lewis had sent the marquis de Pomponne to Stockholm, to detach the king of Sweden from the triple alliance, and to engage him to join the confederacy against the Dutch; and a treaty to that effect was accordingly signed on the fourteenth of April⁶². Louvois, too, had contrived to buy up a vast quantity of ammunition in Holland, which, while it replenished the magazines of the king, tended to deprive the Dutch of the means of defence.

At the moment that the United Provinces were threatened by such powerful enemies, they could derive but little satisfaction from the review of their domestic situation. Two factions at that time agitated the republic. The one, headed by John de Wit, grand pensionary, a man equally distinguished for his talents and integrity, but who regarded, with extreme jealousy, every thing which bore even the most remote semblance to absolute power; the other, less attached to the exterior of liberty, desirous of restoring the stadtholdership, and of investing the prince of Orange with those posts and dignities which had been conferred on his ancestors for their eminent services to the state.

While these two powerful factions struggled for superiority, every scheme for defence was opposed, and every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty was executed with vigour. Levies, indeed, were made, and the army completed to seventy thousand men⁶³, while the prince was appointed both general and admiral of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a sudden acquire discipline and experience, and the partisans of the house of Orange were still dissatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, as it was called, remained in force,

⁶⁰ The name of this officer has been introduced into the English language, and is constantly applied, by military men, to such officers as are scrupulously attentive to all the minutæ of discipline.

tom. i. p. 392.

⁶² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 230.

the Netherlands, by Sir William Temple, p. 245. edit. 1673.

⁶³ *Observations upon the United Provinces of*

by which he was excluded from the stadtholdership, and from all share in the civil administration⁶⁴.

Meanwhile the king advanced towards the banks of the Rhine, on the confines of Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. The army, divided into different corps, formed the siege of four towns at the same time, Rhinberg, Orsoi, Wesel, and Burick; all of which surrendered almost as soon as invested. Rhinberg did not even wait till the batteries were opened against it; the governor, an Irishman, of the name of Oflory, was base enough to accept of a bribe from the French, and weak enough to retire to Maestricht, where he met the punishment due to his crime.

All the towns and forts on the banks of the Rhine and the Iffel acknowledged the power of the victor. Some of the governors sent their keys the moment they perceived the enemy approach; several officers quitted their posts in the most disgraceful manner, even before the French entered their territory; and the consternation soon became general. Lewis, inflated with success, pressed forward to the Rhine, which he prepared to pass. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season, by which the greatest rivers were considerably diminished; and in some places, where ships of great burden were accustomed to pass, were rendered fordable. On the second of June, the French cavalry entered the river, at a place where there was not more than twenty yards that required swimming; the infantry passed in boats; and the king *followed* his troops. The few regiments of Dutch that appeared on the opposite side, were unable to make resistance, and thus was the celebrated passage of the Rhine, theme of the courtier's praise, the poet's song, atchieved without danger, and even without opposition.

Each new instance of success gave fresh courage to the conquerors, while it increased the terror of the vanquished. The prince of Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, and even unknown to them; and all men, by reason of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority on which they must depend. It was expected that the fort of Skink, famous for the sieges which it had formerly sustained, would make some resistance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The same general made himself master of Arnheim, Knotzemburg, and Nimeguen, as soon as he appeared before them. Doesburg, at the same time, opened its gates to Lewis; whose troops, soon after, reduced Harderwic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageningen, Lochein, and Woerden. Groll and Deventer surrendered to marechal Luxembourg, and every hour

⁶⁴ Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, by Sir William Temple, p. 238.

brought to the states news of the rapid progress of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garrisons.

The prince of Orange, with his small and discouraged army, retired into the province of Holland, where, he hoped, the natural strength of the country would enable him to make some effectual resistance. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies and surrendered to Lewis, who made his triumphal entry into the former, where he seized the church for the use of the Catholics, and appointed his confessor bishop of the diocese. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amsterdam, was seized by the marquis of Rochefort, and had he pushed on to Muiden, he might easily have gotten possession of it. Fourteen stragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magistrates sent them the keys; but a servant-maid, who was alone in the castle, having raised the draw-bridge, prevented them from taking possession of the fortress. The magistrates, afterwards, finding the party so weak, made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muiden is so near to Amsterdam, that its cannon can play upon the ships which enter that city.

Lewis, from the cowardice and misconduct of his enemies, rather than from his own valour or prudence, was already in possession of three provinces; Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht; Groningen was threatened; Friesland was exposed: the only obstacle that remained to the total subjection of the Dutch consisted in the strength of the provinces of Holland and Zealand; and Lewis deliberated concerning the proper measures for reducing them. It was the advice of Turenne and Condé to dismantle all the towns he had taken, except a few, and to push on to new conquests; but the shortsighted counsels of Louvois prevailed, who persuaded his sovereign to strengthen the fortifications of all the principal towns, which would serve to keep in awe a people whom he had no doubt of speedily reducing to total subjection.

The utmost consternation now prevailed throughout the republic; and the people, instead of uniting to repel the common danger, only endeavoured to increase the rage of party, and to increase the calamities of the country by promoting domestic dissensions. Amsterdam alone seemed still to retain a portion of courage, and, by the formation of a regular system of defence, sought to infuse spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burghesses to keep a strict watch: the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, had a regular pay assigned them, and were armed for the defence of the public. Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city; and the sluices being opened, the circumjacent country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water; an expedient which was adopted by the whole province.

In this emergency, the states were assembled, to consider of the best means of saving the remains of the commonwealth; when the nobles gave it as their opinion, that, provided their religion, their liberty and sovereignty could be saved, every thing else should, without hesitation, be sacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the same disgraceful sentiments. Amster-dam singly exerted a spirit of independence, and declared against all treaty with an enemy, whose conduct was marked by injustice, and whose insolence was increased by success. But notwithstanding that opposition, ambassadors were dispatched to implore the pity and forbearance of the two combined monarchs. It was resolved to sacrifice to Lewis, Maastricht, and all the frontier towns which lay without the bounds of the Seven Provinces; and to pay him a large sum for the charges of the war.

The Dutch, however, still maintained their renown at sea, and engaged with spirit and alacrity the united fleets of their enemies. De Ruyter, their admiral, on this occasion, acquired immortal honour, and acknowledged, that of two-and-thirty actions at which he had been present, the battle of Solebay, (fought on the twenty-eighth of May) was the most obstinately disputed. The loss sustained by the two fleets was nearly equal; the approach of night at length suspended the fury of the combatants, and both retired to their respective harbours to repair the damages they had sustained.

Lewis, on the arrival of the Dutch ambassadors at the camp, refused them an audience, and his minister treated them with the utmost insolence and contempt. After some deliberation, however, with Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the measures to be pursued in the present emergency, in compliance with the violent councils of the former, he condescended to make known to them the terms on which he would consent to withdraw his forces from their territories. He required, that all duties lately imposed on French commodities should be taken off: that the public exercise of the Romish religion should be permitted in the United Provinces; the churches shared with the Catholics, and their priests maintained by appointments from the states: that all the frontier towns of the republic should be ceded to him, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other side of the Rhine; as likewise the isle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortress of Saint Andrew, those of Louvestein and Crévecœur: that the Dutch should pay him the sum of twenty millions of livres towards defraying the expences of the war: that they should every year send him a solemn embassy, and present him with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment, that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty, which, by the assistance of his predecessors, they had formerly acquired: and, finally, that they should give entire satisfaction to the king of England. He allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of these demands⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 253, 254.

The ambassadors sent to London met with a still worse reception: no minister was allowed to treat with them, and they were retained in a kind of confinement. Charles, after he had renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed that neither of the kings should make peace with Holland, but by common consent, gave in his pretensions, of which the following are the principal articles. That the Dutch should give up the honour of the flag, without the least reserve or limitation, nor should whole fleets, even on the coasts of Holland, refuse to strike or lower their topsails to the smallest ship carrying the British flag: that all persons guilty of treason against the king, or of writing seditious libels, should, on complaint, be banished for ever the dominions of the states: that the Dutch should pay Charles a million sterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thousand pounds a year, for permission to fish on the British seas: that they should share the India trade with the English: that the prince of Orange and his descendants should enjoy the sovereignty of the United Provinces, at least, that they should be invested with the dignities of stadtholder, admiral and general, with as ample powers as had ever been enjoyed by any of his ancestors: and that the isle of Walcheren; the city and castle of Sluys, together with the isles of Cadfant, Gorée, and Vorne, should be put into the hands of the English king, as a security for the performance of these articles⁶⁶.

The terms proposed by Lewis were calculated to bereave the republic of all security against invasion by land from France; those demanded by Charles, if complied with, would expose them equally to an invasion by sea from England; and when both were united, they appeared absolutely intolerable, and only tended to inspire the Dutch with that determined courage which is the effect of despair. The states of Zealand wrote to the other provinces in the most energetic terms, exhorting them to defend their liberty and religion, and to imitate the valour of their ancestors, who had cemented with their blood the privileges they now enjoyed. The movements which began to be perceptible in the Imperial and Spanish dominions, tended to raise the drooping spirits of the states-general; and although they considered their affairs to be in a desperate situation, they rather chose to wait the issue, than tamely to submit to the yoke of the victor.

Though at such a crisis unanimity was indispensably requisite, the voice of faction was exerted to encrease the distress of the state, which was, as usual, ascribed to the ministers. The republican party thought to calm the minds of the people by bringing to trial several officers suspected of corrupt practices, many of whom paid with their lives the forfeit of their crimes. But the populace, or those who directed their motions,

⁶⁶ Hume.

required a greater sacrifice, and an attempt to assassinate De Wit and his brother sufficiently pointed out the object of their wishes.

An insurrection took place in several towns of Holland and Zealand, where the magistrates were compelled to revoke the perpetual edict, and, on the thirtieth of June, 1672, the prince of Orange accepted, from the hands of the populace, the Stadtholdership, together with the offices of admiral and captain general. At the same time, the destruction of those who had opposed his elevation was resolved on.

The grand pensionary, De Wit, was accused of having sacrificed the interests of the Republic to a criminal attachment for Louis the Fourteenth, from whom it was pretended he had received a bribe. The accusation was false and calumnious : De Wit had no difficulty in establishing his innocence ; and the memoirs of D'Estrades, which are not always favourable to the grand pensionary, prove him to have been incorruptible. He deemed it prudent, however, to resign his post, and retire from public life ; but even this would not satisfy the inveterate malignancy of his enemies, which pursued him to his retreat.

One Tichelaar, a Surgeon, a man stigmatized, as infamous, by the laws of his country, accused Cornelius De Wit of having conspired against the life of the prince of Orange. On this vague declaration, the victor of Chatham was seized at Dort, in violation of the rights and privileges of the province of Holland, and conveyed to the prison of the Hague. Judges, incompetent to decide on his fate, were appointed to try him ; he was condemned to suffer the question, and, amidst the most excruciating tortures, far from avowing the guilt which his soul abhorred, he uttered protestations of innocence, and repeated, with a firm and manly voice, the third ode of the third book of Horace :

" Justum et tenacem propositi virum," &c.

But although no proofs were adduced against him ; although his innocence was manifest, and the impossibility of the conspiracy acknowledged ; such was either the credulity or the wickedness of the judges, that a sentence of degradation and banishment was passed upon him. This sentence, however, all unjust as it was, was wholly inadequate to satisfy the enemies of his house, who resolved, since his judges refused to assassinate him *juridically*, to have recourse to other means. A servant was dispatched to John De Wit to desire he would come to his brother at the prison ; where he was no sooner arrived, than Tichelaar gave the signal to the populace, who immediately rose in arms, broke open the prison doors, dragged the two brothers into the street, and there massacred them with every circumstance of inhumanity. Even their death did not satiate the brutal rage of this savage multitude. They dragged the dead bodies of these virtuous citizens to the

place at which criminals were executed, where they plucked out the eyes—one of which was swallowed by a person present—and committed other acts of atrocity too horrid to relate.

The massacre of the De Wits put an end, for the time, to the remains of their party, and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expressing the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange, who, though he did not punish the assassins of those who opposed his elevation, as it was his duty to do, displayed, it must be acknowledged, in other respects, the virtues of a good citizen. He offered to sacrifice the revenues of his posts, and even his whole property, in defending the liberties of the state. By his negotiations, conducted with equal promptitude and secrecy, he awoke from their lethargy the emperor, the empire, the council of Spain, and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands: he even found means to dispose the English monarch to peace. In short Lewis had entered Holland in the month of May, and in July most of the European powers had begun to conspire against him.

Monterey, governor of the Netherlands, dispatched, in a private manner, some Spanish regiments to the assistance of the Dutch. The imperial council gave orders to Montecuculi to march at the head of twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg, who had five-and-twenty thousand troops in pay, also put himself in motion.

The king finding little hopes of extending his conquests, returned to St. Germain, in the middle of the summer, to enjoy the acclamations of his people; while Turenne and Luxembourg were left to pursue the war. After the departure of Lewis, the tide of success began to turn in favour of the Dutch. The prince of Orange, reinforced with a body of ten thousand Spaniards, sent by Monterey, though unauthorized by the court of Madrid, was able to make head against the French, and to prevent them from succeeding in any enterprize of importance. In the depth of winter, marshal Luxembourg, who was stationed at Utrecht, made an attempt to take the Hague by surprise; for which purpose he assembled twelve thousand men during the night, and led them over the ice, with which the face of the country was then covered, towards the residence of the Dutch court. A sudden thaw, however, defeated his designs, and proved the means of preserving the Hague. The French army, surrounded with water, were in the greatest danger of perishing; they had no other road to pursue than the top of a narrow dyke, where only four men could march abreast; and the approach to it was defended by a fort, which it appeared impossible to take without artillery. But the governor of the fort, by an unaccountable instance of cowardice, made no kind of resistance; and the French, who must otherwise inevitably have perished, by this means secured their retreat to Utrecht. Bodegrave and Swammerdam, two rich and well-peopled burghs, were seized, and abandoned to pillage, in order to compensate the troops for the fatigue they had experienced. The soldiers set fire to them both, and the wanton barbarity and horrid enormities

enormities they committed, on the defenceless inhabitants, served to render the French name detested by the Dutch for more than half a century after.

A. D. 1673.] The ambitious projects of Lewis had given a change to the political system of Europe, by materially altering the relative connection of one state with another. The Dutch, the natural allies of France, had become the friends of the house of Austria, which had at length determined to declare in their favour. The succours, indeed, sent by the emperor, were slow, and not proportioned to the warmth of indignation he expressed against the French. It is said that on his road to *Ægra*, whither he was going to review his troops, previous to their departure for the Netherlands, he received the sacrament; after which he took a crucifix in his hand, and called on God to witness the justice of his cause. This act of piety in Leopold is ridiculed by Voltaire⁶⁷, who had no piety at all.

The active industry of Colbert had, by this time, produced a considerable augmentation of the naval forces of France, who, instead of thirty vessels which she had sent in the preceding campaign, to join the English, now strengthened the fleet of her allies with forty ships of war. Prince Rupert commanded the English, and D'Etrées the French; and, on the ninth of May, the combined fleet set sail towards the coast of Holland, and found the enemy lying at anchor within the sands of *Schonvelt*. An action ensued, on the twenty-eighth, which, though fought with great fury on both sides, was by no means decisive. The Dutch retired into their harbours, and, having refitted their ships, were ready, in a week, to face the enemy, who again engaged them, on the fourth of June. But though no decisive advantage was gained by the Dutch, they nevertheless acquired great honour by engaging the combined squadrons of France and England with an inferior fleet, and thereby defeating the project of a descent in *Zealand*, which, in the present circumstances, might have proved fatal to the commonwealth.

On the eleventh of August the hostile fleets again met, at the mouth of the *Texel*, when a most desperate engagement took place. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former. Brankert was opposed to D'Etrées; De Ruyter to prince Rupert, commander in chief of the English; and Tromp to Sir Edward Sprague.

D'Etrées and all the French squadron, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of Ruyter, who was engaged, in close fight, with prince Rupert, who, after displaying great courage and conduct, disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies with which he was every

⁶⁷ *Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 423.*

where surrounded, and, having joined Sir John Chicheley, his rear-admiral, who had been separated from him, hastened to the relief of Sprague, who was hard pressed by Tromp's division. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the Saint George; while Tromp was, for a similar reason, obliged to quit his ship, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these gallant admirals, and by the rear-admirals, their seconds. Ossery, rear-admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the Saint George so terribly shattered as to be nearly disabled. Sprague was leaving her, in order to shift his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge, when a shot, which had passed through the Saint George, struck his boat, and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who paid his valour a just tribute of admiration.

Though most of the ships in Sprague's squadron were disabled, Prince Rupert continued the action, with the rest of his fleet; and, after an obstinate and bloody contest, succeeded in throwing the Dutch into disorder. To encrease it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down, which, had it been obeyed, might probably have decided the victory in favour of the combined fleets. But the prince, when he saw that the French neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely provided for their safety, by making easy sail towards the English coast. The victory, in this action, was as doubtful as in all the actions fought during the present war. D'Etrées, in a letter to Colbert, written after the action, observed, that he would willingly have purchased with his life the glory which Ruyter had acquired⁶⁸. It is evident, therefore, that he was restrained, by some secret orders, from participating in the danger he was too brave to dread.

During these transactions at sea, Lewis in person laid siege to the strong fortress of Maestricht, which was defended by Fargaux, with a garrison of five thousand men; but the French, animated by the presence of their sovereign, and directed by the skill of Vauban, pushed the siege with such vigour, that the Dutch were compelled to capitulate, on honourable terms, at the expiration of a week. At this siege Vauban first made use of *parallels*, which had been invented by some Italian engineers, in the Turkish service, at the siege of Candia.

This was the last advantage obtained by Lewis in Holland. He now found the fallacy of his minister's councils, which had led him to fortify places he ought to have dismantled, and thereby to weaken his army, by supplying those places with garrisons.

⁶⁸ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 424.

The prince of Orange, meanwhile, besieged and took Naerden, and, by that means, inspired his countrymen with hopes of farther success. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialists on the Upper Rhine, by uncommon exertions of skill, eluded the vigilance and deceived the penetration of Turenne, and making a forced and sudden march, sat down before Bonne, where he was soon joined by the prince of Orange. Bonne was taken in a few days; and several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies, by which means the communication was cut off between France and the United Provinces.

This circumstance, joined to the conduct of the English, whose aversion from the war with the Dutch induced them to withhold the means of supporting it, reduced Lewis to the necessity of evacuating the three provinces of Holland, with even greater promptitude than had been used in their reduction: he took care, however, previously to exact heavy ransoms from the inhabitants; from the province of Utrecht alone his intendant, in the course of a year, drew sixteen hundred and sixty-eight thousand florins. Such was the precipitation with which the French evacuated Holland, that they were glad to release eight-and-twenty thousand prisoners for half a crown a man. The triumphal arch erected at the gate of Saint Denis, at Paris, to celebrate the conquests of the last campaign, was scarcely completed before all those conquests were abandoned. The Dutch, in the course of this invasion, had the glory of disputing the empire of the sea, and the address to remove the scene of war from their own territories: while Lewis was considered, by all Europe, as having enjoyed, with too much precipitation and pride, the splendour of a transient triumph. In consequence of this rash and unjust enterprize he found himself involved in a bloody war with Spain, Holland, and the empire; and abandoned by the king of England, the bishop of Munster, and the elector of Cologne; while he had excited in the country he had reduced and evacuated much more hatred than admiration.

A. D. 1674.] The vigour with which Lewis opposed such a formidable combination of his enemies, strongly displayed the *dangerous* advantages of absolute power, which gives to the *fiat* of a monarch the force of law, and enables him to command all the energy and resources of a state, even when destined to promote its own degradation or abasement. At the same time, he gave to Turenne an army of three-and twenty thousand men, to be employed against the Imperialists; to Condé one of forty thousand to oppose the prince of Orange; a body of troops were sent to the frontiers of Roussillon; another considerable detachment was dispatched, on board a fleet, to the attack of Messina; while the king himself, with a powerful force, made a second irruption into Franche-Comté. Besançon was invested at the beginning of May, and, after sustaining a siege of nine days, surrendered to the French, whose victorious arms, in the short space of six weeks, reduced the whole province, which has ever since remained annexed to the dominions of France.

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The operations of Turenne were still more splendid and destructive; and while his success demonstrated the superiority of his genius, his subsequent conduct sufficiently proved that, amidst scenes of blood and carnage, he had lost that sense of feeling and humanity for the deprivation of which no qualities, however brilliant, can afford an adequate compensation. After a long and rapid march, he passed the Rhine at Philipsbourg, and at Sintzheim attacked and defeated the duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, the general of the Imperialists. He then gave a loose to the fury of his troops; laid waste the palatinate with fire and sword; exercised the most cruel acts of outrage on the defenceless and unoffending inhabitants; and almost converted a country, fertile, opulent, and well-peopled, into a desert. So general was the conflagration, that from the walls of his palace, at Mannheim, the elector palatine beheld, at one time, two cities and five-and-twenty villages in flames.

After his troops had satiated their rage, he led them to attack the prince of Bournonville, and, by defeating him, prevented his junction with a body of troops destined for an irruption into Alsace. Seventy thousand Germans, however, entered that province, and blockaded the cities of Brisac and Philipsbourg; but they were soon surprized by the unexpected appearance of Turenne, who having crossed, in the depth of winter, by the way of Tanne and Bedford, mountains covered with snow, rushed into the midst of the enemy's quarters, who believed the campaign to be finished, and the marshal to be inactive in Lorraine. At Mulhausen, he defeated a considerable detachment of the Imperialists; and at Colmar obtained a decisive advantage over the elector of Brandenburg. A third body of infantry suffered the same fate at Turckheim; and thus an army of seventy thousand men, conquered and dispersed by the vigilance and activity of this general, was finally compelled to evacuate Alsace, and repass the Rhine⁹⁹.

While marshal Turenne was gathering fresh laurels in Alsace, the prince of Condé endeavoured to rival his fame, by his courageous exertions in Flanders. The allied army, superior in numbers, and commanded by the prince of Orange, was bent on an invasion of the French territory; but the prince was unable to elude the vigilance of Condé, who, seizing the opportunity while the enemy were passing a defile at Séneff, in the vicinity of Mons, attacked their rear-guard, chiefly composed of Spaniards, with great fury, and cut numbers of them to pieces. Such as escaped the slaughter took refuge in the village of Séneff, while the French possessed themselves of their baggage.

The prince of Vaudemont, who commanded the cavalry of the allies, finding himself attacked, at the same time, in a spot where the cavalry could not act, on account of the deep ditches and thick hedges with which it was intersected and surrounded, sent to the

⁹⁹ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 2.

prince of Orange for a reinforcement, who immediately dispatched to his assistance three battalions of infantry, under the command of the young prince Maurice of Nassau, who posted them in front of the cavalry, beyond the village of Séneff. The prince of Condé, observing this movement, gave orders to the count of Montal, to attack the church and village of Séneff, while he advanced himself, at the head of the body guards, accompanied by the dukes of Luxembourg and Navailles; the marquis of Rochefort, and the chevalier de Fourilles, against that division which now formed the rear of the enemy.

The prince of Orange, attentive to the motions of the French, recalled a part of his troops, which had already passed the brook of Séneff, while the prince of Vaudemont endeavoured to join him with the cavalry; but in the attempt, he was attacked, with great fury, by Condé, who dispersed his squadrons, and compelled them, after sustaining considerable loss, to fly with precipitation to the foot of a neighbouring hill, where the Spanish horse were stationed. The French pursued them with vigour, and charging the Spaniards with great impetuosity, forced them to fall back on the infantry, posted on the hill, who, by that means, were thrown into disorder. The prince of Waldeck, who commanded them, exerted his utmost efforts to rally them, but in vain; he received three wounds in the attempt, and must inevitably have been taken prisoner but for his own valour, in killing three Frenchmen who were in pursuit of him; after which he joined the main body of the army.

Hitherto the advantage had been entirely on the side of the French, but the prince of Condé, in seeking to improve his success, found that the whole force of the allies had returned to support their rear-guard; and that the prince of Orange had already posted several battalions behind the hedges at the village of Saint Nicolas aux Bois, which rendered it necessary for him to wait the arrival of his own infantry, which he had left far behind him. His cavalry, meanwhile, remained exposed to the fire of the enemy, which did great execution, during the space of an hour that the French troops remained in the same situation. The prince of Condé, finding the tide of success turning against him, exerted his utmost skill in order to avert the disgrace he was about to incur. Having received a reinforcement of troops, he placed himself at the head of one battalion, and dispatched two others, under the command of the chevalier de Fourilles, to attack the Dutch infantry. The chevalier was fully aware of the danger of the enterprise, but he obeyed, and received a mortal wound; with his last breath he expressed a wish to live but for three hours, that he might see in what manner the prince of Condé would extricate himself from the perilous situation in which his impetuosity had involved him.

In fact, the prince was extremely embarrassed; he made incredible efforts to change the fortune of the day; sacrificing the household troops, who cut in pieces a body of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by the duke of Villa-Hermosa and the marquis of Affen-tar, the latter of whom was killed in the action. Encouraged by this success, Condé

collected.

collected all his troops into one body, and made a desperate attack on the main body of the allies, posted on an eminence beyond the village of Fay. The count of Souches immediately repaired thither with the Imperialists, whom the prince of Orange placed on the left of the Spaniards, while the Dutch were stationed on their right. The battle now raged with uncommon fury, and was continued, without any apparent advantage on either side, until the combatants were parted by the darkness of the night. Both parties remained on the field of battle, and, therefore, both claimed the victory; but, after fighting with such determined courage during the day, they were both seized with a sudden panic in the night, and fled different ways. The French took three thousand prisoners, the chief of whom were the princes of Salins, Nassau, and Holstein; the counts of Staremberg and Merode; with the colonel of the prince of Orange's guards, and two hundred other officers. Ten thousand men, or, according to some authors, fourteen thousand, perished in this action ⁷⁰.

The prince of Orange, after refreshing his troops, laid siege to Oudenarde, which Condé hastened to relieve; the former would fain have risked a second engagement, but being deserted by the Imperial and Spanish generals, he was compelled, however reluctantly, to raise the siege, and retire to Ghent, whence he afterwards proceeded to Grave, which he reduced in the month of October.

In Roussillon the French were unsuccessful: they were defeated by the Spaniards near Ter, with the loss of two thousand men, and, but for the timely arrival and gallant exertions of mareschal Schomberg, general le Bret, with all his cavalry, which had fallen into an ambuscade, laid for them by the Spaniards, must inevitably have perished. It is probable that the enemy would have pursued their advantage, but for the insurrection of the Messinese, which called their attention to another quarter.

A. D. 1675.] The division, occasioned by this revolt, proved the means of stripping the province of Catalonia of the troops destined for its defence, and, consequently, of leaving it exposed to the attacks of the French. Mareschal Schomberg, accordingly, met with but little interruption to his progress; and, after securing an extensive tract of country, which amply supplied him with subsistence for his army, he reduced the towns and fortresses of Bascara, Figuières, Joui, Ampurias, and Bellegarde.

But Flanders and Germany were destined to bear the chief burden of the war. The prince of Condé was appointed generalissimo of the French troops in Flanders, and the king expressed his determination of serving under him in the capacity of a volunteer. His army consisted of sixty thousand men, a part of which was detached, under the

⁷⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 291, 292, 293.

conduct of mareschal Crequi, to form the siege of Dinant, which surrendered soon after the trenches were opened: the citadel, though situated on the summit of a rock, difficult of access, supplied with every necessary article for sustaining a long siege, and provided with a strong garrison, held out only seven days.

This detachment having joined the main body, the whole army now advanced to the frontiers of Brabant, to impede the progress of the prince of Orange, who was approaching at the head of the united forces of Holland and Spain. Mareschal Crequi had orders to repair to the banks of the Moselle and the electorate of Treves; while the marquis of Rochefort was sent to besiege Hui, which he reduced on the sixth of June; and then proceeded to invest Limbourg. The king advanced towards Maastricht, in order to cover the siege, and thereby compelled the prince of Orange, whose object was to make the marquis desist from his enterprize, to return to Brabant, where the French were employed in spreading desolation throughout the country. The king then returned to Versailles, leaving the prince of Condé to finish the operations of the campaign.

In Alsace mareschal Turenne was opposed to the celebrated general of the Imperialists, Montecuculi, the object of whose expedition was to penetrate into the territories of France, by passing the Rhine at Strasburgh. In the course of their operations, all the skill that an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the art of war could afford, all that genius could inspire, or experience dictate, was displayed by these rival warriors, eager for victory, and emulous for fame. Foiled in his efforts for passing the river at Strasburgh, by the vigilance of his adversary, Montecuculi endeavoured to draw off the attention of Turenne from that quarter, by sending a part of his army into the vicinity of Spire, and feigning an intention of crossing the Rhine at Mannheim. This feint, however, was insufficient to deceive the French commander; but as he was fearful of distressing the country he was sent to defend by a longer residence in it, he determined to pass the Rhine himself, and procure subsistence for his army on the territories of the empire. With this view he detached the marquis of Vaubrun, with a body of troops and six pieces of cannon, to establish a bridge near Ottenheim, where the Rhine, dividing itself into five different branches, forms several small islands, that are covered with trees. Having effected his passage, without molestation, he seized the small town of Wilsted, in the province of Hanau, to occupy which the Imperialists were themselves advancing.

Montecuculi then proceeded towards Offembourg to watch the motions of Turenne, but seeing no prospect of bringing him to action, he marched to the abbey of Schuteren, while the French encamped at Altenheim, at the distance only of two leagues from the Imperialists. The two armies remained for some time in this position, but the Imperialists beginning to feel a want of provisions, returned to Offembourg, and Turenne took his old post at Wilsted. Only a few slight skirmishes passed during all these movements.

At length, after a variety of marches and countermarches, in which a display of equal skill and judgment prevented either side from obtaining an advantage over the other, the French advanced to the village of Saltzbach, and summoned a body of German infantry, which had taken possession of the church, to surrender. The officer, who commanded the detachment, having expressed a determination to defend his post, Turenne resolved to march thither with his whole army, in the hope of bringing the enemy to action. Accordingly, at five in the morning of the twenty-seventh of July, he arrived at the village with his van-guard, and immediately stationed his men in the houses that were nearest to the church, which could not be carried by assault, because it was surrounded by lofty walls of extreme thickness, flanked with old towers, and defended in front by a deep ditch, which gave it at once the strength and appearance of an ancient castle. From the ditch issued a rivulet which fell into an extensive marsh on the left of the village, on the right of which was a ravine, in many places impassable, which reached to the chain of mountains that skirt the territory of Wirtemberg.

The ground occupied by the Imperialists on the opposite side of the village, was enclosed, on the right, by the marsh and by a small wood, planted on an eminence, that extended, in a rough and irregular slope, to Saltzbach; to the left, the ground where the army was drawn up was high, and tolerably level, being bordered by the ravine. The French artillery played, with great fury, on the church, but the thickness of the walls preventing the desired effect, Turenne, foreseeing that the business of the day would not be speedily terminated, ordered the batteries to cease firing.

Some of the enemy's troops appearing on the heights of Saltzbach, and throwing fresh supplies of infantry into the church, while others advanced to support them, Turenne became fully convinced that the whole of the Imperial army was near at hand; although he had at first been of opinion that the Imperialists had only seized the post of Saltzbach with a view to favour the junction of a detachment under general Caprara, which had been separated from the main body. He, therefore, prepared accordingly, and, as his troops arrived, drew them up in order of battle. The right wing was extended to the summit of a hill, where it was protected by a small wood that descended to the ravine, on the opposite side of which was a tile-house, and a few other buildings. The cavalry was drawn up on the hill, and the infantry were stationed in front, in a hollow, to the left of Saltzbach, whence it was concealed by another intervening hill, on which the French posted their artillery.

M. de Saint Hilaire, son to the general of that name, who was stationed with the artillery, observing, from the height, some irregular motions in the enemy's camp, which indicated an intention of securing the ravine and adjacent buildings, hastened to communicate this circumstance to mareschal Turenne, whom he found, at the head of the
infantry,



Jones Fecit

MARESCHAL TURENNE.

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infantry, seated beneath a tree, which he had made one of his soldiers climb for the purpose of watching the manœuvres of the enemy in that quarter.

As soon as Turenne had heard the report of Saint Hilaire, he ordered that officer to return to the right wing, to inform the count of Roye, and the other general officers, of the spot where he had left him, and where he intended to wait the arrival of the second line, and of the troops under the conduct of his nephew, De Lorges: he desired, however, that the generals would not fail to apprize him of every thing that should occur in their respective stations.

The count of Roye, meanwhile, having made the same observation as Saint Hilaire, had conveyed to Turenne the same information, and had received a similar answer. Convinced, however, that the enemy meant to obtain possession of the ravine and the tile-house, he dispatched the duke D'Elbeuf to the commander in chief, to request a fresh supply of infantry, that he might be enabled to secure them before the arrival of the Imperialists; and, at the same time, to express his conviction of the necessity of the marshal's presence in that quarter. Turenne sent him two battalions of infantry, with orders to post them in the tile-house, and, as if conscious of his impending fate, informed the count that it was his determination to remain where he was, unless some object of greater importance should occur.

Notwithstanding this reply, the count of Roye dispatched the count of Hamilton to Turenne, who represented the indispensable necessity of his presence at the right wing, that he might give such orders as the exigencies of the case seemed to require. Turenne then mounted his horse, and galloped down a hollow way, through which he was conducted by the count, that he might not be exposed to the fire of two small guns which the enemy had placed on the opposite side of the ravine. But perceiving general Saint Hilaire on the hill, he rode up to him, and desired to know which was the column of the enemy that had given them such alarm. As the general was pointing it out to him, the two small guns were discharged at the spot where they stood; and a ball from one of them, passing over the rump of the general's horse, took off his arm, grazed the neck of his son's horse, who was standing near him, and lodged in the left side of Turenne, who galloped about twenty yards, and then fell lifeless to the ground.

Young Saint Hilaire, throwing his arms around his wounded parent, burst into tears; when the old general exclaimed—"Alas! my son, it is not the loss of me you should lament, but the death of that great man: neither you, nor your country, will ever meet with such another general". The news of his fate impressed the king, the court, and the

⁷¹ Mémoires de M. de Saint Hilaire, tom. i. p. 204, 205.

people, with the deepest sorrow ; but it was in the camp that his loss was most severely felt, and most sensibly regretted. Montecuculi, who had for three months been kept on the other side of the Rhine, by the abilities of the marechal, passed the river at Straßburgh, soon after his death, having previously defeated the French, killing and wounding upwards of three thousand men. Among the former were the marquis of Vaubrun ; the counts of La Motte and Cateu ; and among the latter, the dukes of Vendôme and La Ferté ; and the count of Roze. The Imperial general penetrated into Alsace, while the French, under the conduct of the count de Lorges, retired before him.

The prince of Condé was sent from Flanders to take the command of the army in Alsace. At his approach, Montecuculi raised the siege of Haguenau, and fixed his camp in such a situation as to cannonade, with great effect, the army of Condé, who was obliged to retire towards Schelestad. The Imperialists followed him, attacked his rear-guard, and killed great numbers of them, but being unable to bring on a general engagement, they directed their attacks against the castles of Molsheim and Molsheic, which they reduced, and made the garrisons prisoners of war. They then laid siege to the town of Saverne, which must inevitably have fallen into their hands, but for the arrival of a courier, charged with orders from the emperor to Montecuculi, to desist from the enterprize, and repass the Rhine with his whole army.

Meanwhile, another part of the German army had formed the siege of Treves, which, for two years, had been in possession of the French. Marechal Crequi, who commanded a body of troops on the Moselle, marched to the relief of the place, having been previously joined by the marquis de la Trouffe, and the chevalier de Sourdis. Apprized of his approach, the allies left their lines, and marched out to meet him, as far as the bridge of Confarbruck, where they meant to dispute with the French the passage of the Saare. They had already gained the opposite side of that river, before marechal Crequi had made any preparations to oppose them ; on the contrary, he displayed such a want of circumspection, that his cavalry were all dispersed on foraging parties, and he even neglected to seize those posts which could alone enable him to resist the attacks of an enemy of superior force. The allies, aware of his neglect, occupied those posts themselves ; and the efforts of a detachment of French, sent, under the conduct of the count de la Marck, to dislodge them, were repelled with vigour and success, and their leader was killed in the action. The combat then became general, and the French sustained a total defeat ; in vain did the marechal, by making a stand with a few squadrons he had collected, behind the village of Taverne, attempt to rally his flying troops ; he himself was compelled to follow the stream, and, with difficulty, effected his escape to Treves.

The governor of that city had been killed the day before by a fall from his horse, and Crequi, having assumed the command, thought of repairing the disgrace he had sustained, by a gallant defence of the town. He, accordingly, sustained the incessant attacks of
the

the besiegers, continued, almost without intermission, for fifteen days: but having refused to surrender, at the expiration of that time, in contradiction to the opinion of all the officers in the garrison, who signed the capitulation, he was taken prisoner, and conducted to Coblenz.

During these transactions the troops in the Netherlands had remained almost in a state of inactivity. The duke of Luxembourg, who had taken the command of them, contented himself with acting on the defensive, having received orders not to risk an action. By this means he frustrated the designs of the prince of Orange, whose operations were confined to the reduction of Binchs, a town situated between Mons and Charleroi.

Some commotions broke out in Brittany and Guienne, this year, on account of the increase of taxes, during which some receivers and collectors were put to death by the populace. But the arrival of the troops soon quelled the tumult, and the punishment of the ringleaders, who were sentenced to be hanged, prevented its renewal. The parliaments of the two provinces not having evinced sufficient alacrity in repressing the sedition, the king banished that of Brittany to Vannes, and that of Guienne to Condom, where they remained till the year 1690, when they were restored. It was remarked that, during these troubles, the members of the reformed church remained invariably faithful to the king⁷², though their fidelity proved inadequate to avert the ruin which the persecuting spirit, and mistaken policy of Lewis, at a later period of his reign, inflicted on them.

With this campaign the prince of Condé closed the long series of his martial toils and glory; the short remnant of his life he passed in honourable retirement at Chantilly, whither he had withdrawn himself in disgust with the intrigues of a court, ungrateful, as he conceived, for the services he had rendered his country; the king, ever jealous of his authority, and averse from the employment of *princes*, having refused to suffer his son to succeed him in the command of the army. Condé died in 1680, a martyr to the gout⁷³. Montecuculi withdrew at the same time from the fatigues of a military life, though his retirement was certainly not influenced by the absurd motive ascribed to him by some authors, who assert, that he would no longer command an army because he had no rival worthy to oppose him.

A. D. 1676.] Though Lewis had lost his two principal commanders, yet the vigour and discipline which had been infused into his troops still continued to open the road to victory. The Dutch themselves soon after sustained a loss of equal magnitude, and which impressed them with equal sorrow. A French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, having been dispatched to Messina to support the revolted inhabitants, a Dutch squadron

⁷² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 304.

⁷³ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 16.

was sent to join the Spaniards; when an action ensued, in which De Ruyter received a wound that put an end to his glorious life. The Dutch, dismayed at the death of their gallant leader, retired in confusion; but the French derived little benefit from this victory, as they were soon after obliged to evacuate Messina.

Lewis, meanwhile, had sent four armies into the field, commanded by four new generals. The first was destined to act in Germany under marshal Luxembourg; the second in Rouffillon, under the duke of Navailles; the third, under marshal Rochefort, was stationed between the Sambre and the Meuse; and the fourth, headed by the king in person, and under him by marshal Crequi, (who had been ransomed from captivity) and marshals Humieres, Lorges, Schoenberg and la Feuillade, entered the Netherlands. This last army was composed of more than fifty thousand men. The king detached marshal Humieres to make an irruption into the county of Waes, while marshal Crequi received orders to invest Condé. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second of April, and the siege was pushed with such vigour that, on the thirtieth, the garrison was reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. The prince of Orange and the duke of Villa Hermosa advanced as far as Mons, with a view to relieve the town; but having learned on the road that it was already reduced, they posted themselves between Mons and Saint Guilain to watch the motions of the French.

The king, who had been present at this siege, went from thence to Sebourg, whence he sent out detachments to destroy most of the castles in the territory of Liege, and to lay waste the duchy of Juliers. Nor did the dominions of the duke of Neubourg, who had lately joined the allies, escape the ravage of his troops; the small town of Sittard was taken by assault, and exposed to the brutal rage of the soldiery. The duchy of Cleves experienced a similar treatment, as did also that tract of country that lies between the Meuse and the Vahal.

On the sixth of May Lewis sent a detachment under the command of his brother, the duke of Orleans, to invest Bouchain; while he advanced, with the rest of the army, to cover the siege, and prevent any interruption from the enemy. He fixed his camp in such an advantageous situation as to be exempt from all dread of attack; but the prince of Orange having, by a rapid march, reached Valenciennes, the king passed the Scheldt, and the two armies came within sight of each other. A battle appeared inevitable, but the king, who certainly had it in his power to engage⁷², declined the combat, and contented himself with the reduction of Bouchain, which surrendered after a siege of six days.

The

72. This circumstance has been variously reported by different writers. The duke de Saint Simon, in his *Memoirs* (tome vi. p. 11.) says, that as the king's army was superior to that of the enemy, the propriety of giving battle appeared

The prince of Orange, dreading an attack on Cambrai, strengthened the garrison by a detachment of three thousand men, while the king returned to Versailles, leaving the command of his army to marechal Schomberg. On the seventh of July the allies laid siege to Maestricht (the only town belonging to the United Provinces which remained in the hands of the French), with five-and-twenty thousand men, and twelve days after the trenches were opened. But notwithstanding the valour displayed by the troops, and the furious manner in which the town was bombarded, until the twenty-sixth of August, the prince of Orange was compelled to raise the siege, after great numbers had been killed on both sides. Marechal Humieres was more fortunate in his attempt upon Aire, which he reduced in less than a week.

But though the campaign in the Netherlands had terminated favourably for the French, in Germany their troops had met with repeated checks. Charles the Fifth, the new duke of Lorraine, who had succeeded his brother, Charles the Fourth, and who, like him, was stripped of his dominions, had been placed at the head of the Imperial army, with which, in the month of May, he passed the Rhine, in the vicinity of Spire. Having entered Upper Alsace, a detachment of his army was surprized and defeated by the duke of Luxembourg, at the passage of the small river Rohr; but the Imperialists soon had their revenge in the neighbourhood of Zibernsteeg, where they totally dispersed the rear-guard of the French, which must have been entirely cut to pieces but for the brave resistance of three English regiments, (who were still suffered to remain in the French service), whose commander, Hamilton, was killed, together with a great number of his men⁷⁵. This success facilitated to the Imperialists the reduction of Philippsburgh, the siege of which had been formed by the prince of Baden-Dourlach, general of the troops of the circles. The town was defended with great obstinacy during three months, at the expiration of which time it surrendered to the enemy.

Marechal Luxembourg sought to repair this loss by an irruption into Montbeliard, with a view of entering the Brisgaw, and reducing some of the towns in that territory.

peared obvious to all the generals; but the interference of Louvois "*who knew his master's sentiments*" biased their opinions, and induced them to reject the advice of marechal de Loges, who insisted on the necessity of an action, supporting his opinion by reasons which none of them could answer. Pellisson, on the contrary, who was present at the time, vindicates the honour of Lewis (tome iii. p. 45, 67) and maintains that it was the business of the prince to begin the attack; he also asserts, on the authority of marechal de la Feuillade, that Lewis was eager to attack the enemy, but was prevented by the judicious interference of his generals. The Prince of Orange, on the contrary, assured marechal de Loges, who saw him the day after the battle, that the king had suffered an opportunity to escape, which had he embraced, he must inevitably have defeated him. (Anquetil, tome i. p. 216.) The Continuator of Mezerai joins those who censure Lewis, while Voltaire justifies his hero. Lewis, however, never ceased to blame himself for his conduct on that day, when, says Dangeau, as he afterwards acknowledged, he committed more faults than on any other day in his whole life; having suffered a certain opportunity of defeating the enemy to escape. He cast the blame of the omission on his minister, Louvois. ⁷⁵ Contin. de Mezerai, tome ii. p. 313.

But

But the duke of Lorraine frustrated his designs, by throwing a strong garrison into Fribourg, so that the operations of the French were confined to the destruction of a few defenceless villages. The pretext for seizing Montbeliard was, that the country might be placed under the *protection* of the king⁷⁶.

During the various operations of the hostile armies, a negotiation for a peace had been opened by the contending powers, and a congress established at Nimeguen, under the mediation of the king of England. But Lewis artfully protracted the conferences, by urging proposals which, he knew, would be rejected; and the allies, unwilling to submit to the terms which his ambition had dictated, once more prepared to meet him in the field.

While the prince of Orange was at the Hague, engaged in settling the operations of the campaign, the French armies assembled in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Saint Omer. The first of these towns was invested by marshal Luxembourg, and the king repaired to the camp in person, that he might have the honour of reducing it. On the tenth of March the trenches were opened, and, on the seventeenth, the mousquetaires, having received orders to storm some of the outworks, pursued their advantage, and, by an instance of temerity almost unparalleled, followed the fugitives into the town, which they continued to keep possession of until the king's arrival.

Cambrai was reduced, in the month of April, and marshal D'Humieres invested Saint Omer, to the relief of which place the prince of Orange marched with his whole army. The duke of Orleans and marshal Luxembourg, who were employed to cover the siege, advanced to within a league of Mount Cassel, where they attacked the allies. The conflict was sharp, though of short duration; the prince of Orange was defeated, with considerable loss, and compelled to seek shelter under the walls of Ypres. In this action, the duke of Orleans, though a prince of the most effeminate manners, displayed the most consummate skill, and the most determined courage. Indeed, the reputation he acquired, in consequence of his conduct on the occasion, was such as to inspire the suspicious mind of Lewis with jealousy against his brother, and to superinduce a determination never more to entrust him with the command of an army⁷⁷. Eight days after the battle, the town of Saint Omer surrendered to the French.

⁷⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 314.

⁷⁷ Pellisson, indeed, denies the existence of this jealousy, (tom. iii. p. 233.) and asserts that the king was so much pleased at the success of the duke of Orleans, as to declare, *upon his honour*, that he was much more rejoiced at his brother's having obtained the victory, than he should have been at gaining it himself. But the assertion of an historian who is *paid for praising a monarch*, should be received with great caution; and the affirmation of the duke de Saint Simon, who avers the satisfaction displayed by Lewis to have been merely external, while his jealousy was fixed and permanent, (tom. vi. p. 17.) appears to be more worthy of credit, particularly, as it is certain that the duke of Orleans was never again entrusted with the command of an army.



Jones Fecit.

The Duke of Luxembourg.

MARECHAL OF FRANCE.

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The duke of Lorraine, having the command of a powerful army in Germany, expected to make such a diversion as would draw all the forces of the French to that quarter, and thereby facilitate the success of the prince of Orange's expeditions in the Netherlands. But his expectations were frustrated, and his projects defeated, by the vigour and vigilance of marechal Crequi, who, having kept the Spanish army in check, while Luxembourg compelled the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Charleroi, marched against the duke of Lorraine, and, after defeating his troops in successive skirmishes, forced him to repass the Rhine. Crequi then laid siege to Fribourg, the capital of the Brisgaw, which he reduced in the month of October, having previously defeated a large body of the Imperialists, who had been sent to interrupt his operations, at Kokberg, in the vicinity of Strasburgh.

The duke of Navailles was equally successful in Catalonia, where, in a pitched battle, he defeated the Spaniards under the count of Monterey. The reduction of Saint Guilain, by marechal Humieres, was the last operation of the campaign.

A. D. 1678.] Negotiations for peace were still continued; and the king of England, having bestowed the hand of his niece on the prince of Orange, seemed sincerely desirous of acquiescing in the wishes of his people, and of affording protection to the United Provinces. Lewis, however, took the field so early as the month of February, and, after threatening various places, in order to divide the attention of the enemy, sat down before Ghent, on the fourth of March, and, in a few days, reduced the garrison of that important fortress to the necessity of capitulating. The town and citadel of Ypres were reduced with equal rapidity, and the successful progress of the French, while it induced Lewis to assume the haughty tone of a conqueror, disposed the allies to submit to the terms which he wished to impose. The Dutch first asked and obtained a cessation of arms for six months, which was soon followed by a peace, to which the emperor and the king of Spain, after some hesitation, reluctantly subscribed.

By this treaty, which was signed at Nimeguen, on the tenth of August, Lewis secured the possession of Franche-Comté, together with Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, and some other places of inferior note: while he restored Maestricht to the Dutch; and Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limbourg, to Spain.

The prince of Orange was disgusted with the terms of a treaty which he considered as highly advantageous to France; and four days after its conclusion, he attacked marechal Luxembourg at Mons, and defeated, with great slaughter, the French, who conceived the war to be finished. In this action four thousand men were slain on both sides. It is supposed the prince knew of the treaty, though he professed to be ignorant of it;

and that this wanton sacrifice of so many lives was made with a view of prolonging the war, in order to gratify his resentment against Lewis.

A. D. 1679 to 1783.] Neither the restoration of peace, nor the extension of territory which he acquired by the late treaty, could instil into the mind of Lewis those sentiments of moderation, and that regard to justice, which are best calculated to promote the happiness of the sovereign, and the welfare of the people. Inflated with the success he had obtained over his enemies, and the gross adulation he received from his subjects, he suffered the suggestions of vanity to silence the dictates of reason, and his conduct seemed to be influenced by the idea that he was lord of the universe.

While the allies, resting secure on the faith of treaties, had disbanded their supernumerary troops, Lewis retained his, having previously resolved to extend his conquests, even in time of peace. Conscious of his power, he established arbitrary courts at Metz, and Brisac, for the purpose of reuniting to the crown all the territories which had formerly been dependent on Alsace and the three bishopricks, though they had been transferred, for time immemorial, to other masters. Many sovereign princes of Germany; the elector palatine; the king of Spain himself, who possessed a few bailiwicks in those countries; and the king of Sweden, as duke of Deux-Ponts; were cited to appear before the judges of these new-erected courts, to do homage to the king of France, and, in case of disobedience, were threatened with the confiscation of their estates. From the time of Charlemagne, no prince had ever dared to assume this tone of authority to his equals, to create himself the judge of monarchs, and to conquer countries by arrêts.

The elector palatine, and the elector of Treves, were arbitrarily despoiled of the lordships of Falkenberg, Germersheim, and Valdentz; while their complaints to the diet, assembled at Ratisbon, of this flagrant breach of faith, only produced a long remonstrance, that was totally disregarded by Lewis.

This ambitious prince was not content with the sovereignty of the ten free towns in Alsace, as formerly enjoyed by the emperors, but imposed on the inhabitants a yoke so intolerable, that far from being allowed the exercise of the liberty they had been accustomed to possess, they did not even dare to make it the subject of conversation. The contagion of despotism had not yet reached Strasburgh, that great and opulent city, mistress of the Rhine, and forming a powerful republic of herself, famous for its arsenal, which contained no less than nine hundred pieces of cannon ⁷⁷.

Louvois had, long since, formed the design of delivering this city into the hands of his master, and for the accomplishment of his purpose he had recourse to the operations

⁷⁷ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 36.

of gold, terror, and intrigue, which had already given him possession of various towns. The inhabitants of Straßburgh were thrown into the utmost consternation, by the sudden and unexpected appearance of twenty thousand French; by the reduction of the forts on the Rhine, that defended their ramparts; and by the conduct of their magistrates, who, corrupted by the enemy, talked of delivering up the town. The tears and despair of the citizens, enamoured of freedom, were disregarded; and, on the thirtieth of September, 1681, the town was surrendered to Louvois, and was afterwards rendered, by the skill of Vauban, a formidable monument of the infamy of Lewis, and the strongest barrier of the French dominions.

The restless ambition of this haughty despot knew no bounds; he seems to have considered the neighbouring powers as slaves to his will, or, at best, as instruments of his aggrandizement. Spain was treated with no more respect than the empire; he preferred a preposterous claim to the town and district of Alost in the Netherlands, which he had the impudence to assert the ministers had *forgotten* to insert in the treaty of peace; and as the Spanish court delayed to comply with a pretension so false and ill-founded, Lewis ordered his troops to form the blockade of Luxembourg.

At the same time he acquired, by purchase, from the duke of Mantua, the strong fortresses of Casal, and invaded the independence of the free city of Orange by the demolition of its walls.

This violent lust of power, which seemed to grasp at nothing less than universal empire, gave the most serious alarm to all the princes of Europe, and associations were formed for the purpose of stemming the destructive torrent, that threatened to overturn the most sacred barriers, and to demolish the most ancient structures. Intent on the gratification of his prevailing passions, vanity and ambition, he pursued with avidity those measures which were best calculated to render him an object of dread to surrounding nations. In fortifying his towns and fortresses, in encreasing the number, and regulating the discipline, of his sailors; in constructing fresh ports and harbours, and in building ships of war, neither pains nor expence were spared. The port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was rendered capable of containing an hundred vessels, and was provided with an arsenal and magazines on the most extensive scale: in the ocean, the harbour of Brest was formed on a similar plan; Dunkirk and Havre were filled with ships; and at Rochefort, the obstructions of nature were removed by the exertions of art.

By the care and industry of Colbert, the French navy had encreased, in the space of a few years, to a hundred sail of the line, many of which were of the first rate⁷⁸; and

⁷⁸ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 38.

Louvois had been studious to augment, in proportion, the number of forts on the confines of the kingdom. During the construction of these immense works, the French court exhibited a scene of magnificence and pleasure, calculated to command the admiration, and to captivate the senses, of all who frequented it; while the extension of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts, at once tended to refine and corrupt the manners of the opulent, and to enable the people to support the new burthens, which the profusion of their sovereign had rendered necessary.

A. D. 1683 to 1685.] The situation of the neighbouring powers contributed greatly to the success of Lewis's designs. The king of England secretly favoured his views; the councils of Holland were divided; and the emperor Leopold had to encounter the united arms of his revolted subjects in Hungary, and of the Turks, whom the insurgents had summoned to their assistance. The count of Nointel had, indeed, been dispatched by the king of France, to the Porte, in order to instigate the Turks to a violation of the twenty years' truce which they had concluded with the emperor. His intrigues, joined to the invitation of the Hungarians, proved successful, and immense hordes of Mussulmans poured, like a torrent, into the empire, and, bearing down all before them, advanced to the gates of Vienna. At this critical period, when the destruction of the Imperial branch of the house of Austria appeared inevitable, Lewis renewed hostilities in the Netherlands; nor could the relief of the capital of the empire, nor the subsequent expulsion of the Turks, induce him to desist from an enterprize which flattered his ambition. Luxembourg, hitherto blockaded by the French, was now regularly besieged, and rapidly reduced; Courtrai and Dixmude, unprepared for resistance, yielded to their arms; the city of Treves was seized by Lewis, who demolished its fortifications; and all these acts of hostility were represented as just efforts to fulfil the spirit of the treaty of Nimeguen. While the king was employed in reducing their towns, the Imperialists and Spaniards had opened a negociation with him at Ratisbon, where the peace of Nimeguen was converted into a truce of twenty years, by which Lewis was permitted to retain possession of Luxembourg, and the territory annexed to it⁷⁹.

The king displayed equal injustice, in his haughty treatment of the republic of Genoa. The Genoese having built some gallies for the Spaniards, Lewis sent a fleet which bombarded their capital, and reduced to ashes great numbers of those magnificent structures which had given to the city the epithet of *Superb*. Not content with this punishment, he compelled the doge, and four of the principal senators, to repair to Versailles, and pronounce, in his presence, an humiliating speech, composed by his minister.

But the punishment he inflicted on the piratical states of Barbary deserves commendation. Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, felt the weight of his resentment, and were com-

⁷⁹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 354, 355.

pelled to make compensation for the insult offered to his flag, by concessions the most abject, and by the release of several hundreds of Christian captives.

During these transactions, the queen died (in July, 1683), more regretted by the nation than by the king, who, by the unrestrained gratification of his amorous propensities, had destroyed the happiness of a consort, who, unpolluted by the contagion of evil example, was never known to swerve, in a single instance, from the strict line of her duty. Her death produced no change in the conduct of Lewis, who continued to divide his time between schemes of pleasure, and projects of ambition; though a friend to the arts, and a patron of the sciences, this absolute prince, intoxicated with the amplitude of his power, and the servile adulation of his poets and courtiers, possessed a spirit of persecution, both civil and religious, that seems incompatible with the pursuits of literature, and the milder avocations of polished life. Not content with invading the rights and privileges of the neighbouring states, he now endeavoured to exercise a despotic sway over the *consciences* of his own subjects. The year 1685 was destined for the accomplishment of a scheme which Lewis had long had in contemplation—the total extermination of the Hugonots. He began by sending troops into the different provinces with a view to compel the reformed to pay obedience to the orders of the court. These orders were signified to the objects of his persecution by the intendants, who were directed to shut the gates of the different towns inhabited by the Protestants; then to assemble the inhabitants, and *command* them to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, under pain of being compelled so to do in such manner as to the king should seem meet.

On their refusal to comply with these arbitrary commands, the dragoons were ordered to approach, part of whom were stationed in the avenues leading to the towns, and part quartered at discretion on the Protestants, where they lived until all the provisions were consumed, when they pillaged the houses, destroyed the effects, and seized whatever belonged to the reformed. They next attacked the persons of the Hugonots, and exhausted their ingenuity in torturing them, in a thousand ways, without discrimination of age or sex, in order to induce them to change their religion. Numbers, who remained firm and unshaken, were thrown into dungeons; or if, by chance, any of them, eluding the vigilance of their guards, escaped into the woods, they were pursued like beasts of prey, and, like them, massacred without mercy. The females were placed in convents, where the pious zeal of the nuns suffered them to enjoy no repose, until they consented to attend the celebration of the mass. The houses of the Hugonots were demolished, their property was sold or confiscated, and they themselves were reduced to a state of poverty and wretchedness: they had long before been deprived of all their posts and employments, and even debarred from the exercise of any trades or professions in corporate towns. Their places of worship were razed to the very foundations; and the nobility, and people, the rich and the poor, were all involved in the general ruin⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 358.

To complete this scene of persecution, the blow that was destined to effect the total abolition of the reformed religion in France, was, at length, struck : In October, 1685, the celebrated edict of Nantes, published by the fourth Henry, solemnly confirmed by his grandson, and sanctioned with all the necessary forms that could render it authentic, or secure its duration, was formally revoked and annulled. The reformed expected, however, to find some truce to their sufferings, by a compliance with the twelfth article of the edict of revocation, which decreed—" That until it should please God to enlighten them, they might continue to reside in the kingdom, pursue their commerce, and enjoy their property, without being subject to trouble or molestation on account of their religion, on condition that they should not publicly profess it, nor assemble under pretence of reading prayers, or performing any other act of worship whatever." But no attention was paid to this article ; the soldiers were left in the provinces, where they committed still greater acts of outrage and violence than before, and all the Hugonots were finally constrained, either to change their religion, or to quit the kingdom.

The mode pursued by the ministry for effecting this work of iniquity, was this: The attorney-general, and other magistrates of every town, sent a summons to all the heads of families, to assemble at a certain place, which they specified ; when the king's orders were read to them, and the most violent threats employed to render them obedient. In the district of Paris, the marquis of Seignelai summoned all the Hugonots, who were not yet converted, to his hôtel ; where he locked them up, and refused to let them go until they had signed a deed of abjuration, which he had previously prepared, and which contained an assertion, that the change of their religion was not the effect of constraint but conviction.

At the same time, every possible precaution was taken to deprive those who adhered to their religion of all means of escape. The guards were doubled in all the cities, sea-ports, great-roads, and bridges in the kingdom : the peasants were ordered to attack the unhappy fugitives wherever they met them ; soldiers were dispersed over every part of the country ; the strictest orders were issued to the persons who kept the barriers, to prevent any person from passing ; and the king rather chose to break off all intercourse with foreign states, than to afford the Hugonots an opportunity of escaping from persecution. All such as were intercepted in their flight were thrown into prison ; stripped of what little they had saved from the general wreck ; separated from their wives ; loaded with chains ; applied to the torture ; and exposed to all the evils and pains which the savage ingenuity of their guards could invent. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of the government, and its subaltern tyrants, more than half a million, or, according to some authors, eight hundred thousand⁸¹, of the Hugonots, found means to escape ; and leav-

⁸¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 79.

ing a kingdom which their industry had greatly contributed to enrich, exported, besides considerable sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had brought France to its present flourishing state, and which now tended to promote the prosperity of her enemies. Near forty thousand of the refugees passed over to England, where they were received with open arms. By this means the detestable persecution of Lewis carried with it its own punishment.

A. D. 1686 to 1688.] While Lewis, equally impolitic and unjust, was thus employed in oppressing a most useful and industrious class of his subjects, the neighbouring states, stimulated by the melancholy fate of the refugees, and anxious to check that spirit of ambition, which threatened the subversion of their own power, had entered into a league against him. This formidable confederacy had been formed, by the intrigues and influence of the prince of Orange, at Augsbourg, where the whole empire united against Lewis; Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance; the accession of Savoy was afterwards obtained; and Sweden and Denmark betrayed a disposition to favour the same cause.

Though threatened by this powerful combination, Lewis was obliged to direct his attention to the situation of affairs in England, where James the Second had succeeded to the throne, and, by his imprudent conduct, had afforded such serious grounds of complaint to his subjects, that a new revolution appeared inevitable. It was not long, indeed, before the English sent an invitation to the prince of Orange to take into his hands that sceptre which they deemed his father-in-law unworthy to wield; and as the prince possessed almost as much ambition as Lewis, he made no scruple to accept an offer that tended to gratify his favourite passion. He diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raised considerable sums of money; but his artifices, however skillfully conducted, could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French court. D'Avaux, Lewis's envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a comparison of circumstances, to trace the purposes of the preparations in Holland; and he instantly informed his master of the discovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James, and accompanied the information with an important offer. He expressed his willingness to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should deem requisite for his security. When this proposal was rejected, he offered to march his army into the Netherlands, and, by the terror of his arms, to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. But this offer met with no better reception.

At length the prince of Orange sailed for England, and, landing on the coast of Devonshire, was joined by the principal nobility of the island. James, deserted by his subjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and

and sought shelter, with his queen and infant son, in France. Lewis received the illustrious fugitives with every mark of respect and assurance of support; the palace of Saint-Germain was allotted them for their residence; the royal guards and attendants received orders to wait on them; and a pension of five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling was assigned them for their subsistence. The English, meanwhile, raised the prince of Orange to the throne, under the title of William the Third; and that monarch now prepared to vindicate the liberties of Europe, and to gratify his own personal resentment against Lewis.

A. D. 1688 to 1690.] The king, during these transactions, had anticipated the designs of those princes who had combined against him, by invading the empire, and laying siege to Philipsburg, which surrendered within a month after the trenches had been opened, though not until the city had been nearly demolished by the number of bombs that had been thrown into it by the French. Having secured this important fortress, Lewis determined to fulfil the promise of support he had given to James. This unhappy prince had still a strong party in Ireland; and Lewis furnished him with a formidable fleet, well stocked with arms and ammunition of all kinds, and a body of six thousand troops; and as soon as James had disembarked in safety, a farther reinforcement was sent him. Tourville, the French admiral, who had orders to second the operations of James, fell in with the united fleets of England and Holland, off Beachy Head; and, after an engagement of ten hours, the latter were compelled to decline the unequal contest, and to retire into the English harbours. James, meanwhile, had been received into Limerick, and his first success exceeded his most sanguine expectations: but his career was checked by the skill of the duke of Schomberg, and his hopes were finally destroyed by the decisive battle of the Boyne; after which he returned to France, while his successful rival, by his valour and conduct, firmly established his tottering throne. A desultory war was, indeed, maintained for some time after the flight of James; but Ireland gradually withdrew from the support of a prince who had deserted her, and submitted to the authority of William.

Lewis had made the most formidable preparations for resisting the efforts of his numerous enemies; in his fleets and armies no less than four hundred and fifty thousand men were employed⁸²; the dauphin, a young prince of twenty-seven, mild in his manners and modest in his conduct, was entrusted with the command of an army of an hundred thousand men, destined to act against the imperialists in Germany. The prince was accompanied by marshal Duras, who directed all his operations; while Boufflers was sent with another body of troops beyond the Rhine; and Humieres, with an army of observation, was dispatched towards Cologne.

⁸². *Siècle de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 73, 74.*

Mentz and Heidelberg were speedily reduced; Manheim was taken in three days; Franckendal in two; and Spires, Treves, Worms, and Oppenheim opened their gates at the approach of the French. The reduction of these cities was followed by the destruction of the palatinate. Orders, suggested by Louvois, and adopted by Lewis, were received by the generals of the army, once more to convert that fertile country into a desert. The inhabitants, apprized of their intentions, quitted their habitations in the depth of a severe winter; men, women and children were seen wandering in the fields, exposed to the inclemency of the weather; while the troops were employed in laying waste their country with fire and sword. The scene of destruction began at Manheim and Heidelberg, the residence of the electors, whose palaces were demolished; while the tombs of their ancestors were profaned by the rapacious hands of the soldiery, who, disappointed in their expectations of discovering hidden treasures, scattered in the winds the ashes of the dead.

These abominable acts of violence and inhumanity excited the general detestation of Europe, and rather served to exasperate than intimidate the immediate enemies of Lewis. The princes of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, resolved on a declaration of war against the king, as the common enemy of christendom (in allusion to his alliance with the Turks); and their example was followed by the elector of Brandenburg and the states-general of Holland: Spain, too, enraged at the repeated infractions of the treaty concluded with France, determined to become a party in the dispute.

Hitherto the French had met with no opposition; but the imperial troops changed the face of affairs, and compelled them to retire to the banks of the Rhine. The elector of Brandenburg, having in conjunction with the Dutch taken Keiserwert and Rhinberg, in the electorate of Cologne, advanced against the marquis of Sourdis, whom he defeated in the vicinity of Nuis. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the forces of the empire, laid siege to Mentz, which was gallantly defended by the marquis D'Uxelles, during seven weeks; but, at the expiration of that time, having expended all his ammunition, the marquis was compelled to surrender the town. Bonn was also reduced by the elector of Brandenburg.

In Flanders, marechal D'Humieres was defeated by the prince of Waldeck at Valcour on the Sambre, where he lost from three to four thousand men, with all his artillery, ammunition and baggage⁸⁴. Lewis, to retrieve this disaster, again entrusted his forces in the Netherlands to the marechal duke of Luxembourg, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his minister Louvois, who had conceived a violent dislike to the duke. "I promise you," said the king to the marechal, "that Louvois shall conduct himself with pro-

⁸⁴. Contin. de Mezerai, tome ii. p. 388.

“ priety ; I will oblige him to sacrifice the hatred he bears you to the good of my
 “ service: you shall address all your letters to me, none of them shall pass through
 “ his hands.”

The conduct of Luxembourg justified the choice of his master. The superiority of his genius was particularly signalized at the battle of Fleurus, on the confines of the Netherlands, where he obtained (on the thirtieth of June, 1690), a complete victory over the troops of the allies, commanded by the prince of Waldeck. The French killed six thousand of the enemy, and made eight thousand prisoners. On this occasion Luxembourg observed—“ Prince Waldeck must always remember the French cavalry, “ and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry.”

In Piedmont, marshal Catinat commanded an army of twelve thousand men, destined to act against the duke of Savoy. He attacked the enemy, who were encamped in an advantageous situation, near the abbey of Staffarda, and, after an obstinate conflict, defeated them with great slaughter. Three thousand Piedmontese are said to have perished in the action. One thousand were taken prisoners, and a great part of their artillery fell into the hands of the French. Cahors, Saluzzo, and Susa, were the fruits of this victory. The baron de Sales, one of the duke's generals, was defeated, soon after, in the Tarentaise, by the marquis de Vins, who profited by the advantage he had gained to reduce the castle of Miolans.

The heavy expences of a war, conducted with such spirit and vigour in various quarters, necessarily required immense supplies of money, to obtain which Lewis had, at first, recourse to the erection of new offices, which were sold to the highest bidders. But this mode of raising money proving inadequate to the exigencies of the case, a variety of taxes were imposed, highly burdensome to the people⁹⁵. An edict was also published, ordering all persons to carry such articles of plate as weighed more than an ounce to the mint, to be converted into specie. The king, himself, stripped his palace of Versailles of all articles of that description, and the princes of the blood were obliged to follow his example. the time was passed when the rigour of pecuniary edicts could be modified by the parliament: The king's authority had become so absolute, that the smallest opposition to his measures must have been productive of ruin and disgrace.

A. D. 1691, 1692.] In the ensuing campaign, the French, having taken the field at a very early period, invested Mons on the fifteenth of March. The king was present at the siege, but, as soon as the town surrendered, returned to Versailles. Luxembourg, meanwhile, had been sent, with a detachment of fourteen thousand horse, to watch the

⁹⁵ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 391.

motions of the king of England, who had placed himself at the head of the allied army in the Netherlands; but the marshal skilfully eluded the efforts of William to bring him to action, and the latter, after he had detached a part of his army, under the count of Tilly, to compel marshal Boufflers to raise the siege of Liege, and had, with the rest of his troops, reduced the town of Beaumont, and secured the magazines it contained, resigned the command to the prince of Waldeck, and repaired to the Hague. The marshal embraced the opportunity which his absence afforded, and attacked the rear of the allies, near Leuze, with a strong body of cavalry, and the household troops. The prince of Waldeck had drawn up his men in two divisions; one of which was routed by the impetuous attack of the French, but the other stood firm, and gave the assailants so warm a reception, that, after a desperate engagement, they thought fit to retire. No decisive advantage was gained by either side: the allies lost most men, and the French most officers.

On the frontiers of Germany and Spain, a feeble and desultory war was carried on with various success. In Piedmont, marshal Catinat reduced the county of Nice, the city of Carmagnola, and several other posts of inferior consequence; but he was compelled, by prince Eugene of Savoy, to raise the siege of Coni, whence he retired with such precipitation, that he left behind him his artillery and ammunition, with a part of his baggage. The arrival of an army of Imperialists, under count Caraffa, and the duke of Bavaria, enabled the duke of Savoy to recover Carmagnola, Vegliano, and Rivoli.

The honour which the French had acquired, in successfully disputing the empire of the sea with England and Holland, induced Lewis, who was still anxious to restore James to the throne he had abdicated, to hazard a general action, and, if victorious, to invade England. The English monarch, apprized of his intention, had made the most formidable preparations to repel the French: a fleet of ninety-nine sail of the line was fitted out in the different ports of England and Holland, and, on the nineteenth of May, they were met and encountered by the French admiral, Tourville, who had only fifty sail. Tourville, in the *Royal Sun*, of an hundred and ten guns, the finest ship then in Europe, bore down upon Ruffel, the English admiral, whom he engaged for an hour and an half, when the damage he had sustained in his rigging obliged him to retire. Meanwhile the action had become general throughout the fleet, and continued, with great fury, until four in the afternoon, when it was suspended, for two hours, by the intervention of a thick fog.

The inequality of the contest had, by this time, convinced Tourville of the imprudence of renewing the action; as soon, therefore, as the fog dispersed, he made the signal of retreat, and his whole squadron bore away for the French coast, maintaining, at

the same time, a running fight, during which, Carter, an English admiral, was killed. During the night, four ships, which had taken fire in the engagement, blew up, and some others having escaped, the French fleet, on the following morning, was reduced to thirty-four sail. These were closely pursued by the enemy, within sight of the shores, which were crowded with vast numbers of the French, whom the noise of the guns had drawn together.

On the third day, Tourville's ship, with his two seconds, one of ninety and the other of eighty-four guns, and some frigates, took refuge upon the coast near Cherbourg; while eighteen more of the largest ships followed their example, and ran in close to La Hogue; the rest were more fortunate, and effected their escape, by driving through the race of Alderney. The ships at Cherbourg were burned the next day by the English.

On the fifth day, the English admiral prepared to destroy the ships at La Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having found means to escape. The French had adopted every means of defence they could devise; the vessels were drawn up as far upon the shallows as possible, and covered by the forts of Lisset and La Hogue; while platforms were raised on shore, and planted with artillery. Great numbers of sloops, filled with officers and men, lined the shoals; a considerable body of troops were drawn up behind, in order of battle; and, on a neighbouring eminence, stood the unhappy James, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, marechal Bellefonds, and Tourville. But the intrepid valour of the English seamen prevailed over every obstacle, and, in the course of two days, the French squadron, with a great number of transport and ammunition ships, were completely destroyed.

On land, however, the French still maintained their superiority. Lewis laid siege to Namur, the strongest fortress in the Netherlands, as well from its situation, at the confluence of the rivers Sambre and Meuse, as from the strength of its citadel, built on a solid rock. The town, however, was reduced in eight days, and the citadel in twenty-two; while marechal Luxembourg prevented William from passing the Mehaigne, with an army of eighty thousand men, which he had assembled for the purpose of compelling the French to raise the siege. After this conquest, Lewis returned to Versailles, and again resigned the command to Luxembourg.

The allies, anxious to efface the affront they had sustained, contrived to convey false intelligence to Luxembourg, who, falling into the snare, was surprized (on the third of August), in his camp, at Steinkerk, where part of his troops were thrown into disorder before he was apprized of the enemy's approach. The greatest exertions of courage and skill were requisite to prevent a general defeat; and these were displayed, by Luxembourg, in a manner that gave additional splendor to the reputation he had already acquired. With incredible celerity he rallied his broken battalions, drew up his men in
order

order of battle, and thrice charged the enemy, at the head of the household troops, accompanied by the young princes of the blood, whose valour and conduct greatly surpassed their years. Philip, duke of Chartres, afterwards duke of Orleans, and regent of the kingdom, particularly distinguished himself on this occasion; though but fifteen, he displayed the resolution of a veteran, and, notwithstanding a severe wound he had received in an early part of the action, he returned to the charge with additional vigour, and maintained his post during the remainder of the day.

The prince of Conti and his brother, sons to the prince of Condé; the duke of Vendôme and the grand prior of France, grandsons to Henry the Fourth; and the duke of Choiseul, were sent, with the household troops, to attack an advantageous post, occupied by the English, and on the possession of which the fate of the battle depended. Here the carnage was dreadful; equal skill and courage were displayed on both sides; but the impetuous valour of the French nobility at length prevailed, and the English, after losing the earl of Angus, general M'Kay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, with a great number of their men, were compelled to retire. Boufflers, who was posted at the distance of some leagues from the field of battle, arrived at this critical period, with a large detachment of horse, and completed the confusion of the allies. William, after losing seven thousand men⁸⁶, retreated in good order; and, always vanquished, yet always formidable, still kept the field. The loss of the French was nearly equal, and among the officers who perished in the action, was the prince of Turenne, nephew to the celebrated general of that name, a young nobleman of the most promising talents.

In Germany, the French, under mareschal de Lorges, were equally successful; they first defeated the Imperialists, commanded by the marquis of Brandenburg-Bareth, the count of Stirum, and the landgrave of Hesse, in the neighbourhood of Philippsbourg; and afterwards cut to pieces, near Fortzheim, a detachment of troops, under the dukes of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the latter of whom was taken prisoner.

Meanwhile, the duke of Savoy passed the Alps, and, attended by count Caprara, prince Eugene, and the duke of Schomberg, made an irruption into the province of Dauphiné, where they committed great devastations. Ambrun was preserved from the flames by a contribution of fifteen thousand crowns. Gap, Chorges, and Sisteron were taken and resigned to pillage; and, it is probable, the enemy would have penetrated farther into the country, but for the illness of the duke of Savoy, which put a stop to their progress. As soon as the Imperialists had retired, the king sent commissaries into the province, to repair the damage they had done.

⁸⁶ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 404.—Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 87.

A. D. 1693, 1694.] The ensuing campaign was opened by the siege of Hui, which was reduced in a few days, by marechal Villeroi. Luxembourg then proceeded to attack the camp of the allies, on the banks of the Gheete, extending on one side to the village of Nerwinde, and, on the other, to Dormal, where its rear was protected by the small river, Landen. William, apprized of the approach of the French, had strongly fortified his camp, and made every necessary preparation for resistance. On the twenty-second of July, Luxembourg led his men, formed in two lines, to the attack, which was made in three different parts of the camp, at the same time: but the French were every where repulsed with considerable loss. In vain did the marechal ride through the ranks, animating the soldiers by his exhortations and example; the second charge was as unsuccessful as the first; and marechal Boufflers, in expectation of a general defeat, advised him to retire immediately. Luxembourg, however, rejected his council, and, forming his cavalry into one compact body, renewed the attack; and the enemy's fire having already slackened, he was so fortunate as to force their lines, when the village of Nerwinde was taken, and the allies were compelled to retire. Upwards of twenty thousand men are said to have perished in this action, which produced no material advantage to the French. The great number of nobility that fell occasioned an almost general mourning, and excited violent murmurs against Luxembourg, who was, however, compensated for this mortification by the applause of the court, whose orders he had strictly obeyed. The reduction of Charleroi, in the month of September, cost the nation a farther sacrifice of from four to five thousand lives.

The dauphin observed, on his return from the camp, that one or two advantages of this kind would suffice to ruin the kingdom, already exhausted of its provisions and money. The commissaries had stripped the provinces so completely, in order to provide for the subsistence of the troops, that the distress had become general, and corn had risen to a most exorbitant price: the poor were reduced to eat the most unwholesome food—*grafs*, says the Continuator of Mezerai—by which numbers of them died, particularly in the province of Normandy⁸⁷. Many families quitted the kingdom, and retired into the enemy's country, there to seek the bread they were unable to procure at home.

Although the court were apprized of these circumstances, by the tumults which appeared in different parts of the kingdom, they evinced no disposition to put a stop to the evils of war. In Germany, the marechal De Lorges sacked the town of Heidelberg, and renewed those horrid scenes of cruelty and destruction, which had twice before disgraced the French arms in the Palatinate. The dauphin was afterwards sent, with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, to take the command of this army, and to penetrate farther into the country; but the prudent conduct of the prince of Baden defeat-

⁸⁷ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 409.

ed his schemes of conquest, and compelled him to return to France, after a barren campaign.

In Piedmont, mareschal Catinat acquired more glory, without deviating from the established rules of war, or violating the principles of humanity. In the plain of Marsaglia, he attacked the duke of Savoy, whose army was strengthened by a body of Imperialists, and another of English, under the command of prince Eugene, and the duke of Schomberg. The victory was long disputed with great obstinacy, and the right wing of the allies repulsed the French with vigour and success: but the cavalry, whose attacks were directed against their left wing, bore down all before them, and, pushing forward to the center, completed the rout of the infantry, who were constrained to yield to superior numbers. The allies lost upwards of four thousand men in this action, and the duke of Schomberg, who was wounded by a cannon-ball, died soon after.

At sea the French were equally successful. Lewis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war; he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned; he had made a grand naval promotion, in order to encourage the officers and seamen, and, by this sagacious expedient, had produced a wonderful spirit of alacrity and emulation. In the month of May, his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one large ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

On the seventeenth of June the fleet fell in with an English squadron of twenty-three sail, off cape Saint Vincent, appointed to convoy four hundred sail of merchantmen belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. Sir George Rooke, who commanded the English, by the advice of the Dutch vice admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He accordingly sent orders to the small ships that were nearest the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, Saint Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off, under an easy sail, for the protection of the rest. The French, about six in the evening, came up with two Dutch ships of war, which they took, after a most obstinate resistance. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned, nine-and-twenty merchantmen were taken, and about fifty destroyed, by Tourville and D'Estrees, who commanded the French fleet. Seven large Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlogon, who sunk four more in the bay of Gibraltar. The loss sustained on this occasion was computed at a million sterling.

The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, for which place he bore away, made an unsuccessful attempt on Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants

chants sunk their ships that they might not fall into their hands. They then sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicante, and other places, and returned in triumph to Toulon.

With a view to revenge the insults they had sustained, the English sent a squadron of twelve ships of the line, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the French coast, where they cannonaded and bombarded the town of Saint Malo for three days successively. They then landed on an adjacent island, where they committed some depredations, and reduced a convent to ashes. On the nineteenth of November, they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fireship, of a peculiar structure, in order to burn the town; but she struck upon a rock, before she reached the place of her destination, and the engineer was obliged to set fire to her and retreat. She continued to burn for some time, and at last blew up, with an explosion that produced on the town almost the same effect as an earthquake, unroofing three hundred houses, and breaking all the glass and earthen-ware in the neighbourhood. A capstan that weighed two hundred pounds was thrown into the place, and, falling upon a house, levelled it with the ground; the greatest part of the wall, towards the sea, was destroyed; and the inhabitants were thrown into such consternation, that a very small force would have sufficed to secure the town; but fortunately for them the English fleet had no soldiers on board.

Lewis, at length, moved by the distresses of his subjects, made some overtures for a peace. He tampered with the allies apart, in the hope of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy; and he solicited the northern crowns to interpose their mediation for the restoration of tranquillity. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that Lewis would have been content to purchase peace with some considerable concessions. But the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified.

Thus the war was continued, and, on the approach of spring, the hostile armies again appeared in the field. But the operations of the campaign were confined to the reduction of Deinse, Dixmude, and Hui, by the allies, who also defeated some inconsiderable detachments of the French. The object of William was to penetrate into France, and that of Luxembourg to invest Liege and Maestricht; but, each party, without coming to an engagement, contrived to defeat the designs of the others.

In Germany, the operations were equally indecisive: the prince of Baden prevented the marshal de Lorges from undertaking any enterprize of importance, and, after compelling him to repair the Rhine, led the Imperialists into Alsace, where they reduced several places, that were soon retaken by the French.

In

In Spain alone was any signal advantage obtained. Marechal Noailles defeated the Spaniards on the banks of the Ter, and pursued the fugitives to a considerable distance. In the action and pursuit five thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand five hundred taken prisoners⁸⁸. This victory facilitated the reduction of Palamos, Gironne, and Ostalic; but the sudden appearance of the English fleet defeated the intention of Noailles of attacking the city of Barcelona, which was the principal object of his expedition.

In the course of the summer the English had sent a squadron of ships to Conquest-bay, where they burned a fleet of merchantmen; after which they proceeded to land a body of troops, under the command of general Talmash, at Camaret-bay. The French, however, having received intelligence of their designs, had taken such precautions, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from some batteries newly erected by Vauban, as well as from a strong body of troops drawn up to oppose their landing. Numbers of them were killed, in the open boats, before they reached the shore, and those who landed were speedily repulsed, in spite of the gallant efforts of Talmash, who was mortally wounded in the attempt to rally his troops. The English lost, on this occasion, upwards of a thousand men; their ships, too, sustained great damage; and a Dutch frigate, of thirty guns, was taken by the French.

The English afterwards bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. They thence sailed to Havre de Grace, which experienced a similar fate; and, by threatening various parts of the coast of Normandy, threw the whole province into consternation. At a subsequent period an unsuccessful attempt was made on Dunkirk; and the bombardment of Calais, with no better effect, concluded the operations of the campaign.

A. D. 1695.] That firm confidence and conscious superiority which had peculiarly distinguished the troops of France, during the present reign, and induced them to brave danger at the call of glory, began, at this period, to diminish. Lewis no longer appeared at the head of his armies; Louvois was dead; and the conduct of his son, Barbesieux, who had succeeded him in his post, excited universal discontent. Another circumstance contributed greatly to discourage the troops; marechal Luxembourg, whom they had long been accustomed to consider as invincible, expired of an apoplexy, on the fourth of January, 1695; and his death seemed to put a period to the rapid victories of the French.

The difficulty of raising the necessary funds for defraying the expences of the war, daily encreased. Recourse was now had to a poll-tax, for which purpose the inhabitants

⁸⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 413.

of the kingdom were divided into two-and-twenty classes, and not a single person, from the monarch to the peasant, was exempted from the payment of this impost⁸⁹. The army was recruited by compulsory enrollments, which stripped the villages of their inhabitants, and deprived the country of those hands which were necessary for the cultivation of the earth; while they only furnished such raw and unwilling troops as were ill-calculated to oppose the veteran bands of the allies.

The campaign was opened in the Netherlands by William, who undertook the siege of Namur, a place which the French deemed impregnable, from the strong fortifications which had been added by Vauban, since its last reduction. Mareschal Boufflers immediately threw himself into the town, with a large detachment of horse, which increased the garrison to sixteen thousand men; while an army of one hundred thousand men, under mareschal Villeroi, appeared ready to march to its relief. But the allies, whose works were conducted by the celebrated Coehorn, completed their lines of circumvallation, and the trenches were accordingly opened on the eleventh of July.

Villeroi, meanwhile, passed the Lys, with a view to attack the prince of Vaudemont, who had been left at Roufelaer, with fifty battalions and as many squadrons; but the prince, by a prudent disposition of his troops, avoided the danger that threatened him, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which has been celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military skill. Villeroi then reduced Dixmude and Deynse, making the garrisons prisoners; and afterwards gratified his resentment at the escape of Vaudemont, by the fruitless bombardment of Brussels.

The siege of Namur, during these transactions, was prosecuted with great ardour by the allies, while the garrison displayed equal spirit and perseverance in the defence of the place. On the eighteenth of July the besiegers attacked the advanced works on the right of the counterscarp; the assault was desperate and bloody; the French maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage; but, pressed by superior numbers, they were at length compelled to retire into the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred of the assailants. On the twenty-seventh, the allies effected a lodgment in the counterscarp, after a desperate conflict, in which the slaughter on both sides was great. All the outworks having been carried, and a practicable breach effected, the governor surrendered the town, on the fourth of August, when the garrison retired into the citadel.

The same courage and perseverance that had been displayed in the defence of the town, was exerted, by Boufflers, in repelling the attacks on the citadel. In one of these

⁸⁹ Contin. de Mezarai, tome ii. p. 417.

two thousand of the allies, among whom were many officers of great rank and reputation, were put to the sword. But these exertions only tended to prolong the fate they were insufficient to avert, for, after exhausting every effort of military art, and personal intrepidity, Boufflers—finding no prospect of relief—was, on the first of September, compelled to capitulate; and, on the fifth, the French garrison, reduced from sixteen thousand to five thousand five hundred, evacuated the citadel of Namur.

Nothing farther occurred in the Netherlands during the campaign. In Germany, the French, under marshal Lorges, passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, at the beginning of June, and posting himself at Bruckfal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of that month, the prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppach, and, on the eighth of July, was reinforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the vicinity of Wiselock. On the nineteenth, the French retired, in the night, towards Mannheim, where they repassed the river without any interruption from the Imperial general, and lay inactive during the remainder of the campaign. In Italy, the reduction of Casal, by the allies, was the only event of importance that occurred. An unsuccessful attempt was made on Dunkirk, and afterwards on Calais, by the English, who were obliged to retire, with loss.

A. D. 1696.] Though the preparations made by the king seemed to promise a campaign more decisive than the last, his different armies either remained inactive, or proved unsuccessful. In Flanders, marshal Boufflers was restrained, by positive orders, from risking an action, and all his motions were only calculated to thwart the designs of the enemy. Early in the month of March, the allies sent a strong body of horse to amuse the French, on the side of Charleroi, while they assembled forty squadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon and six mortars, in the territory of Namur. The earl of Athlone, with part of this detachment, invested Dinant, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet, where Lewis had established extensive magazines. The town was battered and bombarded, during three hours, when it was set on fire, and, with the magazines, reduced to ashes.

Lewis, no longer dazzled by the splendor of his conquests, despairing to gratify his ambition by a farther prosecution of the war, importuned by the clamours of his distressed subjects, and unable to procure supplies adequate to his expences, began to be anxious for peace, and to have recourse to the arts of private negotiation. While D'Avaux pressed the king of Sweden to offer his mediation, the king sent Callieres to Holland with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a treaty. He imagined, that as the Dutch chiefly relied for their subsistence on their trade and commerce, which had suffered greatly during the war, they could not be averse from a pacification; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper with the malecontents of the republic, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the stadtholder.

Callieres experienced a favourable reception from the states, who began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the consent and concurrence of William and his allies.

Lewis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negotiation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where the duke of Vendôme attacked the Spaniards in their camp at Ostalric, and gained some advantage, though unable to complete his object, by forcing their entrenchments. In June, mareschal de Lorges entered Germany, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to entrench themselves, under the command of the prince of Baden, not having yet been joined by the auxiliary forces. The French general preserved his station about a month, and then re-passing the Rhine, detached a part of his army into Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spires, Frankendal, Worms, and Ostofen. At the end of August the prince of Baden also passed the river, and being joined by general Thungen, together with the militia of Suabia and Franconia, advanced towards the French, who had again assembled, on the news of his approach, and taken so advantageous a post, that the prince would not hazard an attack. Having, therefore, cannonaded their camp for some days, scoured the adjacent country by his detached parties, and reduced the castle of Wiezingen, he re-passed the Rhine at Worms, on the seventh of October. The French, too, once more crossed the river at Philippsburgh, in the hope of surprizing general Thungen, who occupied a post in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh; but he retired to Eppingen before their arrival, and both armies were soon after distributed in winter quarters.

In Piedmont, the count of Tessé and mareschal Catinat had exerted the arts of negotiation with effect. The duke of Savoy, who had for some time lent a favourable ear to their suggestions, at length embraced the offers of Lewis, and privately signed a separate treaty of peace at Loretto, whither he repaired under pretence of performing a pilgrimage. The king engaged to pay him four million of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained from the war; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the duke of Burgundy and the princess of Piedmont, as soon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of promoting the expulsion of the Germans from Italy. The king of England, being apprized of this negotiation, communicated the intelligence to his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the duke upon his defection; but he persisted in denying the existence of any such correspondence, until the approach of the French army enabled him to avow it, without fearing the resentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, with fifty thousand men, an army greatly superior to that of the confederates. The duke then imparted to the ministers of the allies the proposals he had received from France; representing, at the same time, the superior strength of her army, the danger to which he was exposed, and, lastly, his inclination

tion to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged to the fifteenth of September. During this interval the duke wrote to all the confederated powers, expatiating on the same topics, and soliciting their consent. Though each in particular refused to concur, he nevertheless signed, on the twenty-third of August, that treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private.

By this treaty it was stipulated, that, within a limited time, the allies should evacuate the duke's dominions, and, in case they refused so to do, that they should be expelled by the joint-forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, on the expiration of the truce, the duke, as generalissimo of the king of France, entered that duchy, and undertook the siege of Valentia. The garrison, consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French Protestants, made an obstinate defence; and before the duke could reduce the place, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account that his Catholic majesty had agreed to the neutrality for Italy. By this agreement, it was stipulated, that a suspension of arms should take place, until a general peace could be effected; and that the Imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries.

During these transactions the English fleet, commanded by lord Berkeley, insulted the coasts of France. The English pillaged and burned the villages on the island of Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; took about twenty vessels; bombarded the town of Saint Martin, in the isle of Rhé, and Olonne, which was set on fire by the bombs in fifteen different places. By these depredations the enemy kept the whole coast in perpetual alarm; and the ministry were in such dread of an invasion, that they ordered upwards of an hundred batteries to be erected between Brest and Goulet; and more than sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. But these inconveniences were counterbalanced by the success of a French squadron, under M. Pontis, who, sailing to the coast of New Spain, took the city of Carthage, where he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns, which he conducted, in safety, to the port of Brest. John Barth and Du Guai Trouin, were also successful in their cruises against the Spaniards and Dutch, many of whose merchantmen they took.

A. D. 1697.] The operations of war had not interrupted the negotiations for peace, the preliminaries of which were, by this time, settled between Callieres, the French minister, and Dykueldt, in behalf of the states-general, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions; yet his Imperial majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and
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the king of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should violate this stipulation. The condition, however, was withdrawn, at the instigation of England and Holland, and the mediation accepted by the emperor without reserve. On the fourteenth of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, signified their assent in form to Lillienroot, the Swedish plenipotentiary.

Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore a great number of places specified in a list presented by the Spanish minister to the assembly. The emperor proposed that the congress should be holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more inclined to have the negotiation carried on in Holland. At length, Lewis suggested that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to the king of England, called Newbourg-house, situated between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. The plenipotentiaries of France were Callieres, Harlai, and Courtin⁹⁰; those of England were the earl of Pembroke, lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamfon.

On the tenth of February, Callieres agreed to the following preliminaries, in the name of his master:—That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should form the basis of the negotiation: that Strasburgh should be restored to the empire, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroi, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia, since the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Liege, and all re-annexations since the treaty of Nimeguen be declared void: that Lewis should make restitution of Lorraine; and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the prince of Orange, as king of Great-Britain, without condition or reserve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles, then a minor; but the queen-dowager and the council of regency, resolved to pursue the mediation, and sent a new commission to Lillienroot for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated with the consent of all parties, the Imperial plenipotentiaries delivered the demands of their master to the mediator, on the twenty-second of May, and several German ministers, at the same time, gave in the claims of the respective princes whom they represented.

Meanwhile, Lewis, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, resolved to make a last effort against the Spaniards, in Catalonia, and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the prince of Conti to the throne of Poland (become vacant by the death of John Sobieski), which would have greatly contributed to the extension of the French interest in

⁹⁰ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 429.

Europe. The peace concluded in Italy had enabled the king to send a more numerous army, than usual, into Flanders; and the troops employed on this service were divided into three separate corps, commanded by marshals Catinat, Boufflers, and Villeroi. The first, at the head of forty thousand men, opened the campaign by the siege of Ath, which surrendered, thirteen days after the trenches were opened. But though the allies could not interrupt the operations of the French during the siege, as the inferiority of their numbers would not suffer them to risk an engagement, they nevertheless took possession of such an advantageous post as effectually prevented Boufflers and Villeroi from laying siege to Bruxelles, as they had intended, or, indeed, from making any farther progress during the campaign.

In Catalonia the duke of Vendôme laid siege to Barcelona, which was defended by a garrison of ten thousand regulars, and five thousand citizens, under the command of the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who threw himself into the place as soon as it was invested. The French general having received reinforcements from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with equal impetuosity and perseverance. He was repulsed in several attacks, by the valour of the garrison; but he at length surprized and routed the viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed with this victory, stormed the outworks, which his cannon had long battered in vain. The conflict was obstinate, and attended with great slaughter; but the French, by dint of numbers, for the courage displayed was equal on both sides, made themselves masters of the covered way and two bastions. The duke of Vendôme caused batteries to be erected there of cannon and mortars that played incessantly on the town, which the prince of Hesse, however, resolved to defend to the last extremity. But the court of Madrid, unwilling to see the place entirely ruined, as, in all probability, it would be restored at the peace, dispatched an order to the prince to capitulate; and he obtained honourable terms, after a glorious defence of nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed viceroy of the province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards evinced as much eagerness for a peace as they had before betrayed aversion from it.

The success of the French in Catalonia was balanced by their disappointment in Poland. Lewis, encouraged by the remonstrances of the abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, resolved to support the prince of Conti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted large sums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The emperor had, at first, declared for the son of the late king; but finding the French party too strong to be resisted by such a competitor, he entered into a negotiation with the elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight million of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. He then declared himself a candidate, and his cause was publicly espoused by the Imperialists.

The duke of Lorraine, the prince of Baden, and Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to pope Innocent, were also competitors for the vacant throne; but finding their interest insufficient to secure success, they united their influence with that of the elector, who was in consequence proclaimed king of Poland. He forthwith took the oaths required, procured an attestation from the Imperial court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed with the usual solemnity. Lewis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of the prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk, to attend him to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new king, would not suffer his men to land, though they offered to admit *him* with a small retinue; he, therefore, went on shore at Marienburg, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party; but the new king, Augustus, exerted such vigilance as rendered it impossible for the prince to raise an army; besides, he had reasons for suspecting the fidelity of his own Polish partizans: he, therefore, refused to part with the treasures he had brought, and, in the beginning of winter, returned to Dunkirk.

The negotiations at Ryswick, meanwhile, proceeded very slowly. The Imperial ministers demanded, that France should restore all the towns and territories she had wrested from the empire, since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms, or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrences. The French affirmed that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration; the Imperialists however persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article; the Spaniards too, insisted upon the same mode of proceeding, with respect to their claims, and called in the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The French plenipotentiaries declared, they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the spirit of the preliminary articles; but were willing to deliver in a project of peace in order to shorten the negociation; and to this expedient the Spanish ambassadors consented.

During these transactions, Mareschal Boufflers held a conference with the earl of Portland near Hallé, in sight of the two armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the second of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and signed a paper, containing the principal articles of the peace between France and England⁹¹. The subject of this field-negotiation is said to have turned upon the interests of king James, which the French monarch promised to abandon; and others suppose, that the first basis of the partition-treaty was laid at this conference. But it is highly probable, that the object of the English monarch was to terminate an expensive and unsuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of

⁹¹ Contin, de Mezerai, tom ii. p. 433.

France an acknowledgement of his title, which, since the death of his queen, had become a subject of dispute. He was aware of the emperor's disinclination to a peace, and foresaw innumerable difficulties in the discussion of such complicated interests, in the common mode of proceeding: he therefore had recourse to such a measure as he thought would rouse the jealousy of the allies, and accelerate the negotiation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, king James had published two manifestos, addressed to the princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but his remonstrances being totally disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all lawful authority.

On the twentieth of July, the French plenipotentiaries produced their project of a general peace, declaring, at the same time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound to observe the conditions which she now offered: Kaunitz, the Imperial plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediator an ultimatum, importing, that he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasburgh, with its dependencies; that he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name; and demanded, that the church and chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestible rights.

Next day, the French plenipotentiaries declared, that the month of August being now expired, all their offers became null: that, therefore, the king of France would reserve Strasburgh, and unite it, together with its dependencies, to his crown for ever: that, in all other respects, he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniencies and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body, from the circumstance of France being in possession of Luxembourg, and exhorting them, in the strongest terms, to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the states-general, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. The Imperial ambassadors then demanded the good offices of the mediator on certain articles; but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and, in the mean time, an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland, should be signed on that day, even though the emperor and empire should not concur.

Accordingly, on the twentieth of September, the articles were subscribed by the French, English, Spanish, and Dutch ambassadors; while the Imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing, that this was the second time that a separate peace had been concluded with France; and that the states of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not, for the future, be so easily persuaded to engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles, settled between France and England, William promised to pay a yearly pension to queen Mary D'Este, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be granted for that purpose by act of parliament.

The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. Lewis engaged that he would not disturb nor disquiet the king of Great Britain in the possession of his realms or government; nor assist his enemies; nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's-Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and re-taken by the English in the course of the war, and to regulate the limits of places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, that, in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects; that the separate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed; and, that the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of signing.

The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace of Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburg, in 1679, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or within six months after the conclusion of the treaty. The Dutch ministers also concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution.

Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she received Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroi, Mons, Courtrai, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French, in the provinces of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French; the dispute with regard to which was left to the decision of commissioners; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the states-general. A remonstrance in favour of the French Protestant refugees, in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered, by the earl of Pembroke, to the mediator, in the name of the Protestant allies, on the day that preceded that on which the treaty was concluded; but the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to king William
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about his English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of these unhappy and persecuted exiles; the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed in Paris and London⁹².

The emperor still held out, and a great victory which he obtained, about this time, over the Turks at Zenta, probably induced him to persist in his refusal; but finding the event of the battle had no effect in retarding the conclusion of the treaty, he thought proper to avail himself of the armistice, and continue the negotiation after the other treaties had been signed. This was likewise the case with the princes of the empire, though those of the Protestant persuasion complained, that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was stipulated, that, in the places to be restored to France, the Catholic religion having been re-established should be suffered to continue. The ambassadors of the Protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, that the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had formerly prevailed; but this demand was rejected, as being equally disagreeable to France and the emperor. They then refused to sign the treaty, which was now concluded between Lewis, the emperor, and the Catholic princes of Germany.

By this pacification Treves, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were restored to their respective owners. The counties of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the duchy of Deux-Ponts, were ceded to the king of Sweden; Francis Lewis was confirmed in the electorate of Cologne; and the cardinal of Furstenburg restored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the duchess of Orleans, upon the palatinate, were referred to the arbitration of Lewis and the emperor; and, in the mean time, the elector palatine agreed to allow her highness an annuity of one hundred thousand florins. The ministers of the Protestant princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion; and afterwards solemnly protested against the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted.

By his treaty with the emperor, Lewis consented to restore Fribourg, Brisac, Kehl, and Philipsburgh; and submitted to demolish the fortresses of Strasburgh, Fort Louis, Trarbac, and Mont-Royal, works on which Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasures. The nation, in general, were so discontented with the terms of a peace, which had long been the object of their wishes, and which was alone competent to rescue the kingdom from impending ruin, that the ministers who signed it durst not appear in public, for some time after, through fear of being exposed to the reproaches and ridicule of the people.

⁹² Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 439.—Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 104.

A. D. 1698, 1699.] To the horrors of war succeeded the amusements of peace: the months that followed the treaty of Ryswick were distinguished by two marriages, the celebration of which afforded an opportunity to the court for the display of that pomp and magnificence for which Lewis the Fourteenth was renowned throughout Europe. In December, 1697, the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with the princess of Savoy, as stipulated by treaty, was solemnized at Versailles; and, in October following, the nuptials of Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans, daughter to Monsieur, with Leopold Charles, duke of Lorraine, one of the best princes that ever adorned a throne, were celebrated with a degree of splendor that was well suited to the merit of the bridegroom.

Lewis, no longer impelled by the fervour of youth, had, at length, sacrificed all the charms of variety, all *meretricious* enjoyments, to the chastened gratifications of wedded love. The widow Scarron, better known by the appellation of madame de Maintenon, a child of distress, though sprung from an ancient family (of the name of D'Aubigné), had, when brought to court by madame Montespan, one of the king's mistresses, to assist in the education of her natural children, begun, at the age of forty, to attract the notice of Lewis. Though still handsome, it was to her sense and other mental accomplishments that this extraordinary woman was chiefly, if not *wholly*, indebted for the conquest of a monarch, ever volatile and inconstant, till fixed by *her*. In her conversation, in which fallies of wit and precepts of virtue were judiciously blended, he discovered charms before unknown to him; during an intercourse of several years, and, for the last four, of the most intimate nature, she completely won his affections; the more she was known, the more she was valued; and, at length, partly from esteem, and partly from religious scruples, Lewis, by the advice of his confessor, the Jesuit La Chaise, lawfully married her, in the month of January, 1686, when she was in her fifty-second year, and he in his forty-eighth. No contract was signed, no settlement made; the nuptial benediction was bestowed by Harlai de Chamvalon, archbishop of Paris; La Chaise was present at the ceremony; and Montchevreuil and Bontemps, first valet de chambre to the king, attended as witnesses. Madame de Maintenon—for she never assumed any other title—proved herself worthy of her elevated station, by her disinterestedness, virtue, and moderation. She exerted her credit with extreme circumspection, never interfered in political intrigues, and betrayed a greater anxiety to render the king happy, than to govern the state. Her aggrandizement by no means tended to encrease her felicity; she led a life so retired as to exclude her from all social intercourse with her friends; and its invariable uniformity not only produced lassitude, but excited disgust. It is to be lamented that her fear of rendering Lewis uneasy by contradiction, prevented her from doing all the good she might have done, and all she *wished* to do.

Unhappily the blessings of peace were destined to be of short continuance; and the people had scarcely time to enjoy the sweets of repose, before the ambition of their sovereign once more involved them in all the miseries of war. The health of Charles the

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Second, king of Spain, which had long been in a precarious state, now exhibited infallible symptoms of a speedy dissolution; and, as that monarch had no children, the succession to his vast dominions became an object of serious consideration to all the European powers. The king of France and the emperor preferred claims to this important succession, and the plea of consanguinity was urged by either prince in support of his pretensions; priority of birth, indeed, seemed to secure a preference to the title of the house of Bourbon, for Lewis the Thirteenth and his successor had married two daughters of Spain, whose *younger* sisters had been espoused by the emperor Ferdinand and his son Leopold; but the solemn renunciation of all rights accruing from such alliance, operated as an invincible impediment, at the bar of reason and justice, to the prosecution of Lewis's claim. Obstacles, apparently insurmountable, are, however, easily removed, at the call of interest or ambition.

It must be confessed, that a separation of the territories of Spain from those of the empire was an object greatly to be desired, since experience had demonstrated the extreme difficulty of maintaining the balance of power, so essential to the tranquillity of Europe, so long as those extensive dominions were united under the same government. But in a separation of this importance, the interests and inclinations of the people should have been rigidly consulted; and every wanton and unnecessary violation of the rights of the lawful heir as studiously avoided.

Lewis, aware of the difficulties that must occur in the prosecution of his plan, was content to submit to an apparent modification of his claims, in order to secure the interest and support of the king of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces. A negotiation for this purpose was begun by count Tallard and the English ambassadors, and, in 1698, the first treaty of partition was signed. By this it was stipulated, that in case the king of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands; the marquisate of Final; the province of Guipuscoa; all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria (who was grandson to a daughter of Spain), under the guardianship of his father: that the duchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles: that this treaty should be communicated by the emperor and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England, and the states-general: that if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in a state of sequestration, until the dispute could be accommodated: that in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions; and, should the archduke reject the duchy of Milan, it was agreed, that

that it should be sequestered in the hands of the prince of Vaudemont, by whom it should be governed. This treaty of partition reflects equal disgrace on the kings of France and England, who assumed a right of disposal over independent territories to which they had no claim, without consulting the natives, and in violation of every law, human or divine.

While Lewis amused William with this negociation, his ambassador at Madrid, the marquis d'Harcourt, was busily occupied in the prosecution of a very different plan. The queen of Spain, suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the king of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on prince Vaudemont, and established the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt as viceroy of Catalonia. But all her efforts proved inadequate to prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish councils. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the dauphin's sons, or, at least, to hinder it from devolving upon the children of the emperor. With a view to give weight to his negociations, Lewis ordered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a considerable number of fleets and galleys cruised along the coast, and entered the harbours, of Spain.

Harcourt, thus seconded, lost no time in forming his party; he represented that Philip the Fourth—who had, by will, settled his crown on the emperor's children—had no right to make such a disposal, which alike militated against the laws of nature, and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the crown ought to descend to the children of his eldest daughter, in preference to more distant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the dauphin's second son, the duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse from a compliance with this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the electoral prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to any farther aggrandizement of the Imperial family. He even intimated, that if they would chuse a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most Christian majesty, whose only object was to prevent the house of Austria from acquiring that extent of power which would render it dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

The queen of Spain, having detected the intrigues of Harcourt, conveyed the king to Toledo, under pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. The ambassador was alarmed at this sudden departure, which he imagined was intended to facilitate the accomplishment of the queen's intentions, to extort from her husband a confirmation of his father's will; and his apprehensions were increased by the arrival of the Imperial minister at Toledo. To defeat this scheme, he repaired to that city himself,
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and demanded a private audience of Charles; but he was told that all public affairs must be transacted with the cardinal Corduba at Madrid, and that the king's health would not permit him to attend to business. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at the capital, and found means to engage cardinal Portocarrero in the interests of his master.

During these transactions the young prince of Bavaria died, so that Lewis and William found it necessary to concert another treaty of partition, for which purpose a private negotiation was opened between them. The court of Spain, apprized of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressive of their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and desiring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, as the king of Spain would, of himself, adopt the necessary measures for preserving the public tranquillity, in the event of his death without heirs of his body. A similar representation was made to the French and Dutch ministers; but these remonstrances, being disregarded, were not suffered to interrupt the negotiation, in which the eagerness of Lewis led that monarch to complain of the tardiness of William, who was, in fact, no less eager than himself.

A. D. 1700.] The second treaty of partition was signed in London, on the twenty-first of February, 1700, by Tallard, the French ambassador, and the earls of Portland and Jersey; and on the twenty-fifth of the following month, it was subscribed at the Hague, by Briord, the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the states-general. By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that, in the event of his Catholic majesty's death without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the islands of San-Stefano, Porto Ercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino; the city and marquisate of Final; the province of Guipuscoa; and the duchies of Lorraine and Bar; in exchange for which the duke of Lorraine should enjoy the duchy of Milan, while the sovereignty of the county of Biche should remain to the prince of Vaudemont: that the archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain, with all its dependencies, in Europe and elsewhere; but that, in case he should die without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor, excepting him who should succeed as emperor, or king of the Romans: that this monarchy should never descend to a king or dauphin of France; and that three months should be allowed to the emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty⁹³. Whether Lewis was really sincere in his professions, at this period, or only proposed the treaty with a view to make it answer his purpose with the court of Spain, it is difficult to determine; at first, however, it was concealed from

⁹³ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 448.

the notice of the public, as if the parties had resolved to take no step, in consequence of it, during the life of his Catholic majesty.

But as soon as this treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. Saxony and the northern crowns, indeed, were embroiled with their own quarrels, and could not pay much attention to such a remote transaction. The princes of the empire appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the house of Austria. The elector of Brandenburg, in particular, was intent on obtaining the regal dignity, which the favour and authority of the emperor could alone confer on him. The Italian states were averse from the partition-treaty, from their apprehensions of seeing France in possession of Naples, and other districts of their country. The duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in the hope of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage. The Swiss cantons declined acting as guaranties. The emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposal of the Spanish monarchy should be made, without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed that it was neither decent nor just in the contracting powers to compel him, who was the lawful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting the whole; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic majesty, on an affair in which their mutual interest was so deeply involved. Leopold was actually engaged in a negotiation with the king of Spain, who signed a will in favour of his second son, Charles; yet did he take no measures for supporting the disposition, either by sending the archduke with an adequate force into Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

The Spaniards were greatly and justly exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers, who had undertaken to parcel out their dominions, without their participation or consent. Their pride was alarmed at the prospect of the dismemberment of the monarchy, and the grandees repined at the thought of losing the many lucrative governments which they were now suffered to enjoy. The king's life became, every day, more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder; the ministry was weak and divided; the nobility were factious, and the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the house of Austria, by the haughty demeanour and rapacious disposition of the queen, Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Monterey, and many other persons of distinction, who, perceiving the disposition of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that, France alone could maintain the succession entire; that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and any prince of that line must be indebted for support to detestable heretics.

Portocarrero

Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his sovereign, to whom he repeated and exaggerated all these suggestions, and advised him to consult the pope, on the momentous point of regulating the succession. Innocent, who was attached to France, taking the advice of the sacred college, determined, that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted king Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will, in favour of a grandson of Lewis⁹⁴. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrance of Portocarrero, and the weak prince complied with the proposal.

In the mean time, Lewis seemed to act, with equal zeal and sincerity, as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with those of the maritime powers, in soliciting the accession of the different European states. When count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial, desiring to know what part France would act, should the king of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Lewis upon the throne, the marquis de Torci gave a written answer, purporting that his most Christian majesty would never listen to such a proposal; nay, when the emperor's minister insinuated, that his master was prepared to open a separate negotiation with the court of Versailles, on the subject of the Spanish succession, Lewis declared that he could not possibly treat without the concurrence of his allies.

Such were the circumstances which preceded the death of the king of Spain, who expired on the first of November, 1700, in the fortieth year of his age. By his last will, Charles had declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses.

When this testament was first notified to the French court, Lewis seemed to hesitate between his inclination, and his engagements with the king of England and the states-general. An extraordinary council was even summoned to deliberate on the matter; and Pontchartrain, the chancellor, and the duke of Beauvilliers, alarmed at the prospect of war, were decisively of opinion that the king ought to abide by the treaty of partition; but this advice was rejected by Lewis, who, after hearing the sentiments of his ministers, declared his acceptance of the will. He then took the duke of Anjou apart, and thus addressed him, in the presence of the marquis des Rios—"Sir, the king of

⁹⁴ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 123.

“ Spain has made you a king. The *grande*es demand you; the people wish for you; and I give my consent: only remember you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are about to ascend.” The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheless, the duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the archduke was placed next in succession to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could not be more valid than that of Maria Theresa. On the fourth day of December, the new king set out for Spain, to the frontiers of which kingdom he was accompanied by his two brothers.

In order to appease the king of England, and the states-general, who were justly enraged at this flagrant violation of the treaty of partition, De Torci was employed to justify the conduct of his master. He observed to the English ambassador at Paris, that the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the purpose for which it had been framed: that the emperor had refused to accede to it: that it was relished by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: that the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the idea of seeing France in possession of Naples and Sicily: that if Lewis had rejected the will, the archduke would have had a double title, derived from the former will, and that of the late king: that the Spaniards were so averse from the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: that the ships to be furnished by Great-Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war: and it was doubtful whether England and the states-general would be disposed to incur a greater expence. He concluded with saying, that the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the king accepted purely from his desire of preserving the peace of Europe; his master, therefore, hoped the good understanding that subsisted between him and the king of Great Britain would not be interrupted⁹⁵. The same reasons were communicated by Briord, the French ambassador at the Hague, to the states-general, who ordered their envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French king, expressive of their surprize at his acceptance of the will, and of their hope that, as the time specified for the emperor's accession to the treaty was not yet expired, his most Christian majesty would again take the affair into his consideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Lewis, in his answer to this memorial, which he dispatched to all the courts of Europe, declared, that the chief object of his consideration was the principal design of the contracting parties, viz. the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to this principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

⁹⁵ Smollet, vol. vii. p. 279, 280.

This answer was accompanied by a letter from Lewis to the states, by which he gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was so firmly established by the will of the king of Spain, in favour of the duke of Anjou, that he did not doubt their approbation of the duke's accession to the Spanish throne. The states observed, that they could not declare themselves upon an affair of such consequence, without consulting their respective provinces. Lewis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur in whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague also presented them with a letter from his new sovereign, Philip the Fifth, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the king of England. The emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards, apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the succession of the duke of Anjou; and conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadiz, and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were made prisoners of war, because they would not acknowledge the king of Spain, who had not yet been acknowledged by their masters. This unexpected event threw the states into the utmost consternation, which was increased by the reflection that, being destitute of troops, they might be attacked by the Spanish garrisons, before they could adopt the necessary means of defence. The danger was so imminent as to superinduce a resolution to acknowledge Philip the Fifth, without farther hesitation; they accordingly wrote a letter to Lewis for that purpose, on the receipt of which, orders were immediately issued for releasing their troops.

The duke of Savoy, too, acknowledged Philip, and engaged in an alliance with the kings of France and Spain, on condition, that his Catholic majesty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry: that he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with two thousand five hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

The king of England, had he followed the dictates of his inclination, would certainly have gratified his resentment against Lewis, by an immediate declaration of war; but, compelled to consult the interest and the disposition of the people, he concealed his own private sentiments, and sought to effect his purpose by indirect means. He empowered his envoy to the states-general to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, to whom he represented, that though his most Christian majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition treaty, it was not fit that the king of England should lose the benefit of that convention; he, therefore, expected some security for the peace of Europe, and,

for that purpose, insisted upon certain articles, importing, that the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: that, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: that no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be ceded or transferred to the crown of France on any pretence whatever: that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majesty; and also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possessed at that time, or might enjoy in future: that all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed; and that a treaty, formed on these demands, should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the parties should solicit and prevail upon to accede ⁹⁶.

Similar proposals were made by the states-general, with this difference only, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. D'Avaux, the French minister, was so astonished at these exorbitant demands, that he could not forbear observing, that they could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his most Christian majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands, as soon as the king of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country; but, with respect to the other articles, he could give no answer until he had received farther instructions from Versailles. Lewis was highly enraged at these proposals, which he considered as certain indications of William's hostile intentions; he refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a confirmation of the treaty of Ryswick; and he is said to have instructed his agents and emissaries in England to bribe the members of the English parliament to oppose all steps that could tend to a renewal of hostilities on the continent ⁹⁷.

A. D. 1701.] On the nineteenth of April, the marquis de Torci delivered to the English ambassador at Paris, a letter from Philip the Fifth to his Britannic majesty, notifying his accession to the throne of Spain, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the king and crown of England. William's aversion from a compliance with the request contained in this letter, strong as it was, was overcome by the importunity of his ministers, and the repugnance evinced by his subjects to engage in a war; and he consented to acknowledge Philip, and to write a civil answer to his letter. This gave great alarm to the emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to send prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of

⁹⁶ Smollet.⁹⁷ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 129.

the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new pope, Clement the Eleventh, was attached to the French interest, while the Venetians secretly favoured the emperor.

Lewis consented to a renewal of the negotiation at the Hague, merely to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland; divided the princes of the empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the states of Italy. The Dutch, meanwhile, exerted themselves, to provide for their own security, and by their application for succours to England, roused the parliament of that country from their lethargy, and induced them to address their sovereign, entreating him to take the proper steps, by the formation of continental alliances, and other necessary precautions, for preventing the dangerous aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon, which now threatened to monopolize the extensive power which had formerly been enjoyed by the house of Austria.

Meanwhile prince Eugene had entered Italy, with the Imperial army, by the way of Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French. In order to impede his progress, marshal Villeroy, the favourite of Lewis, was sent to supersede Catinat in the command of the troops; and that general immediately advanced towards Chiari, where prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked his camp; but the reception he experienced was such as compelled him to retire, with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign, the prince reduced all the territories belonging to the duke of Mantua, except the capital, which was defended by a numerous garrison of French; and Goits, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting that superiority of genius, skill, courage, and perseverance, which afterwards rendered him so formidable an adversary to France.

To second these efforts, conferences were opened at the Hague, and, on the seventh of September, a treaty of alliance was concluded between the emperor, the king of England, and the states-general, the object of which was to obtain satisfaction for Leopold in the affair of the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies, threatened by the overweening power of the house of Bourbon. The contracting parties engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and, for the emperor, the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany, belonging to the crown of Spain. They agreed, that the king of England should retain possession of whatever lands and cities he could conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: that the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to each other: that neither of them should negotiate a peace or truce, but in conjunction with the rest: that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under one government; and in hindering the former from obtaining possession of the Spanish settlements
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in America: that, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers, to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier; that they should, at the same time, regulate the exercise of religion in their new conquests: that they should assist each other with all their forces, in case of invasion by the French, or any other potentate, on account of this treaty: that a defensive alliance should subsist between them even after the peace: and that all kings, princes, and potentates, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. It was determined to employ two months in endeavours to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security they demanded; and it was finally agreed that the treaty should be ratified within six months.

Nine days after the conclusion of this treaty, James of England terminated his unhappy and inglorious life at Saint Germain; and Lewis, impelled, probably, by resentment for the opposition he experienced from William, and influenced by the intreaties of madame de Maintenon, who was herself stimulated by mistaken generosity, formally proclaimed the son of the deceased prince, as James the Third. The pitiful sophistry of Voltaire has been exerted to shew that this measure was no violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and to prove that an act, evidently resulting from indignation and weakness, proceeded from greatness of sentiment, and magnanimity of soul; but the attempt is so absurd as scarcely to merit serious confutation. By the treaty of Ryswick, Lewis formally acknowledged William the Third, and if a subsequent acknowledgment of another prince, during his life, be not a flagrant violation of the treaty, it is not easily to be conceived what must be deemed a violation. This recognition of the title of James was almost tantamount to a declaration of war; and it was considered in that light by William and his subjects. The former recalled his ambassador from Paris, while the latter evinced the highest indignation at the presumption of Lewis; and, by this means, a degree of unanimity was promoted in England, where, it is probable, the spirit of party would otherwise have retarded the preparations for war, and occasioned some division favourable to the French.

• Lewis published a manifesto, in justification of his conduct in acknowledging James, which he represented as a mere act of politeness, that could be attended with no evil consequence to the king of England; but this allegation was contemptible as it was false: had he boldly avowed his motive, and urged the alliance formed by William with Holland and the empire in justification of his proceeding, though his reasons might not have been deemed satisfactory by the English people, he neither would have incurred nor deserved, in this instance, that severity of censure which was now justly exercised against him. A subsidiary treaty was now concluded between England and Prussia; and the number of troops to be furnished against France by each of the confederated powers was formally stipulated.

A. D. 1702.] But while the king of England was employed in the formation of plans for the abasement of his rival, a fall from his horse produced a fatal effect on his constitution, already weakened by disease, and he expired in the fifty-second year of his age. His death, however, effected no change in the political system of Europe; Anne, daughter to James the Second, and consort to the prince of Denmark, peaceably succeeded to the throne, and, immediately after her accession, dispatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to assure her allies, that she would adopt and support all the engagements of her predecessor.

Lewis, indeed, had flattered himself with the hope that the death of William would at least make some alterations in the politics of Holland; and his envoy, D'Avaux, received orders to renew the negotiation with the states, with a view to detach them from the alliance. This minister, accordingly, presented a memorial, containing several reflections on king William, and on the past conduct of the Dutch; and insinuating, that, now that they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The count de Goes, the Imperial envoy, animadverted, with just severity, on these expressions in another memorial, which was also published; and the states themselves answered the remonstrance of the French, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the memory of the late stadtholder. The English ambassador succeeded in all his negotiations; he animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour; he concerted the operations of the campaign; and he agreed with the states-general and the Imperial minister, that war should be declared against France, on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague. This declaration accordingly took place on the fourth of May.

The ambition of Lewis had now reduced his kingdom to a most critical situation; the combination of foes he had to encounter was most formidable, while he was no longer in possession of those advantages, which had formerly given effect to his efforts, and success to his arms. His principal allies, the Spaniards, were in no situation to afford him effectual assistance; their monarchy was enfeebled, and a spirit of revolt evinced itself in many of the provinces: in France, the government was no longer invigorated by the commanding talents of a Colbert, and a Louvois; Chamillard, a man of more honour than abilities, presided at the helm, while Lewis had lost that spirit of application which had enabled him to see and to correct abuses, and to avoid danger, in the partial delegation of his authority for the various purposes of administration. The absence of the monarch from the camp had also proved, in a certain degree, destructive of that discipline which had hitherto been observed in the French armies; the command of a regiment was no longer obtained by merit, but purchased by money; hence inexperienced youths were preferred to those gallant veterans whose wounds bore testimony to their merit; honours were bestowed with equal injustice; and a train of abuses ensued which enabled men of penetration to foresee the disasters which threatened the monarchy.

On the other hand, the allies displayed equal wisdom, spirit, and unanimity in their exertions. The emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field, to act against France; the states general engaged to furnish one hundred and two thousand; and England, independent of her naval forces, promised to supply forty thousand. These troops, too, were commanded by generals, of the most distinguished talents, Eugene, and Marlborough. The former was by birth a Frenchman, son to the count of Soissons, governor of Champagne, by Olimpia Mancini, niece to cardinal Mazarin; his first appellation was the chevalier de Carignan, but, on his assumption of the ecclesiastical habit, he was distinguished by the title of the abbé de Savoy: quitting the church for the camp, he sought preferment in the army of France, but being refused a regiment, he retired in disgust, and entering the Imperial service distinguished himself in the war with the Turks. Lewis made the disgust of this prince, and his renunciation of the country that gave him birth, a subject of ridicule; but experience soon convinced him of his error, and taught him to dread the talents he had too long despised. — John Churchill, first earl, and then duke of Marlborough, was the son of an English knight, and made his first appearance in life as page to James the Second, when duke of York. Having obtained an ensigncy in the guards, he went over to the Netherlands with the detachment of English sent by Charles the Second to the assistance of his ally, Lewis the Fourteenth, then engaged in a war with the Dutch. His courage and conduct, in various instances, ensured him honourable notice, from the king of France, and more particularly, from marshal Turenne, who distinguished him by the appellation of *The handsome Englishman*. Soon after his return from this service, in which he had acquired great experience, he obtained a regiment, together with the title of lord Churchill. On the accession of James the Second he received the dignity of a baron; and he remained firmly attached to that unhappy prince, until he abdicated the throne, when Churchill abandoned him; and this desertion was, at the accession of William, rewarded with the title of earl of Marlborough.

The duke of Zell, and his nephew, the elector of Hanover, surprised the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachment to France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Thus the north of Germany was reinstated in the interests of the confederates, and the princes would have been in a condition to afford them effectual assistance, had not the war that was waged in their neighbourhood between the Swedes and the Poles deterred them from parting with their forces.

Hostilities commenced by the siege of Keiserswaert, invested in the month of April by the Imperial general, the prince of Nassau—Saarbruck. The French garrison made a desperate defence; defeating the enemy in various sallies, and maintaining their ground till the place was reduced to a heap of ashes. In a general attack upon the counterscarp, the allies lost two thousand men; but their numbers at length prevailing, the garrison were compelled to surrender, on honourable terms, in the middle of June, when the fortifications

tifications were razed. During the siege count Tallard had taken his post on the opposite banks of the Rhine, whence he supplied the town with troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery ; but, finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the grand army in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, who was attended by mareschal Boufflers.

The duke of Burgundy was opposed by Marlborough, the rapidity of whose movements confounded the judgment and defeated the schemes of the French general. After a vain attempt to surprise the earl of Athlone in the vicinity of Nimeguen, Boufflers was compelled to retire before the forces of the allies, and to evacuate Spanish Guelderland. Having taken shelter under the walls of Liege, he was surprised by the approach of Marlborough, who, after reducing Venlo and Ruremonde, hastened to invest that city, the citadel of which was taken by assault. Boufflers, meanwhile, retreated into Brabant, where he remained inactive during the rest of the campaign.

In Italy prince Eugene had formed a well-concerted plan for taking the important city of Cremona by surprise ; he procured admission into the town, by means of an aqueduct, and, followed by four thousand troops, had secured mareschal Villeroi and killed the Spanish governor ; but a strong detachment which he had appointed to second his operations having missed their way, he was, after an obstinate conflict, compelled to retire, though in good order, and accompanied by a number of prisoners. The duke of Vendôme, who succeeded Villeroi in the command of the army, obtained some advantage over the enemy at Santa Vittoria ; and, on the fifteenth of August, he encountered them, in a pitched battle, at Luzara, in which the loss was great on both sides, though neither could claim the victory. The duke, however, proved he had the advantage, by pursuing his operations, and reducing the towns of Luzara, and Guastalla.

On the banks of the Rhine the French arms were still more successful. The elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France. The diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, was so incensed at his conduct, that they presented a memorial to the emperor, requesting he would proceed against the elector, according to the constitution of the empire ; and they resolved to declare war against Lewis and the duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishoprick of Cologne, and the diocese of Liege ; and they forbade the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to appear in the general diet. The French, meanwhile, took possession of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia ; and the Imperial forces, under Lewis prince of Baden, being considerably weakened by sending off detachments to other quarters, that general was obliged to remain inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The marquis of Villars having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men under the count of Guiscard, the prince, fearful of being surrounded, deemed it prudent to decamp ; but Villars immediately passed the Rhine in pursuit of him, and having overtaken him in the mountains of Erlingen, a sharp action ensued, in which the imperialists were defeated with the

loss of two thousand men; twelve hundred perished on the side of the French⁹⁸. Fridlingen surrendered the next day.

This defeat detracted somewhat from the reputation of the prince of Baden, who, anxious to revenge the affront he had sustained, and having been reinforced by some troops, under general Thungen, resolved to give battle to the French; but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, count Tallard, and the marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Trierbach, while the prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment of the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brifac, and Audernach.

During these operations, a French fleet, consisting of ten ships of war, under Du Casse, fell in with an English fleet of inferior force, under admiral Benbow, near Saint Martha. A desperate action ensued, in which the English were defeated, through the cowardice of some of their officers, who were afterwards tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot⁹⁹. The English admiral displayed the utmost intrepidity; and died soon after of the wounds he received in the action.

A. D. 1703.] Lewis was destined to behold the number of his enemies encrease. The duke of Savoy, though father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy and the king of Spain, deserted the interest of France, and espoused the cause of the emperor, from whom he obtained, as the price of his desertion, the promise of Montferrat, Mantua, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro. Peter the Second, king of Portugal, also acceded to the confederacy against France, and acknowledged the archduke Charles as sovereign of Spain.

But the elector of Bavaria remained faithful to his alliance, and opposed with vigour and success the enemies of France. In the depth of winter he took the field in Germany, and ravaged all the country bordering on his electorate. Then directing his attacks against the territories of the elector palatine, he reduced the town of Neuburgh, though defended by a garrison of a thousand men. The troops of the empire, meanwhile, assembled, and made a vain attempt on the cities of Sansembourg and Traerbach; but the Prussians, under general Lottum, were more successful; they entered the electorate of Cologne, and reduced the castle of Veldentz, and the town of Rhinberg.

⁹⁸ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 472.

⁹⁹ When Du Casse arrived at Carthage, after the action, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect: "Sir, I entertained great apprehension on Sunday last of being obliged to sup in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by G—d, they deserve it. Yours, Du Casse."

The French compelled the Imperialists to evacuate Offembourg, Gegenbach, Zell, Wilsted, and Rastadt, after which they made themselves masters of Fort Kehl. Their object was to effect a junction with the Bavarians, which the Imperial generals, count Schlick and Stirum, exerted their utmost efforts to prevent. But the masterly manœuvres of the elector of Bavaria, by superinducing a division of the enemy's troops, frustrated their designs, and facilitated their defeat. Count Schlick, deceived by a feint of the elector, made a movement indicatory of an intention to invest Passau, left his camp near Schardinberg with only a part of his forces; when the elector, profiting by his absence, instantly changed the direction of his men, and fell upon the rest, who, unprepared for resistance, and greatly inferior in numbers, fell an easy prey to the Bavarians. A thousand men were put to the sword, and a great number of prisoners were taken, together with all the artillery and baggage. The elector also obtained an advantage over count Stirum, at the village of Emhorff, and thereby defeated his intention of laying siege to Amberg, the capital of the upper palatinate of Bavaria. After these successes, he compelled the diet of Ratisbon to give him possession of the bridge in that city over the Danube, by which his dominions were secured from invasion, and then effected a junction with the French, under mareschal Villars, at the camp of Dettingen.

On the Lower Rhine, and in the Netherlands, the arms of France were less successful. Marlborough, whose services had been rewarded with the thanks of the English parliament, and the dignity of a duke, took the command of the allied forces, and, in the month of April, laid siege to Bonne, against which place three different attacks were carried on; one by the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by general Fagel. The garrison defended themselves with vigour until the fourteenth of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches made practicable, the marquis D'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hostages were immediately exchanged; on the sixteenth the capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison evacuated the town, and were conducted to Luxembourg.

During the siege of Bonne, mareschals Boufflers and Villeroi (the latter of whom had been recently ransomed by the court) advanced with an army of forty thousand men towards Tongeren, with a view to attack the confederates; but they found them so advantageously posted, that they deemed it prudent to retreat without risking an action. On the approach of the grand army of the allies, under Marlborough, they retired with precipitation to Bockwern, and from thence to Hannye. At the point of Callo, and in the country of Waes, near Stoken, their lines were forced by Coehorn, and baron Spaar; but they resolved to revenge the affront by cutting off the retreat of baron Opdam, whom Marlborough had detached, with twelve thousand men, to take post in the vicinity of Antwerp, with a view to favour his designs on that city. Mareschal Boufflers, with twenty thousand men, surprized the Dutch general at Eekeren, and threw his

troops into such disorder, that Opdam, believing the day to be lost, quitted the field, and fled to Breda. But the troops of the allies, being rallied by Schangenburg, renewed the fight, and maintained their ground with the most obstinate valour, until night, when the French retired, leaving the communication open with fort Lillo, to which place the confederates retired, having lost fifteen hundred men in the action. The loss of the French was more considerable. Both sides claimed the victory, but the allies prove the validity of *their* claim by reaping the fruits of it. As Marlborough advanced Villeroi retired, and the confederates successively reduced Hui, Limburg, and Gueldres, by which they effectually secured the county of Liege and the electorate of Cologne from the incursions of the French.

Lewis, meanwhile, redoubled his efforts in Germany. The duke of Vendôme received orders to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, and there join the elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Inspruck; but an insurrection of the peasants expelled the elector from the country, and thereby prevented the junction. Having rejoined Villars, he resolved to attack count Stirum, whom prince Lewis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view the French and Bavarians passed the Danube at Donawert, and discharged six guns, as a signal for the marquis D'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to fall on the rear of the Imperialists, while they charged them in front. Stirum no sooner heard the signal, than he guessed the intention of the French, and instantly resolved to attack D'Usson before the elector and the marshal could advance. He, accordingly, charged him, at the head of some select squadrons, with such impetuosity, that the French cavalry was totally defeated; and all his infantry would have been taken or destroyed, but for the timely arrival of Villars and the elector, whose exertions turned the fate of the action, which continued from six in the morning to four in the afternoon, when the Imperial general, being overpowered by numbers, effected his retreat to Norlingen, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tallard, formed the siege of Old Brisac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The fortifications of the place were remarkably strong, though the garrison was small, and ill-provided with necessaries. In fourteen days the governor surrendered the place, and was sentenced to die for not having made a better defence: the duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Versailles, and Tallard was ordered to invest Landau. The prince of Hesse-Cassel, being detached from the Netherlands to the relief of the place, joined the count of Nassau-Weilburg, general of the Palatine forces, near Spire, where they resolved to attack the French in their lines. They were anticipated, however, by Tallard, who, having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men, under the command of Pracontal, suddenly quitted his lines, attacked the enemy, and obtained a complete victory, notwithstanding the courageous exertions of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who had three horses killed under him.

The

The Imperialists lost several thousand men: the damage sustained by the French was, if Tallard may be credited, inconsiderable indeed, for, in a letter to Lewis, he says—" *Your army, Sire, has taken more standards and colours from the enemy than it has lost private soldiers* ¹⁰⁰." Pracontal was killed in the action. The siege of Landau was resumed, and the place, after a vigorous defence, during which the French lost upwards of two thousand men, besides a great number of officers¹, surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburgh by the elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and consented to the introduction of a French garrison.

A. D. 1704.] The successes of the French in Germany had reduced the emperor to a most deplorable situation, which was rendered still more distressing by the revolt of his Hungarian subjects, instigated by the money and intrigues of Lewis and the Turks. The elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube, as far as Nafsau, and even threatened the capital of the empire, which, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert, must have been infallibly lost. But the emperor's application for assistance to the queen of England had produced a plan of operations which promised to relieve him from his difficulties. It was agreed, by the allies, that general Auverquerque should remain, with a small body of troops, in the Netherlands, there to act on the defensive, while the main army should enter Germany, and expel the French and Bavarians from the empire.

Villars had been recalled, at the instigation of the minister Chamillard, to wage an inglorious war, in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the province of Languedoc, against the unhappy Hugonots, whom the persecution of Lewis had forced into revolt; and the troops of France were, in Germany, entrusted to mareschal Tallard. Marlborough began his march into Germany on the eighth of May, when the French imagined it was his intention to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle. In this persuasion they sent a detachment to that river, and endeavoured to deceive the duke by feigning an intention of investing Hui; but Marlborough continued his route by Bedburg, Kerpenord, and Kalsecken, and visited the fortifications of Bonne, where he received advice that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the elector at Villingen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and, after halting a short time at Ladenburgh, proceeded to Mildenheim, where he had an interview with prince Eugene.

Having been joined by the Imperialists, under prince Lewis of Baden, at Wassertellen, the duke of Marlborough pursued his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthaus-

¹⁰⁰ Siècle de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 168.

¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tome ii. p. 481.

fen. On the second of July he advanced towards the Bavarian lines; near Donawert, and, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. The enemy were at first repulsed, with considerable loss; but prince Lewis of Baden arriving with the Imperialists, made a powerful diversion in another part of the line, and gave them time to rally. The Bavarians still defended themselves with great gallantry; but their intrenchments were, nevertheless, forced, and the enemy's horse entering with the infantry, completed the disorder, and compelled them to fly, with the utmost precipitation, towards Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field. The confederates took sixteen pieces of cannon, and thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. The victory, however, was dearly purchased; some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were generals Gooer and Beinhelm; count Stirum, too, was mortally wounded.

Next day the Bavarian garrison evacuated Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession, while the elector passed the Danube, and pursued his march to Augsburg. Thither he was followed by the allies, who, though they found him too securely posted, under the cannon of that city, to venture on an attack, encamped, with Friedburg in their center, in such a situation as to cut off all communication between the elector and his dominions. Having in vain attempted to detach him from his alliance with France, the allies sent out bodies of troops, who ravaged the country as far as Munich, and destroyed, with every circumstance of inhumanity, upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles.

As soon as the enemy had withdrawn, the elector left Augsburg, and, proceeding to Biberach, was there joined by the French, under marechal Tallard, on the fifth of August. Tallard, after various movements, and a vain attempt to prevent the junction of prince Eugene with the duke of Marlborough, took an advantageous post on an hill near Hochstet, his right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, his left by the village of Lutzingen, and his front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the allies, aware that their forage and provisions would soon be consumed, resolved to attack the French, whose army, when reinforced by the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, amounting in the whole to nearly sixty thousand men, while that of the confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty.

Tallard placed himself at the right wing, while the command of the left was given to the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin, a good officer, but not endowed with that combination of talents which is essentially requisite in the formation of an able general. Tallard, too, though a man of great courage and experience, had the misfortune to be so near-sighted that he could scarcely distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces,
a defect

a defect of the most dangerous tendency in the day of battle². The right of the confederates was commanded by prince Eugene, and their left by the duke of Marlborough.

Tallard posted seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons in the village of Blenheim, on the supposition that the chief effort of the allies would be directed to that quarter; nor was he deceived in his conjectures, for about noon (on the thirteenth of August) a body of English and Hessians, under general Wilkes, having passed the rivulet, attacked the village with great vigour, but were so warmly received by the French, that, after three vain attempts, they were compelled to retire. The center and part of the right wing of the allies were, in the mean time, suffered to pass the rivulet, without molestation, but as soon as they were formed, the French cavalry charged them with such impetuosity, while the troops posted at Blenheim galled them so severely in flank, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and many of them repassed the rivulet; but, at this critical conjuncture, a large body of dragoons arriving to support them, the French cavalry were broken in their turn, and driven back to the village of Blenheim.

By this time the left wing of the allies was completely formed, and, ascending the hill, in a firm compact body, charged the French horse, which were unable to sustain the attack, though, as they retreated, they frequently rallied, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. Tallard now dispatched ten battalions to the support of the cavalry, but these were successfully opposed by a detachment of infantry sent by Marlborough to sustain his horse. The French infantry, however, kept up such a prodigious and well-directed fire, that the line of the allies recoiled about sixty paces; but recovering themselves they renewed the charge with additional vigour, and entirely routed the French cavalry, and cut the battalions that had been sent to support them to pieces.

Tallard now resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, whose absence had so weakened his main body, as to render it unable to resist the efforts of the allies; but while he was engaged in rallying the cavalry which he meant to unite to this body, he mistook one of the enemy's squadrons for his own, and riding up to it, was surrounded and taken prisoner. The horse, meanwhile, being pressed by the allies, endeavoured to gain the bridge which the French had thrown over the Danube, between Höchstet and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that such as escaped the sword threw themselves into the river and were drowned.

While the right wing was thus defeated, Marsin's quarters were attacked, at the village of Oberklau, by ten battalions of the enemy, under the prince of Holstein-Beck, who passed the rivulet with great resolution; but before he could form his men on the

² Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 174.

opposite side, was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions, being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length, the duke of Marlborough, in person, led up some fresh squadrons from his body of reserve, and compelled the French to retire. During this time the left wing had sustained a furious attack from prince Eugene, but the elector of Bavaria thrice repulsed his cavalry with great spirit and success. The contest, in this quarter, was long and obstinate, but, at length, the allies proved victorious, and Marsin and the elector being driven from Oberklau and Lutzen, were pursued as far as the villages of Morselingen and Teiffenhoven, whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen.

The confederates, being now masters of the field, directed their attention to that body of troops which was posted in the village of Blenheim. It consisted of eleven thousand effective men, all veterans; in short, the best troops in the service of France. The marquis of Clerambaut (son to the marshal of that name) who commanded them, went for orders to marshal Tallard; but being informed that general was taken prisoner, and seeing the troops flying on all sides, he joined the fugitives, and was drowned in the Danube.

Sivieres, the next in command, called on his brother officers to follow him, and falling forth from the village, they made a desperate, but ineffectual, attack upon the enemy. Shortly after one of the officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned to Blenheim, accompanied by lord Orkney, at sight of whom the French immediately exclaimed, "Have you taken an English prisoner?" "No"—replied Des-Nonvilles—"I am myself a prisoner, and am come to exhort you to lay down your arms, as the only means of saving your lives³." The prudence of this exhortation was, indeed, manifest: the victorious allies had cleared the field, and had already surrounded the village in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of escape. The troops, accordingly, accepted the proffered capitulation, about eight in the evening, when they laid down their arms, delivered up their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be rifled.

The victory gained by the allies was complete: ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field; the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse perished in the Danube; thirteen thousand men, and twelve hundred officers of distinction were made prisoners; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours; one hundred and seventy-one standards; seventeen pair of kettle-drums; three thousand six hundred tents; four-and-thirty coaches, filled

³ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 178.

with the ladies of the French officers; three hundred laden mules; two bridges of boats; fifteen pontoons; and fifteen barrels and eight casks of silver. The allies lost four thousand five hundred men killed, and about a thousand wounded and missing. Of sixty thousand men, which composed the French army, only twenty thousand could be collected after the battle: the loss of a tract of country, an hundred leagues in extent, was the consequence of this victory; the territories of the elector of Bavaria passed under the yoke of the emperor, and experienced all the rigours of war, aggravated by personal resentment. The court of Versailles, long accustomed to prosperity, was thrown into the greatest consternation at the news of this defeat, which arrived in the midst of the rejoicings for the birth of a great grandson to Lewis the Fourteenth, to whom no one dared to impart the fatal intelligence. At length madame de Maintenon undertook the unpleasant task, and informed the monarch that he was no longer invincible.

By the dispersion of the French army, the country from the Danube to the Rhine was now laid open to the allies, who passed the latter, and entered Alsace. Prince Lewis of Baden laid siege to Landau, which he took, after an obstinate and gallant defence, and Traerbach was soon after reduced by the prince of Hesse-Cassel.

In Italy, the French experienced but little opposition, and the duke of Vendôme was enabled to reduce the towns of Vercelli and Ivrea. The fleet of France, commanded by the count of Thoulouse, encountered, off Malaga, on the thirteenth of July, the English fleet, returning from a successful attempt on the important fortrefs of Gibraltar. The action began at ten in the morning, and continued, with unabating fury, until the approach of night. The loss was equal on both sides, but Lewis claimed the victory, which, indeed, was necessary to support the drooping spirits of his people, after the late disaster. This, however, was the last effort of his naval force, during the war; his treasures being exhausted, his navy was suffered gradually to sink into that state of insignificance from which his former exertions had raised it.

A. D. 1705, 1706.] Every resource which the ingenuity of the minister could devise for defraying the expences of the war was now employed; and, in order to recruit the army, the principal towns were stripped of their garrisons, and the militia were summoned to the field. Villars was recalled from the Cevennes to take the command of the troops, and, by the conduct he displayed on the frontiers of Germany, proved himself worthy of the confidence which his sovereign had reposed in him. By his skilful and judicious manœuvres he defeated the designs of the allies, on the banks of the Moselle, and compelled them to change their plan of operations. Villeroy, meanwhile, who commanded, jointly with the elector of Bavaria, in Flanders, reduced the town of Huy, and was proceeding to attack Liege, when the approach of Marlborough obliged him to desist from his enterprize, and retire within his lines, which the enemy soon after determined to force. The Dutch general, Auverquerque, by a feint, induced Villeroy to

weaken one part of his lines in order to strengthen another part; the duke of Marlborough seized that opportunity to attack him, in the night of the seventeenth of July, with a view to force a passage at Elixheim, the castle of Waugh, and the villages of Waugh, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with little difficulty, but before the enemy's infantry could come up, D'Alegre advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and, opening a masked battery on the allies, checked their progress with considerable slaughter. The horse, being vigorously charged by the enemy's cavalry, were thrown into confusion, but rallying behind the infantry, and being reinforced by fresh squadrons, they renewed the charge. The conflict was maintained with great obstinacy for some time, but the French were at last obliged to retreat, and the enemy took possession of their lines. Villeroi, during the rest of the campaign, chose his posts with such judgment that the allies could obtain no advantage over him, and he shortly after restored his reputation by the reduction of Diest.

This success induced the king to continue him in the command of the army, and he accordingly took the field, in Flanders, in the ensuing campaign, with eighty thousand men; but a too great confidence in his own abilities proved the cause of his disgrace, and the source of fresh calamities to his country. Near the banks of the Meuse, and not far from the source of the little Ghetie, this general fixed his camp, with the village of Ramillies near his center, which was composed of raw, undisciplined recruits; the baggage was placed between the lines of his army; and his left was posted behind a morass, which effectually prevented its approach to the enemy. In this position, which displayed an astonishing want of professional skill, Villeroi waited the approach of the allies, under the duke of Marlborough, who, observing the mode in which the French were drawn up to receive him, threw his principal strength into his left wing and center, so as to render them superior to the bodies that were opposed to them. General Gassion perceiving this manoeuvre, called out to the marshal, "You are ruined, if you don't change your order of battle. Draw off the troops from the left wing, that you may have an equal number to oppose to the enemy; and place your lines nearer to each other: a moment's delay will prove fatal." Several other officers supported this advice, but Villeroi was obstinate, and refused to change the disposition of his troops.

About two in the afternoon of the twenty-third of May, 1706, the action was begun by the allies, who sent general Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramillies, which Villeroi had strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time field-marshal Auverquerque detached colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, from their left wing, to dislodge the French infantry posted among the hedges of Franquencies. Both these officers proved successful. The Dutch and Danish horse were, indeed, so warmly received by the troops of the king's household, that they began to give way, but they were opportunely sustained by the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons which the duke of Marlborough sent



Jones Fecit

MARECHAL VILLEROY,

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sent to their assistance from his right wing, where the morafs prevented them from acting. The best part of the French mousquetaires were now cut in pieces, and all the troops in the village of Ramillies were either killed or taken. The rest of the infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on the left wing, which formed themselves, in three lines, between Offuz and Anderkirk; but the English horse, having found means to pass the rivulet that separated the two bodies, fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they fled with precipitation, and left their foot exposed to the attacks of the enemy. The slaughter now became dreadful, and the confusion general. The elector of Bavaria and mareschal Villeroi escaped with great difficulty. Several waggons belonging to the van-guard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner that the baggage and artillery could not proceed, nor could the troops retreat in order. The enemy's horse, apprized of this circumstance, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms, and cried for mercy. The pursuit was followed through Judoigne, till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine.

The French lost, in this action, twenty thousand men, killed, wounded, and missing; and all their baggage and artillery, together with one hundred and twenty colours or standards. Prince Maximilian and the prince de Monbason were among the slain: generals Palavicini and Mezieres were taken prisoners, as were the marquisses de Bar; de Nonant; and de la Baume, son to mareschal Tallard; Montmorenci, nephew to the duke of Luxembourg; and many other persons of distinction. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men; and the only person of note that was killed was prince Lewis of Hesse.

The battle of Ramillies was followed by the immediate loss of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted, without resistance, and acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain. Ostend, though defended by a strong garrison, was surrendered, after a siege of ten days. Menin, then one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, experienced a similar fate. The garrison of Dendermonde were made prisoners of war; and Aeth opened her gates to the victor.

Mareschal Villeroi was reduced to such a state of despair by the disgrace he had brought on the arms of his country, that he did not dare to write his sovereign an account of the battle. Five days were suffered to elapse before he dispatched a courier to Versailles, with a confirmation of that intelligence which had already reached the court, and thrown them into the utmost consternation. Villeroi could no longer secure from his troops either confidence or respect; and this circumstance, joined to the public indignation, loudly and unequivocally expressed, made Lewis determine on recalling him. But it was not without extreme regret that the king adopted this resolution, for he was sincerely

cerely attached to the mareschal, who, being the son of his governor, had been brought up with him⁴. Impressed with these sentiments, he wished to give to his recall the appearance of a voluntary resignation, and, for this purpose, wrote several letters to Villeroi, urging him, in the most friendly manner, to apply for his removal from the command of the army. But the mareschal, who possessed less delicacy than the monarch, and presumed too far on that friendship of which he had received the most undoubted proofs, refused to comply with the wishes of Lewis, and to become the instrument—as he termed it—of his own disgrace. Lewis, however, perceiving the necessity of the measure, persisted in his resolution, and the mareschal was recalled; but still the king was careful to remove the most mortifying circumstances attending such a situation, by giving it out that he had only recalled Villeroi, in consequence of his own solicitations; and when that general appeared at court, he received him with the utmost warmth of friendship, and, in the language of consolation, observed—“ Monsieur mareschal, “ Fortune, it seems, is not the friend of old age; you and I must console each other for “ her caprice⁵.”

During these transactions in Germany and the Netherlands, the French had made considerable efforts in Italy and Spain. In Italy, the duke of Vendôme reduced Mirandola, while the duke de la Feuillade took the citadel of Villa-Franca, San-Sospiro, and Montalban. On the sixteenth of August, 1705, Vendôme fought the bloody but indecisive battle of Cassano, where he checked the progress of prince Eugene. Chiavazzo was reduced by Feuillade; and Nice, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December.

The ensuing campaign opened in a manner that seemed to promise additional splendour to the arms of France. At Cassinato, the duke of Vendôme obtained, on the thirteenth of April, a complete victory over the enemy. That general was then recalled to succeed Villeroi in the command of the army in the Netherlands, while his victorious troops pursued their march, and invested Turin, under the conduct of La Feuillade, who, being nephew to the minister Chamillard, was amply provided with every thing that could tend to ensure success to his enterprize. Vauban had offered to serve under him, as a simple volunteer; but the vanity of the duke led him to reject the patriotic offer of that able engineer, and to insult him by observing, that he meant to take the place *à la Coehorn*⁶.

The siege was covered by the duke of Orleans, whose authority was controlled by the superior, though secret, powers of mareschal Marfin, and the operations were conducted with the most destructive vigour. Notwithstanding the noble defence made by the garrison of Turin, who destroyed a vast number of the French during the siege, their

⁴ Saint Simon, tom. ii. p. 163. tom. iv. p. 18.

⁵ Idem, tom. iv. p. 20.

⁶ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 194.

means of defence were nearly exhausted, and their only hopes of relief were founded on the arrival of prince Eugene, who had innumerable difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The duke of Vendôme, previous to his departure, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and entrenchments as would, he imagined, effectually prevent the Imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the prince surmounted every obstacle that opposed his progress, and having passed four great rivers in spite of the French, reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth of August.

The Imperialists, being joined by the duke of Savoy, passed the Po between Montcalliere and Carignano. On the fifth of September, they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules; the next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with their right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and their left on the Stura before the Veneria. The French were intrenched, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and a convent of Capuchins in their center: on the approach of the enemy, the duke of Orleans strenuously insisted on the propriety of marching out of the intrenchments, and giving them battle; and in this bold, but prudent, proposal, he was supported by all the general officers except Marfin, who had received positive orders from the king not to risk a battle but in case of an attack. These private instructions gave great offence to the duke of Orleans, and occasioned dissensions among the generals, that proved fatal to the cause in which they had embarked.

On the seventh of September the confederates marched up to the intrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a dreadful fire from forty pieces of cannon, and formed in order of battle within half cannon-shot of the lines. They then advanced to the attack with astonishing resolution, but met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress. Prince Eugene, perceiving this check, threw away his staff of command, and, drawing his sword, placed himself at the head of the enemy's battalions on the left, and forced the intrenchments at the first charge. The duke of Savoy was equally successful in the center; and, on the right, near Luscingo, the horse advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose, and, breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the French, who were defeated on all sides, and retired with precipitation to the opposite banks of the Po, while the duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage, and received several wounds in the action. Mareschal Marfin fell into the hands of the enemy, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died soon after the amputation. The numbers that perished in the action and pursuit, on the part of the French, have been variously represented. Voltaire asserts, that they did not lose more than *two* thousand men; but the most probable accounts make their loss amount to double that number: seven thousand men, and a great number of officers, were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars,

mortars, an immense quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burden, ten thousand dragoon-horses, and the mules of the commissary-general so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was estimated at three million of livres. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men killed and disabled in the action, besides about the same number of the garrison of Turin which had fallen during the siege.

The court, though now accustomed to defeat, was overwhelmed with grief at the news of this disaster, with the whole extent whereof Lewis was, for some time, unacquainted. The French, indeed, derived some little consolation from an advantage, gained about this time by the count de Medavy, who commanded a body of troops in the duchy of Mantua : that general surprised the prince of Hesse, in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men ; but this victory was productive of no good effects. The duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were expelled from every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates. In consequence of a treaty with the emperor Joseph, who had succeeded Leopold in the Imperial throne, these places were all evacuated in the succeeding winter, when the troops returned to France.

The French admirals de Tessé and de Pontis, had, in 1705, been compelled by the English to retire from before Gibraltar, then besieged by Philip, and the greater part of their fleet was destroyed. In Spain the arms of the allies were equally successful ; the earl of Peterborough possessed himself of Barcelona, and all Catalonia acknowledged the authority of Charles. In the ensuing campaign, Philip formed the siege of Barcelona, with a numerous army, while the count de Thoulouse blocked up the harbour with a powerful squadron : the inhabitants, animated by the presence of Charles, made a vigorous defence, and the garrison was reinforced by some troops from Giroune and other places. But, after the reduction of the fort of Montjuic, the place was so hard pressed, that Charles ran the utmost risk of falling into the hands of the enemy ; for the earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia, with two thousand men, found it impracticable to enter the city, though he contrived to maintain his post upon the hills, and greatly to annoy the besiegers. At length the arrival of the English fleet compelled the count of Thoulouse to retreat to Toulon ; and, three days after his departure, Philip abandoned the siege with precipitation, leaving behind him his tents, with his sick and wounded. That prince was afterwards compelled to evacuate Madrid, where Charles was proclaimed king ; but the latter, instead of improving the advantage he had gained, loitered away his time in Barcelona, and afforded leisure to his rival to assemble his troops and recover the capital.

A. D. 1707] Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and to encounter the forces of Philip wherever he should meet them. On the thirtieth
of

of March the allied army was assembled at Caudelo, to the number of sixteen thousand men, under the conduct of the marquis de las Minas, and the earl of Galway. They directed their march towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Vileña, but, at the approach of the French, who were commanded by the duke of Berwick, natural son to James the Second of England, they advanced to meet them. The two armies accordingly met on the fourteenth of April, in the plains of Almanza. The battle began about two in the afternoon. The English and Dutch horse, placed on the left of the allies, and sustained by the Portuguese cavalry, were attacked with great fury, and obliged, after a gallant resistance, to retire. The French in their turn, being hard pressed by the center of the allies, were compelled to give way; but having broke the Portuguese cavalry on the right of the enemy, they recovered their advantage and forced the infantry to fly; while the English and Dutch troops, being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. They defended themselves with great bravery, until their ammunition was entirely exhausted, when, deprived of all hope of supply, they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the earl of Galway, who had effected his escape, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons. About three thousand of the allied army were killed in the field, among whom were many officers of distinction; about ten thousand prisoners, together with all the artillery, and an hundred and twenty colours and standards, fell into the hands of the French, whose loss did not exceed three thousand men. The authority of the duke of Berwick was superseded by the duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This prince remained inactive for a considerable time, and, at length, concluded the campaign by the siege of Lerida, which was surrendered, by capitulation, on the second of November.

In Germany, meanwhile, mareschal Villars forced the lines of Buhl, reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Strutgard and Schorndorf, and routed three thousand Germans intrenched at Lorch, under the command of general Janus, who was taken prisoner. But the duke was prevented from improving his advantage by the recall of a considerable part of his army to the defence of France itself, which was now attacked within its limits. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had forced the passage of the river Var, on the eleventh of July, at the head of thirty thousand men, and advanced towards Toulon, whither their artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined fleets of England and Holland. But the tardy motions of the Germans, who were to have joined them, and the activity of France, compelled them to abandon the enterprize, and they retired, after having bombarded the town, and convinced Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

The war in Flanders was continued this campaign with little effect. The duke of Marlborough had been dispatched into Saxony to fathom the designs and conciliate the
friendship.

friendship of Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, who had pursued, with implacable enmity, and astonishing success, the northern powers of Europe. Having accomplished the object of his mission, the duke returned to the Netherlands, and took the field, in the month of May; when the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Vendôme quitted their lines, and advanced to Soignies, with a view to engage the enemy in the plain of Fleurus. But the allies, being inferior in numbers, studiously avoided an action, and nothing of importance occurred during the campaign. At sea, Forbin and Du Guay-Trouin took and destroyed four English ships of the line.

A. D. 1708.] In order to divide the attention of England, Lewis resolved to make one more exertion in favour of the exiled branch of Stuart. Seventy transports, with six thousand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, sailed from Dunkirk, in order to convey the Pretender to Scotland. But the coasts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleets; the vigilance of her officers was alarmed; the adherents of James were secured and disarmed; and the French, after a fruitless attempt to land in Scotland, returned, with the loss of one of their ships, to Dunkirk.

Lewis, undismayed by this miscarriage, made incredible efforts to maintain a superiority on the continent during this campaign: he assembled an army of an hundred thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, presumptive heir to the throne, who was assisted by the duke of Vendôme, and accompanied by the duke of Berry, and the Pretender, who had assumed the appellation of the Chevalier Saint George. The elector of Bavaria was destined to command the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the duke of Berwick; and marechal Villeroi was appointed to head the forces in Dauphiné. The allies betraying a disposition to act on the defensive in Germany, that they might strengthen their army in Flanders, the duke of Vendôme marched to Soignies, on the twenty-fifth of May, and posted himself within three leagues of the enemy, who were encamped at Billighen and Halle. The duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that he was pursuing his route by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Leu, concluded his intention was to take post on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. Marlborough, therefore, commanded his army to march all night, and, on the third of June, encamped at Terbank, general Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no farther than Genap and Braine-la-Leu. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and were headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies, at first, expected they would hazard a battle; but their object was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders.

The elector of Bavaria had acquired great popularity among the inhabitants of the principal towns; the count de Bergeyck, who had also considerable interest among them,

was devoted to the house of Bourbon; and the citizens, naturally inconstant, and seditiously disposed, were, at this time, particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The duke of Vendôme resolved to profit by these circumstances: a detachment of troops, under brigadiers la Taille and Pasteur, surprized the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison; and, at the same time, the count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: he then made a fruitless attempt upon Damme, and marched to the small fort of Plaffendahl, which he took by assault.

A strong detachment having been sent towards Tubize, the duke of Marlborough marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlecht. The French crossed the Seine at Halle and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning; but they passed the Dander in the night, with great expedition, and Marlborough next day encamped at Asche, where he was joined by prince Eugene, who had marched thither, with a considerable reinforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The French, apprized of the prince's approach, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only pass on the Schelde possessed by the allies; and they invested it on the ninth of July, hoping to reduce it before Eugene could effect a junction with Marlborough. But the latter was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche as far as Herfelingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. He then took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The generals of the allies having determined to bring them to action, Cadogan was sent, with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde, below Oudenarde. The allied army was in motion early in the morning, and marched with such rapidity that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The French, during these movements of the enemy, had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the household troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops, under general Rantzau, who was posted behind a rivulet that emptied itself into the river.

It was the intention of the duke of Vendôme to attack the confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Schelde; but he was thwarted by the duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. He had ordered the troops to halt on their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet determined how to act, and he now recalled the squadrons from the plain, resolved to avoid a battle. Vendôme remonstrated:

against this conduct; and the dispute between them continued till three in the afternoon, by which time the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. The duke of Burgundy then expressed his determination to engage, and Vendôme submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army not yet formed.

General Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the king's household, who, finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took, with three of the seven battalions by which it was defended. The confederates still continued to pass the river, but few or none of their infantry came upon the field till five in the afternoon, when the duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which were immediately attacked, with great spirit and impetuosity, by the French, who were, by this time, drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening.

Europe had not, for many years, produced two such noble armies: upwards of one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the allies by twelve thousand; but their generals were divided; their forces ill-disposed; and their men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed, from the beginning, averse from an engagement, and acted with indecision and precipitation. Nevertheless they maintained their ground with great courage, until general Auverquerque and count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the right of the French to give way; and the prince of Orange and count Oxenstiern attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. They then began to retire in great confusion. The duke of Vendôme, alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men by his exhortations and example; but all his efforts proved fruitless; the confusion increased; some regiments were cut to pieces; others desired to capitulate; and, but for the intervention of night, their whole army must have been ruined.

When it became so dark as to render it impossible to distinguish friends from foes, the generals, on either side, ordered their troops to cease firing, and the French took this opportunity of escaping, by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The officers, unable to rally their troops, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons and as many battalions, with which they secured their retreat. To this prudent precaution the safety of the army was entirely owing; for, at day-break, the duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot, under generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the enemy's cavalry could not form,
and

and they were, therefore, obliged to return. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and, marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they cast up intrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three thousand were slain in the field of battle; two thousand deserted, and about seven thousand were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; ten pieces of cannon, more than a hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horse, also fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the allies did not amount to two thousand men, nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement. After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and Lys; another was sent to levy contributions as far as Arras, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch-Flanders; broke through the lines of Bervliet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Casandt, which they laid under contribution.

The generals of the allies, determined to improve their advantage, now undertook an enterprize which greatly astonished the French, who considered it as an act of inexcusable temerity. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with every necessary for sustaining and repelling an attack, and defended by a numerous garrison of the best troops in France, commanded by mareschal Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies had to encounter: the French had cut off all communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-van-Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attacks of an army more numerous than their own.

On the thirteenth of August Lisle was invested, on one side, by prince Eugene, and, on the other, by the prince of Orange-Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland, while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second of August, and the operations were conducted with that spirit and alacrity which victory and success seldom fail to inspire. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place. Marlborough, apprized of their intentions, and reinforced by a detachment from the besieging army, in which Augustus, king of Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse, served as volunteers, marched out of his lines to give them battle; but the French declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment, extending from the mill of Noyelle to the mill of Fretin.

On the seventh of September the besiegers too by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals,

meanwhile, continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded, on the eleventh, with twelve pieces of cannon, directing their fire chiefly against the village of Entieres, which lay before the principal intrenchment of the allies, and was fortified with strong works. The duke of Marlborough again sent for assistance to prince Eugene, and prepared for action; but Vendôme only designed to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. He endeavoured to surprize the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence which he maintained in the place, but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. The French then cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong entrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon, so that the confederates were reduced to the necessity of drawing all their stores and ammunition from Ostend.

On the twenty-first of September, prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing his troops driven by the French from a lodgment they had made on the counterscarp of the tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge; but receiving a wound over the left eye from a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and the conduct of the siege, as well as the command of the covering army, devolved, for some days, on the duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-third the tenaille was stormed by the enemy, and a lodgment made along the covered way.

The siege having lasted a considerable time, and the garrison, having sustained various assaults, and kept up a prodigious fire, now began to experience a want of ammunition. Mareschal Boufflers having found means to make the duke of Vendôme acquainted with this circumstance, a detachment of fourteen squadrons was sent from the army, under the command of the chevalier de Luxembourg, and each trooper carried with him a bag of powder, weighing forty pounds. They were discovered in their attempt to pass through the camp of the besiegers, who pursued them to the gates of the town, into which about three hundred of them were admitted; but a great number of them were killed by the confederates.

The duke of Vendôme, receiving information that the enemy expected a considerable convoy from Ostend, resolved to make an attempt to intercept it. For this purpose, the count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack the troops appointed to escort the convoy, who did not exceed six thousand. But general Webb, who commanded them, made such an able disposition for receiving the French, near the wood of Wyendale, that, after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, de la Motte drew off his men, with the loss of four thousand, while that of the allies amounted only to nine hundred and twelve, in killed and wounded. This was the most honourable exploit performed, by the allies, during the whole war, and of such consequence

consequence to them, that, had the convoy been taken, the siege of Lisle must have been raised.

The duke of Vendôme ordered the dykes between Bruges and Nieupoort to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hope of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took a body of British troops posted in the village of Lessinghen, by whose means the convoy had been forwarded to the duke of Marlborough. But all these efforts were unavailing; the garrison was reduced to the last extremity; on the twenty-second of October marshal Boufflers proposed terms of capitulation for the city of Lisle; next day the articles were signed; on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the marshal retired into the citadel with the remains of the garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was now reduced to less than six.

Though Vendôme had hitherto failed in all his attempts to impede the progress of the allies, he did not despair of still obliging them to abandon their enterprize. The elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with great fury; but he was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of general Paschal, and retired with precipitation, as soon as he learnt that the duke of Marlborough was advancing to the relief of the place. No farther attempt was made; the besiegers having made lodgments and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, Boufflers capitulated on the eighth of December; and, on the tenth, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douai.

The French generals, convinced that the allies, satisfied with the immense advantages they had already obtained, would undertake no enterprize of consequence at that advanced season of the year, distributed their troops into winter quarters, and returned to Paris. But their indefatigable antagonists were resolved to strike another stroke of importance before the separation of their troops. On the twentieth of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirteenth, when the batteries were ready to open, the count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third of the next month he marched out, with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. The French then evacuated Bruges, Plaffendahl, and Lessingen; and the generals of the allies repaired to Holland, leaving their forces under the command of count Tilly. Lewis was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands; nor was he easy on the side of Dauphiné, where, notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of Villars, the duke of Savoy made himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of Saint Martin, and Fenestrelles; so that, by the end of the campaign, he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favour of king Charles,

Charles, by obliging the French to send a strong detachment from Rouffillon to the assistance of Villars.

In Catalonia the duke of Orleans was opposed by count Staremberg, notwithstanding whose efforts he reduced the towns of Tortosa and Denia; but these losses were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquests of Sardinia and Minorca.

The ill-success of this campaign may, in some measure, be ascribed to the jealousy and dissensions which prevailed among the generals of the French army. The duke of Burgundy was *nominal* commander in chief, but, in fact, he was rendered wholly subservient to the duke of Vendôme, who seemed to take pleasure in combating his opinions, and in displaying the power with which he was invested over the prince⁷. Burgundy, indeed, wanted the experience that was necessary for the station in which he was placed; but his rank, and still more his virtues, required that any advice which was offered him should be given with decency and respect, and that all public reproaches from his inferiors should be studiously avoided. The duke was remarkably strict in observing all the duties of his religion; which occasioned the count of Gamache, one of those free-speakers who think wit a sufficient apology for impertinence, to tell him aloud, one day as he was returning with him from mass—"You will obtain the kingdom of heaven, my lord; but as for the kingdoms of the earth, those Eugene and Marlborough know best how to secure⁸."

Towards the end of the battle of Oudenarde, the general officers having assembled around the duke of Vendôme, to deliberate on the best mode of proceeding, at such a conjuncture, the duke of Burgundy offered his opinion; but Vendôme immediately stopped his mouth, by exclaiming—"Recollect, you was only permitted to come here on condition that you would obey me⁹." Every body was astonished at this insolence; but the prince, who was sensible that he must either proceed to extremities, or pass it over in silence, had sufficient command of his temper to suffer it to pass unnoticed. Vendôme proceeded to expatiate on the circumstances of the battle, and to maintain that it was not lost, but as one part of the army had not engaged, it was proper to remain at their post during the night, and renew the attack the next morning. The generals all listened in silence to a man who would not brook contradiction, and who had just shewn the violence of his temper to the presumptive heir to the throne. At length the count D'Evreux, a young man, patronised by Vendôme, broke silence to express his approbation

⁷ Saint Simon, tom. iv. p. 158.—Mémoires de Noailles, tom. iv. p. 338.

⁸ A couplet was circulated, about this period, at the duke's expence, advising him to stick to his devotion; and to content himself with praying for the army he was inadequate to command.—*Recueil de la Régence*, p. 33.

⁹ D'Argenson, p. 150.—Saint Simon, tom. iv. p. 125.

of the duke's proposal. During the conference, officers arrived from all quarters with an account that the confusion into which the troops were thrown had become general; they, therefore, desired that the duke would come to a speedy decision, shewing, at the same time, that they were convinced of the necessity of a retreat. Vendôme, with fury in his countenance, and rage in his heart, exclaimed—"Well, gentlemen, since you are determined to retreat, it must even be so. As for you"—pursued he, addressing himself to the duke of Burgundy, on whom he cast a look of indignation and contempt—"you have long had an inclination to retreat." He immediately set spurs to his horse, galloped to Ghent as fast as he could, eat his supper, went quietly to bed, and left the conduct of the retreat to whoever chose to undertake it.

Far different was the conduct of Boufflers, during the siege of Lisle. Brave, vigilant, and modest; calm in the midst of dangers, he gave his orders, in the most critical situations, with as much coolness as if he had been in his own private apartment. No disaster, however calamitous or unexpected, could throw him off his guard; nothing escaped his penetration and foresight; and he forgot nothing in the hour of execution. His equity, goodness, politeness, and rectitude secured him universal esteem. He was easy of communication; attentive to all who consulted him; patient in submitting to a free declaration of opinions, however different from his own; scrupulous in ascribing the effects of good advice to those who had given it, and in paying the honour due to splendid achievements to those who had performed them.

The pains which he took in distributing the ammunition and provisions to the garrison, and in superintending the hospitals, which he regularly visited, rendered him an object of veneration to the soldiers and citizens, the latter of whom he formed into regiments, and so trained them to military discipline, that they became as good troops as the regulars. He cheerfully submitted to all kinds of fatigue, particularly if it tended to alleviate the labour of others. He always slept in his cloaths during the attacks; and from the commencement of the siege to the final surrender of the citadel—a period of four months—he did not go to bed more than three times. He was censured by many for exposing his person more than a general ought: but this he did by way of example. Though he received several slight wounds, he did not alter his conduct; but a wound in the head having brought him to the ground, he was conveyed, in spite of himself, to the governor's residence. It was proposed to bleed him, but he refused to undergo the operation, through fear that it would so far deprive him of his strength as to prevent him from pursuing his daily avocations, which he would have continued as usual, had he not, when preparing to leave his apartment, found the house surrounded by soldiers, who unanimously exclaimed, that if they should see him before the expiration of four-and-twenty hours, they would all forsake their posts. He was therefore obliged to take repose; and when he afterwards appeared abroad, he was received with such testimonies of joy as baffle all description.

His

His table was plentifully stocked, because his company was large; but, with regard to the quality of his food, he fared like the rest of the garrison. The more delicate kinds of provisions he always sent to the sick. Besides the money he took with him to Lisle, he borrowed considerable sums, all which he distributed among the officers and soldiers, not with ostentation, but with an admirable simplicity, that enhanced the value of the gifts¹⁰. He would have buried himself beneath the ruins of the place, had he not received orders from the king to surrender, that the garrison might be preserved. When he marched out, prince Eugene said to him—“*I take glory to myself for having reduced Lisle, but I would much rather have defended it like you.*”

A. D. 1709.] At that period of life when the expectation of repose is founded on reason, the care of averting calamities, or of providing a remedy for existing evils, becomes a pain: misfortunes press hard on the bosom of age. Few monarchs have experienced greater disasters than Lewis in the last years of his life. The horrors of war, the misery of his people, the necessary augmentation of imposts, domestic embarrassments—all combined with the death of persons who were most dear to him to fill his mind with anxiety, and his heart with grief. The losses he had sustained during the last campaign, were aggravated by the rigours of a winter, severe beyond all example. The cold was so excessive as to occasion the death of many persons, both in town and country; and, to complete the distress in which the kingdom was involved, a hard frost, rapidly succeeding a sudden thaw, killed all the corn which had till then been protected from the injuries of the weather by a thick covering of snow. The farmers were reduced to the necessity of ploughing their grounds afresh, and of sowing them with barley and oats, and the bread made of these materials was afterwards found to have a sensible effect on the health of the persons who eat it¹¹. The resources of the state were exhausted; its credit annihilated; and the king, who had been idolized by his people in the hour of prosperity, now totally lost his popularity.

This combination of calamitous occurrences had reduced Lewis to such a state of humiliation, that he was willing to sacrifice all his projects of ambition to the attainment of peace. He, accordingly, dispatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the states-general, whom he still flattered himself with the hope of detaching from the confederacy. But finding this effort ineffectual, he sent the marquis de Torci, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh and specific offers. That minister declared that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the English pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen of England's title, and the Protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the

¹⁰ Saint Simon, tom. iv. p. 132.

¹¹ Contin. de Mezerai, tom. ii. p. 511.

Spanish monarchy, and cede the towns in the Netherlands, demanded by the states-general for their barrier: that he would make the treaty of Ryswick the basis of his accommodation with the emperor, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburgh.

These offers, it must be confessed, were liberal and satisfactory, inasmuch as they tended to remove those dangers, and to obviate those inconveniencies, the dread of which had first occasioned the war. Had they been accepted, the power of Lewis would have been sufficiently checked, and his ambition restrained by bounds that he could not easily have surpassed. But the allies, inflated with success, insisted upon the restitution of Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire; upon the restitution of Strasburgh in its present condition; upon the cession of the town and territory of Lisle; and on the demolition of Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen. In vain did Torci exert his abilities to obtain more reasonable terms; in vain did he appeal to the avarice of the duke of Marlborough, and tempt him by an offer of four millions of livres; his solicitations and his offers were alike rejected; and he was compelled, from the consideration that his country was totally exhausted, to sign those articles upon which the ministers of the allies insisted, as preliminaries¹².

But when these proposals were submitted to Lewis, he experienced the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain, and even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their sovereign, and exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they expressed their determination to expend their whole substance in his support, and rather to fight his battles without pay, than reduce him to the necessity of complying with such dishonourable terms. The preliminaries being rejected by Lewis, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours; and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without farther hesitation¹³.

The king once more prepared to encounter the hostile armies of the confederates in the Netherlands. He derived some resource from the distressed situation of his kingdom; for the peasants, unable to obtain subsistence in the country, quitted the plough for the sword; and while a considerable quantity of land remained uncultivated, a numerous army was formed, and marshal Villars, being recalled from Savoy to take the command, assembled the troops in the plains of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The allies, whose army amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men, having reconnoitred his situation, and found that he could not be attacked

¹² Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 226.

¹³ Idem, *ibid.* p. 227.

with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had weakened. They accordingly made a feint upon Ypres, in order to divert the attention of the French to that quarter, while they suddenly invested Tournay, on the twenty-seventh of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve incomplete battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and Surville, the governor, was a man of such abilities, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops.

As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners were frequently met by those of the French under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers, on both sides, were anxious to undertake this dangerous service, and to encounter their adversaries, in the midst of mines and counter-mines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were set fire to by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, Surville surrendered the town, and retired with the garrison into the citadel. He there defended himself, with extraordinary vigour, until the thirteenth of August, when he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a similar number of the allies should be released.

The confederates next determined to reduce the fortress of Mons. With this view they passed the Schelde, on the third of December, and detached the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines, from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh of September marechal Boufflers arrived in the camp at Quiévrain: anxious to assist with his services that army on which the fate of the kingdom seemed to depend, he had generously offered to act as an aid-du-camp to Villars, though his superior in rank¹⁴. The duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body of the allies, under the prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre upon the Haisne, in order to protect that detachment. On the ninth the two armies came so near to each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued.

The French generals had posted their left wing, commanded by Villars himself, towards Blangies, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, having before them the woods of

¹⁴ Reboulet, tom. viii. p. 290.—Lettres de Maintenon, tom. v. p. 143.

Blangies and Sart. Their center was posted before Erquennes and Tainieres; and the right wing, under marechal Boufflers, was flanked by the wood of Sanfart. The open space between the two woods was about three hundred paces in breadth; an intrenchment was thrown up across it, and before that intrenchment was a village enclosed by ditches and thick hedges. The woods on both wings were felled and intrenched, and a hundred pieces of cannon were posted in the avenues.

The numbers of both armies are variously represented: the French historians make the English amount to eighty thousand, and their own to seventy; but it is certain that the English had nearly one hundred and twenty thousand, and, if our own writers may be credited, the French were at least equal in number. Be that as it may, the confederates encamped with their right near Sart and Bleron, and their left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere, their head quarters being at Blaregnies.

The French were indefatigable in fortifying their camp, and in encreasing its natural strength by triple intrenchments; in short, they were so protected by lines, hedges, intrenchments, and cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked on the ninth, before they had begun to secure their camp, they would have had fewer difficulties to encounter; but they deferred the action, in order to wait the arrival of a reinforcement they expected from Tournay. These troops having joined them, on the morning of the eleventh of September, under favour of a thick fog, they erected batteries on each wing, and in the center, and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began.

Eighty-six battalions, on the right of the allies, commanded by general Schuylemburg, and the duke of Argyle, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions, under count Lottum, attacked the left wing of the French with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the strength of their lines and the presence of Villars, they were driven from their intrenchments, in less than an hour, into the woods of Sart and Tainieres. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the French, commanded by Boufflers, posted in a wood, and covered by three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch drove the French from the first intrenchment, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange, however, persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French displayed, in this part of the field, a pertinacious valour that bordered on despair; till seeing their lines forced by the enemy, their left wing and center giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat, neither confused nor precipitate, towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes.

The field of battle the French abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners. But the victory was dearly purchased: they lost in the action above twenty thousand of their best troops; whereas the loss of the French scarcely exceeded eight thousand. On the side of the allies, count Lottum, general Trettau, count Oxenstiern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded in the head, and general Webb in the groin. In the French army the chevalier de Saint George (the Pretender) charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last received a wound, from a sword, in the arm. Mareschal Villars, on his return to court, asserted, with great confidence, that if he had not been disabled the confederates must certainly have been defeated; but nobody gave credit to his assertion; and, indeed, when the abilities of Boufflers, who succeeded him in the command, are considered, few persons will be disposed to ascribe the loss of the battle to his absence.

That the allies had not gained a barren victory, as was asserted by the French, became manifest from their subsequent conduct and success. On the twentieth of September they invested Mons; and though the siege lasted upwards of a month, the French army made no attempt to relieve the town, or interrupt the operations of the confederates. The place was accordingly surrendered by capitulation on the twenty-third of October, when the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

The enemy not only continued to make themselves masters of all the barriers of France, but endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom by entering it at either extremity. But general Merci having received orders to penetrate into Alsace by the way of Basil, was met and defeated, on the twenty-sixth of August, near the island of Neuburg on the Rhine, by the count, afterwards mareschal, de Bourg. Merci lost two thousand men in the action, and was compelled to retire to Fribourg.

In Piedmont, the precautions taken by the duke of Berwick impeded the progress of the enemy, and entirely frustrated the designs of mareschal Thaurin on the city of Briançon. The French were equally successful in suppressing an insurrection in the Vivares: one of the leaders of the malecontents was broken alive¹⁵; three-and-twenty were

¹⁵ The term generally used, "*To break upon the wheel*," conveys an improper idea, for the criminal is not broken upon the wheel. The operation is performed on a wooden platform, raised six or seven feet from the ground, on which the criminal is extended on his back. Those parts of the limbs, immediately above and below the parts destined to be broken, are laid upon small beams, for the purpose of giving better effect to the stroke of the executioner; eight blows, stricken with uncommon quickness, complete the business. The criminal is then tied, with his broken limbs bent under him, upon a wheel fixed on the top of a pole; from ten to fifteen feet high, erected either in the market-place, or on the spot where the crime was perpetrated. If the crime be of inferior magnitude,

were hanged, and many more sent to the gallies. The allies had long been endeavouring to procure from the pope a formal acknowledgment of the archduke's title to the Spanish throne, which his holiness had hitherto deferred, under various pretences, in the hope that fortune would declare in favour of the house of Bourbon; but, at length, the emperor having intimated his intention of sending his army into winter quarters, in the papal territories, Clement the Eleventh solemnly acknowledged Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

A. D. 1710.] The calamitous state of his kingdom had induced Lewis to renew the negotiations for a peace. He again deigned to become a suppliant, and made such proposals as ought to have met with a favourable reception. He offered to ratify and confirm the pope's acknowledgment of the archduke; to afford no kind of assistance to his grandson Philip; to give up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuation of Spain; to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace; to restore Strasburgh and Brisac; to raze all his fortresses from Basil to Philippsburgh; to demolish the fortifications and fill up the harbour of Dunkirk; and to leave the states-general in possession of Lille, Tournai, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge. Such were the principal points that were destined to serve as a basis for the peace he implored.

Plenipotentiaries were appointed by the allies to open a conference on the subject with the ministers of Lewis, in the small town of Gertruydenberg. The interests of France were entrusted by the king to mareschal D'Uxelles, a man cool and silent, and possessed of more prudence than spirit; and the abbé, afterwards cardinal, de Polignac, one of the first wits and greatest orators of the age, graceful, persuasive, and insinuating. But neither the wisdom of the one nor the wit of the other could subdue the phlegmatic obstinacy of the Dutch, or the more artful, though not less interested, policy of the other allies. The French plenipotentiaries were received with insults, and treated with insolence; their proposals were rejected as vague and unsatisfactory; and even the promise which they made, that Lewis should assist the enemy with money to effect the deposition of his grandson, was disregarded. The allies had the indecency to require that he should promote, within the short space of two months, the expulsion of Philip from Spain, by force of arms. The negotiation was of course broken off.

These conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. The allies, having assembled their forces, advanced, on the twenty-seventh of April, to Pont-à-Vendin, in order to attack the French lines which had been there established, with a view to cover

tude, the executioner is instructed to kill the criminal by a blow on the breast, (called the *coup de grace*) before he is exposed on the wheel; in other cases he is suffered to expire on the wheel, in the greatest agonies. The French term cannot justify the erroneous expression of *breaking upon the wheel*, for the sentence always runs thus: "*d'être rompu vif*," To be broken alive.

Douai and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for their defence, unable to cope with the superior force of the enemy, retired at their approach; and the allies, having thrown bridges over the Scarpe, one division, under the duke of Marlborough, passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douai, while the French retired towards Cambrai. Marechal Villars, who still commanded the French army, the numbers of which were augmented by the same cause which had rendered it numerous the preceding year, passed the Schelde, as soon as he had collected his forces, and encamped at Bouchain, with an avowed determination of bringing the enemy to action. He accordingly advanced, in order of battle, but having reconnoitred the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of Saint Laurence, where he fixed his camp.

The object of Villars was, by continual alarms, to interrupt the siege of Douai, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Alberrgotti, who made various sallies, conducted with vigour and judgment, in which the enemy lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults, but still proceeded with equal spirit and perseverance, until the besieged, being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate, on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The allies next laid siege to Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars, who was posted within strong lines, extending from Arras to Miramont, had marched out of his intrenchments, with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to risk an engagement. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies closed the campaign, by the siege of Aire and Saint Venant, which made but little resistance.

On the Rhine and in Piedmont, nothing of consequence occurred. Spain, however, proved more fertile in military events. At Almennara, the archduke's cavalry, under the English general, Stanhope, attacked that of the Spaniards, who were entirely routed, together with nine battalions, that escaped by favour of the night; while the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. They were pursued by the Imperial general, Staremberg, to the plains of Saragossa, where they were drawn up in order of battle, and an action ensuing, on the ninth of August, the forces of Philip sustained a total defeat: five thousand of them were killed in the field, and seven thousand fell into the hands of the enemy, together with all their artillery, and a great number of standards and colours. Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip, with the wreck of his army, retreated to Madrid. After sending his queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered troops so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles proved of short duration. He rejected the prudent plan proposed by Stanhope for immediately securing Pampeluna, the only pass by which Lewis could send troops to the assistance of his grandson, and hastened to Madrid, where
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he had the mortification to find that all the Castilians were firmly attached to his competitor.

Lewis, meanwhile, sent the duke of Vendôme to take the command of the Spanish army, which was, at the same time, reinforced by various detachments of French troops. Great numbers of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize their courage under a general whose reputation was so high, and who was so generally beloved by the soldiery. The Castilians were animated with fresh courage, and made wonderful exertions in favour of the sovereign they had chosen; so that, in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, Philip was again in a condition to face his rival in the field. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the allied powers, who took no steps to supply his wants, or to enable him to improve the advantages he had gained. At the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremberg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the small town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short, but vigorous, resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and other officers of the respective regiments. Vendôme, resolved to pursue his advantage, advanced to Villa-Viciosa, where Staremberg had, by this time, assembled his forces. An action ensued, in which the left wing of the allies was entirely defeated; but the French and Spaniards, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage, while Staremberg, with his right wing, revenged the affront he had sustained, and drove their left, with great slaughter, from the field. Six thousand of the troops of Philip were killed, and all his artillery was taken, but the allies suffered so severely as to be unable to maintain their ground. Staremberg, therefore, ordered the cannon to be spiked, and marched to Saragossa, whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by Vendôme, who reduced Balaguer, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona.

At this period, the duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; so that Philip, from being a fugitive, became, in the short space of three months, absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions.

A. D. 1711.] But the success of Philip in Spain could not alleviate the misery that prevailed in France, nor yet inspire the allies with pacific intentions. A revolution, however, in the ministry of England, as unexpected as extraordinary, tended to produce that which all negotiations had failed to effect. Amidst a glorious and successful war, the queen of England, influenced by resentment against the duchess of Marlborough, with

with whom she had hitherto lived on terms of the strictest intimacy, but who had recently given her some cause for offence, openly espoused the Tory party, who had, with that systematic opposition which ever betrays a greater anxiety for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, than a concern for the public welfare, thwarted all the measures of the Whig ministry, of which Marlborough was considered as the head, and, among the rest, had loudly expressed their disapprobation of the war. A change of ministers ensued, and a determination was, of course, adopted, to conclude a peace as soon as possible. Another circumstance occurred to accelerate the event. The emperor Joseph died of the small-pox, in the vigour of his age; and Charles, who had hitherto disputed with Philip the Spanish monarchy, now succeeded to the dominions of his brother. The same motive which had influenced the confederates in opposing the junction of the French and Spanish monarchies in the house of Bourbon, was of equal weight with regard to the possession of Spain by the emperor.

Marlborough, however, still retained his command, and at the proper season assembled his forces, and opened the campaign in Flanders; while marechal Villars collected the French troops in the vicinity of Cambray and Arras. Though the kingdom was considerably depopulated, the subjects of Lewis still flocked to his standard, and submitted to the numerous impositions which the exigencies of the war compelled him to levy. Among other onerous taxes, the tenth part of their whole substance was exacted from the people; but all these efforts would have proved ineffectual, had not the merchants of France, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-Seas, whence they brought home immense treasures; while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though the English could easily have done it. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for the purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been reduced to the most deplorable situation, and Lewis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose.

Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Meanwhile the duke of Marlborough crossed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douai and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene on the twenty-third of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, he, by order of the court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine, with the Imperial and Palatine troops, to secure Germany. The duke of Marlborough, repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines, beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, extended along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and were continued from thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were so strongly defended by redoubts
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and other fortifications, that Villars deemed them impenetrable, and bestowed on them the vaunting appellation of *Marlbrough's ne plus ultra*.

The English general, advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered the necessary preparations for forcing them to be made, and declared he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars was induced to draw all his troops to that quarter, in full expectation of an action. Marlborough, on the supposition that the passage of the Sanfet, by Arleux, would be left unguarded, had ordered the generals Cadogan and Hompesch, to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons, from Douai, and the adjacent garrisons, and endeavour to pass the Sanfet at Arleux. An officer was detached with the artillery and pontoons to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the duke, with the whole army of the confederates, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. He there received intelligence that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanfet and Schelde without opposition; the French having, as he supposed, withdrawn their detachments from that side. The duke himself, with his van-guard, composed of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and, before eight o'clock, arrived at Baca-Bacheuil, where, in two hours, he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry.

Villars, apprized of Marlborough's intention, had decamped, at two in the morning, with his whole army, and, placing himself at the head of the household troops, marched with such expedition, that by eleven in the forenoon he came in sight of the English general, who had, by this time, joined count Hompesch. Villars immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high road between Arras and Cambray, while the allies encamped on the Schelde between Oisy and Estrun, after a tiresome march of ten leagues without halting.

By this plan, so boldly conceived and so happily executed, the duke of Marlborough fairly deceived Villars, and, without the loss of a single man, entered the lines, which had been pronounced impenetrable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field-deputies of the states-general urged Marlborough to give battle to the French, who passed the Schelde in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke wisely refused to hazard an action, after a march so fatiguing, and when the danger of a defeat within the enemy's lines was greater than the advantages to be derived from an indecisive victory. His intention was to besiege Bouchain, an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the town was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, and in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies.

Notwithstanding these advantages, and the dissuasions of his friends, Marlborough resolved to undertake the siege of Bouchain, which was accordingly invested on the tenth of August. The English general exerted, on this occasion, all his vigilance and capacity, from a consciousness that the undertaking was attended with extreme difficulties; and that his reputation would be materially affected by the event. Villars, on his side, had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest to baffle the endeavours of his adversary. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, who were commanded by officers of approved courage and talents. He made some efforts to raise the siege, but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of Marlborough¹⁶. He then laid a scheme for taking Douai by surprize, but that likewise miscarried. When it is considered, that, in the execution of this plan, the English general was under the necessity of forming lines, erecting regular forts, raising batteries, throwing bridges over a river, making a causeway through a deep morass, providing for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, it must be allowed that this was the boldest enterprize of the whole war; and that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of well-disciplined veterans, to accomplish it. The siege was conducted with such vigour, that, in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The reduction of Bouchain was the last military atchievement of the duke of Marlborough; who, soon after, returned to England, where, disgusted with the proceedings of the new ministry, he resigned his command. The allies were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it was navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburgh, Brabant, Flanders, and the greater part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe, and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened themselves a road into the very heart of France; and all these acquisitions were, in a great measure, owing to the valour and conduct of Marlborough.

¹⁶ Marechal Villars has been accused by many writers, and indeed, by some of his contemporaries, of gross misconduct in remaining an almost inactive spectator of the conquests of Marlborough during this campaign. But that general was certainly restrained by positive orders from Lewis, who, sensible of the favourable turn which the recent change in the English ministry had given to his affairs, was unwilling to risk an action, which, if successful, might possibly tend to irritate the queen of England, and, at all events, must occasion an useless effusion of human blood. (*D'Aurigny, tom. v. p. 232*.) Villars, indeed, tells us himself that when the enemy offered him battle, he had determined to accept it; but, restrained by his orders, he wrote three different letters to the king to obtain permission to engage; and Lewis replied, that he did not think it proper to hazard a battle, as he had good reason for believing that divisions would daily encrease among the hostile powers, which would lead to a diminution of their strength; and that, therefore, he wished the marechal, in the mean time, to act on the defensive. (*Vie de Villars, t. ii. p. 168.*)

In Spain, the army of Philip, commanded by the duke of Vendôme, was in such a wretched condition, that had Staremberg been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. Vendôme, however, ventured to attack the confederates at the pass of Prato-del-Rey, where he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. But Staremberg was disabled, by the neglect and misconduct of the English ministry, from pursuing his advantage.

In Germany, prince Eugene protected the electors, assembled at Frankfort, from all hostile attacks, and the Imperial diadem was unanimously conferred on Charles; the electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been debarred the privilege of voting because they lay under the ban of the empire.

During these operations, a negociation for a peace had been secretly carried on between the French court and the new ministers of England. These latter, who seem to have paid little regard to the *honour* of their country, opened the negociation in a manner that gave every advantage to Lewis. Lord Jersey, who acted in concert with the English prime minister, lord Oxford, sent a *private* message to the court of France, by a priest of the name of Gautier, who had formerly been assistant-chaplain to mareschal Tallard, during the time of his embassy to the court of king William, and had since acted as almoner to count Gallas, the Imperial minister at London.

This ecclesiastic being introduced to the marquis of Torci, in January, 1711, abruptly asked him, without any preliminary discourse, if he wished for peace; telling him, at the same time, that he came to furnish him with the means of procuring it. "This"—says Torci—"was asking a dying man whether he wished to live²⁷." Nothing surely could be more impolitic—not to mention the breach of faith with their allies—than this conduct of the English ministry; since, however anxious they might be for the conclusion of a peace, it cannot be doubted but that they must have speedily received a fresh application for that purpose from the court of France, in which case they must, indisputably, have negotiated to much greater advantage. It is also worthy of remark, that this advance was made some months previous to the death of the emperor Joseph, and consequently before that strong motive for concluding a peace—the succession of Charles to the Imperial dominions—subsisted. But this, unfortunately, is not the only instance in which the interests of a nation have been sacrificed to *party spirit*! The commission with which Gautier was entrusted, equally surprized and gratified the

²⁷ Mémoires de Torci, tom. iii. p. 33.

French monarch ; and he was sent back to London with a complimentary letter from the marquis de Torci to the earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured the earl, that his master was sincerely inclined to peace.

The Dutch meanwhile, apprized, probably, of the proceedings of the English court, made application to the French ministry for a renewal of the conferences in Holland ; but this proposal, though highly proper, as a negociation of such importance ought certainly to have been carried on in concert with all the allies, was rejected by Lewis at the *express desire of the English ministers* ¹³.

A memorial, presented by Lewis to the English, having been perused by the Dutch, the states-general assured the queen of England of their willingness to concur in any scheme that was calculated to promote a durable peace, but, at the same time, expressed a desire that the French king would adopt some more specific plan for securing the interests of the allies, and the repose of Europe. Gautier was again sent to Versailles, accompanied by Matthew Prior, the English poet, who was empowered to communicate the preliminary requisitions of the English. He was instructed to demand a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the Empire ; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all the allies : to require that the strong places taken from the duke of Savoy should be restored ; and that he should be allowed to possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him by different treaties between the duke and his allies : that Lewis should acknowledge queen Anne and the Protestant succession ; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agree to a new treaty of commerce : that Gibraltar and port Mahon should be ceded to England : that the negro-trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be given up to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed : that security should be given to the queen of England, that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all the advantages that were granted by that crown to the most favoured nations ; that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's bay ; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties.

This *and much more* had already been *repeatedly offered* by Lewis to the allies ; no difficulty, therefore, on the subject of the demands of the English could be expected to arise. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen, was, accordingly, dispatched to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. After the articles were arranged this agent had a private audience of queen Anne, who *wisely* expressed her great aversion from war, her eager desire of peace, and her earnest wish to live on terms of friendship with

¹³ Smollet.

with the king of France. If these were her real sentiments, and the conclusion of peace was indeed influenced by motives of humanity and compassion, as some English historians have asserted, how happened it that the previous offers of Lewis had been so strenuously rejected by the queen and parliament?—offers, too, which would have enabled them to terminate the war, in a much more honourable manner. The fact is, that both the queen and her ministers were, in this instance, actuated by a spirit of party, and that their conduct was a gross violation of the good-faith she had plighted to her allies. The English ministers now engaged in a close correspondence with the court of France; and mareschal Tallard, who was still a prisoner in England, being released from confinement, was suffered to return to his own country. The preliminaries, after Menager's departure from London, being communicated to count Galas, the Imperial minister, that nobleman caused them to be translated and published in one of the daily papers; when the queen, conscious that they were calculated to excite discontents, resented his conduct, and ordered him to quit the kingdom¹⁹.

A. D. 1712.] Intimidated by the threats of the English queen, who refused to pay attention to their remonstrances, the states-general agreed to open general conferences at Utrecht, on the first of January. The preliminaries were generally disapproved by the allies, since they fell far short of the expectations which the past offers of the French monarch, and the subsequent successes of the confederates had led them to entertain.

Meanwhile, mareschal Villars assembled his troops, and took post within his lines, so situated as to enable him to cover Cambray and Arras. The place of Marlborough was supplied by the duke of Ormond, who had only his personal courage to recommend him; he joined prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth of May, the allied army passed the Schelde, and encamped at Haspre and Solennes. The Imperial general proposed to attack the French army, but Ormond, restrained by private orders from his sovereign, refused to risk an engagement. This duplicity, on the part of the queen of England, was truly unworthy her character and station; it was a shameful dereliction of the principles by which she had hitherto professed to be actuated, in undertaking and maintaining the war; and betrayed, in her conduct to her allies, a disposition to add insult to injury.

Prince Eugene, however, having insulted and burnt the suburbs of Arras, invested

¹⁹ Smollet (*in his History of England*, vol. vi. p. 528. 8vo.) ascribes the conduct of the Imperial minister, in publishing the preliminaries, to a desire of inflaming the minds of the people; but would it not have been more just and consistent to censure the queen, or, at least, her ministers, for having consented to articles, the bare publication of which was sufficient to excite a spirit of discontent, and to inflame the minds of her subjects? No remarks, however pointed, could have operated as a more severe censure of the transaction in question, [than the queen's own conduct to count Galas.

Quesnoi; and as Ormond did not chuse to render his instructions public, he furnished towards this enterprize seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain. But before Quesnoi surrendered, a cessation of arms was proclaimed between France and Great-Britain; the duke of Ormond, with the British troops, then withdrew from the confederates, and directed his march towards Dunkirk, which was delivered by Lewis to the English, as a pledge of his intentions to fulfil the preliminaries of peace which his minister had signed.

Though deserted by so important an ally, the army of prince Eugene was still formidable. Quesnoi was taken within sight of the French, and Landreçy was soon after invested. Eugene, meanwhile, had detached general Grovestein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this unexpected irruption reached the metropolis of France: the king did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guard; and all the troops in the neighbourhood of Paris were hastily assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein, as soon as he understood his destination; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, who had the mortification, so close did they follow him, of finding the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed.

A general consternation, at this time, prevailed throughout the kingdom, which the recent accommodation with England was inadequate to dispel. The death of the king's only son, a prince of the most amiable disposition and promising talents, who had died of the small-pox, in the course of the preceding year; that of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and of the duke of Brittany, their eldest son, who were carried off nearly together, and were buried in the same grave; and the sickly state of the duke of Anjou, their only remaining child; all this combination of domestic misfortunes, joined to foreign troubles, and the public distress, seemed to point out the end of Lewis's reign, as a period of calamity; and the people fully expected that the disastrous circumstances which would distinguish its close, would far exceed in extent the greatness and glory that had marked its commencement. The duke of Vendôme, too, died, about this time, in Spain; and such was the general depression of spirits, that it was fully believed, as his efforts had contributed to the establishment of Philip on the throne, so would his death promote his deposition.

Landreçy was not in a situation to resist, for any length of time, the arms of the confederates; and it was in agitation at Versailles to remove the king to Chambort on the Loire. Lewis told mareschal Harcourt, that in case any fresh disaster should occur,

eur, he would convene all the nobility of his kingdom, and notwithstanding his advanced age (he was then seventy-four) would lead them on to the enemy, and perish at their head.

An error committed by prince Eugene relieved the king and his people from all their uneasiness. It is pretended that his lines were too much extended; that his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a distance; and that general Albermarle, who was posted at Denain, between Marchiennes and the prince's camp, was not near enough to be supported in case of an attack. This mistake was first perceived by two inhabitants of Douai, as they were walking towards the enemy's quarters, and in consequence of the information sent by them to the army, Villars resolved to profit by the advantage afforded him by his adversary.

While a body of dragoons was sent to amuse Eugene by a feigned attack of his camp, Villars led his army, (on the twenty-fourth of July) in five columns to Denain, where he forced the intrenchments of Albermarle, and either killed or took seventeen battalions, destined to defend them. Albermarle himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread; twelve pieces of brass cannon; a large quantity of ammunition and provisions; a great number of horses, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the French. Prince Eugene had advanced, on the other side of the Schelde, to sustain Albermarle, but the bridge over that river was broken down by accident, so that he was prevented from affording him the smallest assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, which was surrendered, on the last day of July, and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douai, which induced prince Eugene to abandon his design on Landreçy, and to march towards the French, with a view to bring them to action. The states-general, however, refused to run the risk of an engagement, and the prince had the mortification to see Douai reduced by Villars. He could not even prevent that general from retaking Quesnoi and Bouchain, of which places he was in possession before the tenth of October; while the allies enjoyed no other compensation for these important losses than the conquest of fort Knocque, which was surprized by one of their partisans.

A. D. 1713] The conferences for peace, meanwhile, had been continued at Utrecht; and their termination was accelerated by the rapid success of Villars. The emperor, indeed, with some of the princes of Germany, conceiving their interests had not been sufficiently consulted, refused to sheath the sword; but Great-Britain, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy, acquiesced in the terms proposed, and in the months of March, April, and May, signed separate treaties of peace.

By these it was stipulated, that Lewis should abandon the pretender, acknowledge the title of the queen of England, and the Protestant succession: that he should raze the fortifications

fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent: that he should cede Newfoundland, Hudson's-Bay, and Saint Christopher's to England; but that the French should be left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish at Newfoundland: that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: that the duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king: that the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for the losses he had sustained by the war: that the states-general should restore Lille and its dependencies; and, that Namur, Charleroi, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Nieuport, should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders: and that the king of Prussia should have Upper Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche-Comté. The king of Portugal was satisfied, and the first of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the emperor for acceding to the terms proposed.

Lewis by these concessions had disarmed the rage of his most formidable enemies, and enabled himself to direct his whole force against the emperor. Villars, with an army that greatly exceeded in numbers that of prince Eugene, advanced, in the month of August, to the banks of the Rhine, reduced Spire, Worms, and all the adjacent country; he even reduced, on the twentieth of September, the strong fortress of Landau; then forced the lines which Eugene had ordered to be drawn up in the Brisgau, defeated marshal Vaubonne, and took Friburg, the capital of Upper Austria.

A. D. 1714.] The emperor unable to support the expence of another campaign, was now induced to lend a favourable ear to the overtures of peace that were made by the elector of Cologne and the elector Palatine; and conferences were, accordingly, opened at the castle of All-Rastadt, between prince Eugene and marshal Villars, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1713; after a short interval the articles were adjusted, and the treaty was signed on the third of March in the following year; by this treaty, Lewis ceded to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies; Friburg: the forts in the Brisgau, and Black forest, together with fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Hunningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all other forts from thence to fort Louis; but he was suffered to retain Strasburg and Landau, which he had before offered to cede; Hunningen and New Brisac, which he had himself proposed to raze; and the sovereignty of Alsace, which he had consented to resign. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain part of Gueldres.

The Catalans alone were exempted from the enjoyments of peace, whose benignant influence now began to be felt throughout Europe. As they had been despoiled of their privileges, and force alone could subject them to the domination of the new monarch, they

they adopted the desperate resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. Their capital had, the preceding year, been blockaded by the forces of Philip, and the trenches were now opened before the place; but the besiegers had not been able to close all the passages to the mountains, whence the inhabitants received such assistance as enabled them to hold out for a considerable time. On the tenth of December the court of Madrid, dreading the effects of resistance thus obstinate, implored the assistance of Lewis, who sent marshal Berwick with a body of French troops to strengthen the besieging army. The marshal attacked the town in three different places, and was received by the citizens, with a degree of valour of which but few examples occur in history. The bastion of St. Peter was taken and retaken eleven different times; but, at last, after a combat, that lasted four hours, the brave inhabitants were compelled to retire into the new town, where they asked to capitulate. The only conditions they could obtain were, the security of their lives, and the exemption of their town from pillage. Thus were reduced to submission this martial people, who, as Tacitus observes, "only seemed to live when engaged in war." They had not espoused the cause of Charles, until the allies, and particularly England, had solemnly promised them protection and support; yet such was the recompence they received for the services which they had rendered the English nation during the war.

The reduction of Barcelona preceded, by a few days, the accession of George the First to the throne of England, an event which was duly notified to Lewis by the British ambassador at Versailles. But though mutual professions of amity passed upon this occasion, the peace, so recently concluded between the two kingdoms, had nearly been interrupted by the construction of the fort of Mardyke, which was deemed a violation of the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, whereby it was stipulated, that not only the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up, and the dykes which formed the canal should be destroyed; but that the fortifications, the port, and the dykes of Dunkirk should never be re-established: Lewis maintained that the treaty was fulfilled, so long as the same dykes and the same canal were not restored; as if the new canal which he ordered to be made at Mardyke was less contrary to the spirit of the convention, to the letter whereof he strictly adhered.

A. D. 1715.] The king of Great Britain sent lord Stair to Versailles to complain of this conduct; several memorials were presented on the subject to the marquis de Torci, whose answers were, for some time, ambiguous and evasive; but at length the serious remonstrances of the English court produced the desired effect, and Lewis reluctantly consented to discontinue his works.

Lewis had now completed his seventy-seventh year, and felt himself hastily approaching to that awful period at which all earthly distinctions cease, and the mind is no longer fascinated by those pompous deceptions which give a false glare to surrounding objects,

and conceal the fair figure of truth beneath the tinsel garb of adulation. He had seen all his projects of ambition stripped of their visionary charms, and exhibiting, to the eye of reason, the disgusting source whence they sprang, and the dreadful effects they produced. Hence reflections arose that required the aid of religious consolation; and the repentant monarch was not only brought to a just sense of his past errors, but to a public acknowledgment of his faults, which at once shewed the strength of his mind, and the sincerity of his repentance. Yet were his last hours embittered by the importunities of his legitimated children, who first obtained from their father an edict, that was registered, without opposition or remonstrance, in 1714, declaring them heirs to the crown in default of the princes of the blood, to whom, by a subsequent declaration, he rendered them equal in rank: they afterwards extorted from the reluctant monarch a will, (extending their powers, after his death, at the expence of the rights of the duke of Orleans) which was deposited in one of the towers of the palace, secured by an iron door, the three keys whereof were delivered to the first president of the parliament of Paris, the attorney-general, and the secretary. His address to the president, on delivering him the will, sufficiently marks the restraint that had been imposed on his inclinations in this particular. "Here is my will"—said Lewis—"I well know, from the example
 " of the kings my predecessors, and from that of my father, what will become of it;
 " but they would have it, and they tormented me in such a manner as to deprive me of
 " all repose, until I had signed it. I have, therefore, purchased peace of mind. Take
 " the will; carry it away: let what will become of it, I shall, at least, be at ease, and
 " shall hear no more about it²⁰."

In the month of August his malady encreased, and his countenance exhibited infallible symptoms of approaching death. He prepared to meet his doom with fortitude devoid of ostentation; and seemed to experience the grateful effects of that consolation which religion alone can bestow. To the lamentations of madame de Maintenon, who watched over him with unceasing care, the expiring monarch replied, "*I thought it was more difficult to die.*" To his domestics, he said, "*Why do you weep? Did you think me immortal?*"

On the twenty-sixth of August he ordered his infant successor to be brought to his apartment; when taking him in his arms, he thus addressed him aloud, in the presence of all his attendants: "You will soon be king of a great kingdom. What I most strongly recommend to you, is never to forget the obligations you are under to God. Remember that to him you are indebted for all you possess. Endeavour to preserve peace
 " with your neighbours. *I have been too fond of war*: neither follow my example in
 " that, nor in the too great expences I have incurred. Take advice on all things, and

²⁰ Saint Simon, tom. ii. p. 38.

" endeavour

“ endeavour to find out the best, that you may invariably adhere to it. Ease your people as soon as you can : and do that which I, unhappily, have not been able to do²¹.” After receiving the sacrament from the hands of his confessor, Lewis expired, on the first of September, 1715, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the seventy-third of his reign.

In the social intercourse of private life, Lewis the Fourteenth was mild, affable, generous, and polite, an affectionate parent, a good master, and a sincere friend. The air of pride and the tone of arrogance which he occasionally assumed, were, perhaps, necessary to ensure respect from a people whose disposition to familiarity required restraint ; but they sometimes were carried to an extreme that could admit of no justification, and could not fail to excite disgust. He was pious and devout ; though he paid more attention to the *forms* than to the *spirit* of religion : the peaceful precepts of a benignant Creator made but little impression on his mind ; and his intolerance, displayed in acts of cruelty and oppression, sullied the purity of his faith. In the bestowal of honours and rewards, he displayed a grace, peculiar to himself, that greatly enhanced the value of the gift : and he possessed, in an eminent degree, the pleasing talent of consoling those whom prudence or policy compelled him to disappoint.

He was rather distinguished for solidity of understanding than brilliancy of wit ; hence his judgment—unless when warped by prejudice or blinded by passion—was generally correct, particularly towards the close of his reign, when improved by observation, and matured by experience. His vanity—flattered by success, and fostered by adulation—was excessive : and, probably, gave rise to most of those errors and vices which marked his political conduct. His ambition—the offspring of his vanity—was boundless : it urged him to violate the faith of treaties ; to invade the rights of independent nations ; to burst asunder the bonds of humanity and justice, which, in private life, he was accustomed to respect ; to extend the limits of his power ; and to render his authority as universal as it was absolute. Impelled by the same principle, he spurned at controul, removed all impediments to arbitrary sway, and quenched the few remaining sparks of civil liberty.

Though his abilities were slender, and his genius did not rise above mediocrity, he had penetration to discover, and liberality to reward, talents of every description. Though his encouragement of the sciences must be exempt from a similar imputation, it is certainly a matter of doubt, whether his patronage of the arts proceeded from inclination or policy : whether he considered the riches they tended to produce as a source of advantage to himself, or as the means of comfort to his subjects.

Deceived, at an early period of life, by those in whom he had reposed an implicit confidence, he became suspicious and mistrustful ; and the prejudice he imbibed against indi-

²¹ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 378.

viduals not unfrequently proved detrimental to the state. He gratified, without reserve, his amorous propensities; and his court exhibited a scene of gallantry, at one period, more dangerous from excess of refinement, and, at another, disgusting, from the mask of devotion assumed to conceal it. Yet he never suffered his punctuality, in matters of business, to be interrupted by pleasurable enjoyments.

So rigidly orthodox was Lewis, that he preferred impiety to error. He once insisted on the dismissal of an officer in the household of his nephew the duke of Orleans, because he suspected him of favouring the principles of his mother, who was a *Jansenist*. In a conversation on the subject the duke said to the king—“*Faith I know not what may be the sentiments of the mother; but as for the son being a Jansenist, tis a mere calumny, for he does not even believe in the existence of a God.*” —“*Are you certain of that?*” replied Lewis; “*you may keep him then*” ²².

The appellation of *Great*, Lewis by no means deserved, for though *Great* and *Good* be generally employed as terms of an opposite meaning, we must adhere to the idea that no man can be truly great, who is not truly good. Still it should be remembered that the epithet was bestowed on Lewis, by the Parisians, in 1680, not long after the peace of Nimeguen, indisputably the most glorious epoch of his reign. Though we incline to consider this mark of distinction, rather as the tribute of vanity than of gratitude, (for the people are as vain of being governed by a great monarch, as the sovereign is of his title) justice requires we should enumerate the actions which they alledged as the motives of their conduct. The king had established schools for Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; and while he contributed to the instruction of the pupils by obtaining models of all kinds, at a vast expence from Rome, he rewarded their successful efforts with great liberality, and embellished his palaces with their works. He had given energy and strength to commerce, both foreign, and domestic, by the establishment of an India company, and by facilitating the intercourse of one province with another, by means of rivers which he rendered navigable, and of new roads which he caused to be opened. The canal of Languedoc, by which a junction of the two seas was effected, was his work: he established manufactures of various kinds; of plate-glass, in imitation of that at Venice; of tapestry, like the Flemish; and carpets, to resemble those of Turkey: he created a navy for the protection of commerce, and the repression of hostile attacks: he afforded encouragement to agriculture; reformed the French law; repressed the rage for duels; rendered ecclesiastical dignities the recompence of genius and of virtue; bestowed rewards on the learned of all countries, and declared himself the protector of the French academy, and of the academies of the Belles-Lettres, and of the Sciences. To him was Astronomy indebted for her observatory; the Louvre for its peri-

²². Saint Simon, tom. xiv p. 9.

style; Paris for its police; the troops for their discipline; the French coasts for harbours, commodious and safe; the frontiers for protecting forts and fortresses; and the whole nation for the erection of the *Hotel des Invalids*²³, a monument of humanity, in which the victims of their country enjoy an honourable repose, and bless the memory of its founder. These were the deeds which, joined to the splendid achievements of a war, successful though unjust, and the advantages of a peace, which tended to aggrandize the kingdom by a considerable extension of territory, induced the Parisians to bestow on their sovereign the denomination of LEWIS THE GREAT. They certainly gave him strong claims on their gratitude; and, when considered in conjunction with the sentiments he displayed on his death-bed, should be allowed to rescue his memory from that obloquy which many parts of his political conduct are but too well calculated to incur.

Lewis had, by his consort, who was daughter to the king of Spain, three sons and three daughters, viz.—Lewis, the dauphin, who was born at Fontainebleau, on the first of September, 1661, and died, at Meudon, on the fourteenth of August, 1711: Philip, duke of Anjou, born on the second of August, 1668, and who died on the tenth of July, 1671: Lewis-Francis, duke of Anjou, born on the fourteenth of January, 1672, and who died on the fourth of November following: Anne-Elizabeth, who was born on the eighteenth of November, 1662, and died on the thirteenth of December following: Mary-Anne, born on the sixteenth of November, 1664, died on the twenty-sixth of December in the same year; and Mary-Theresa, born on the second of January, 1667, died on the first of March, 1672.

His natural children were numerous, of which the following were legitimated. By madame de la Valliere, duchess of Vaujour, &c. Lewis de Bourbon, count of Vermandois, admiral of France, born on the second of October, 1667, and died, at Courtrai, on the eighteenth of November, 1683: and Mary-Anne de Bourbon, born in October, 1666, and married, on the sixth of January, 1680, to Lewis-Arnaud de Bourbon, prince of Conti. By madame de Montespan, Lewis-Augustus de Bourbon, duke of Maine and Aumale, sovereign prince of Dombes, count of Eu, a peer of France, governor of Languedoc, grand-master of the artillery, colonel-general of the Swiss, &c: Lewis-Cesar de Bourbon, count of Vexin, born in 1672, and died on the tenth of January, 1683: Lewis-Alexander de Bourbon, count of Toulouse, duke of Daimville and Pen-thièvre, peer and admiral of France, and governor of Brittany, born the sixth of June, 1678: Louisa-Frances de Bourbon, married, in July, 1685, to Lewis, duke of Bourbon: Louisa-Mary-Anne de Bourbon, who died in September, 1681; and Frances-Maria de Bourbon, born in May, 1677, married to Philip, duke of Orleans.

²³ On the plan of Chelsea Hospital, for the reception of wounded and infirm soldiers.

Madame de Maintenon was inconsolable for the death of her husband; she immediately retired to Saint Cyr, a magnificent mansion in the neighbourhood of Versailles, founded, by her persuasion, in 1687, for the education of young ladies of quality. Here she passed the tranquil remnant of her life, in amusements and occupations suited to her taste; in acts of charity and devotion, calculated to edify and instruct those who were the immediate objects of her care, and the few friends who were allowed access to her. She died in 1719, at the age of eighty-three, universally lamented.

In the early part of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, and particularly during the administration of Colbert, the most ample encouragement was given to trade, commerce, and manufactures. By rendering Dunkirk and Marseilles free ports, the commerce of the Levant was drawn to the latter, and that of the north to the former. In 1664, a West and East-India company were established, to the latter of which the king gave a sum of money, equal to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money; and, at his instigation, the royal family and noblemen of the court advanced two million of livres more; the superior courts of justice twelve hundred thousand livres; the financiers, two million; and the body of merchants, six hundred and fifty thousand²⁴.

This company subsisted till the revolution; for although the Dutch had taken Pondicherry, in 1694, and the East-India trade remained for some time in a languishing state, it acquired fresh strength during the regency of the duke of Orleans. Pondicherry then became the rival of Batavia, and the India company, founded, with extreme difficulty, by Colbert, proved, for several years, one of the greatest resources of the kingdom. Lewis also established a company for trading to the north, which he supplied with funds as he had the India company. He gave a bounty of thirty livres per ton on all articles of exportation, and forty on all that were imported. All persons who built vessels in any of the ports of the kingdom, received five livres for every ton burden.

In order to promote industry, and encrease the population, marriages were encouraged in the country, by an exemption from the Taille, during five years, for all persons who married at the age of twenty: and every father of a family, having ten children, was exempt for life.

From 1663 to 1672, every year was marked by the establishment of some new manufactory. Fine cloths, hitherto imported from England, were now fabricated at Abbe-

²⁴ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 5.

ville ; and the king advanced to the manufacturer two thousand livres for every loom, besides other considerable gratifications. In 1669, there were no less than forty-four thousand two hundred looms employed in the woollen trade alone. The silk manufactories being brought to perfection, produced a return of fifty million of livres ; and the successful culture of the mulberry-tree enabled the manufacturers to dispense with the importation of raw silk.

In 1666, the art of making plate-glass was introduced from Venice, and succeeded so well, that the French, in a short time, are said to have excelled their masters. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were successfully imitated at La Savonnerie ; and the tapestry of Flanders yielded the pre-eminence to that of the *Gobelins*, where eight hundred workmen were employed, three hundred of whom lodged in the building : their works were carried on under the direction of the best painters, who made them copy either their own pictures, or the best productions of the Italian schools, which they imitated with a wonderful degree of nicety. A similar manufactory was established at Beauvais, at which six hundred workmen were employed : the king contributed sixty thousand livres towards its establishment.

Sixteen hundred girls were employed at the lace manufactory, under the direction of thirty women brought from Venice, and two hundred from Flanders ; they had thirty-six thousand livres given them by way of encouragement.

Colbert imported from England a machine for weaving stockings ; and tin, steel, fine earthen-ware, and Morocco-leather, hitherto imported from foreign countries, were now prepared in France ; but the art of preparing tin and steel, the knowledge of which was confined to the Calvinists, was lost to the kingdom, soon after the tyrannical and impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Great improvements were made in the capital during this reign. New quays were constructed ; the streets were well-paved ; lamps were introduced ; cleanliness was promoted, and the safety of the citizens was provided for by the establishment of a regular watch. In order to prevent the numerous disorders and acts of depredation which incessantly prevailed in Paris, as well as to promote a more rigid police, the post of lieutenant of the police was created in 1667. But the advantages derived by the inhabitants from the creation of this office were greatly overbalanced by the dreadful inconveniences resulting from the despotic authority entrusted to the magistrate who filled it. The city was also considerably enlarged by that taste for building which the king had introduced, and which, of course, descended to all classes of people, whose means were adequate to the gratification of a taste so expensive.

But though Lewis gladly contributed to the convenience and embellishment of his capital, a variety of reasons concurred to make him establish his residence elsewhere.

The

The troubles which had risen during his minority, and of which Paris had been the principal scene, had inspired him with a violent aversion from that city : he was persuaded that if the court should withdraw from thence, it would become more difficult to form cabals and intrigues, as it would be more easy to remark the absence of the nobles who might wish to enter into them, and consequently to guard against their attempts. Besides, Lewis could never forgive the Parisians for having compelled him to quit the metropolis, and become a fugitive, in 1649 ; nor could he forget that they had witnessed his weakness, when his favourite mistress, La Valliere, first fled from his arms to take refuge in a convent. Thus the danger of affording scope for censure in a city filled with persons eager to judge and to condemn, contributed not a little to drive him from Paris.

Whenever he left his palace, or returned to it, and whenever he appeared in the streets, he was surrounded by a croud of people. All the magistrates too, and great numbers of the citizens, thought themselves obliged at Paris to pay their daily court to him ; and the king's prejudices against the Parisian populace inspired him with apprehensions for his personal safety. No sooner was this weakness discovered by his officers, than he was tormented by the excess of their vigilance, which gave rise to continual alarms.

These circumstances, and his passion for country amusements, induced Lewis the Fourteenth to withdraw his court from Paris ; and, soon after the death of the queen-mother, he established his residence at Saint Germain. His love for La Valliere, which he wished to conceal from the observation of the court, was his first inducement to retire, occasionally, to Versailles, at that time a very small house, built by Lewis the Thirteenth, in order to avoid the inconvenience of sleeping in a public-house, or a windmill, as he was frequently obliged to do, when he hunted in the forest of Saint Leger, or at a greater distance from Paris ; for there were no regular roads established, nor any places at which he could change horses ; but as he never slept there when he could possibly avoid it, he neither thought of embellishing the house nor even of rendering it convenient. Lewis the Fourteenth, drawn thither by a different motive, resolved to improve it to his taste. One embellishment gave rise to another ; addition succeeded addition ; and a mere hunting-box was soon converted into a magnificent palace. The courtiers finding the king took great delight in the place, desired to be summoned thither : there were no lodgings for them as at Saint Germain, which was a complete town ; it therefore became necessary to build apartments, which were solicited with extreme eagerness, and granted as a mark of great favour. Dangeau tells us that in the autumn of 1684, there were two-and-twenty thousand workmen and six thousand horses employed at Versailles, and the number of workmen, in the following spring, was augmented to six-and-thirty-thousand.

As soon as the king found the palace sufficiently capacious to contain the greater part of his court, he retired thither in 1680 : but he did not establish his residence at Versailles till after the death of his mother in 1683. Versailles soon became so populous, that Lewis wished

wished for a place of greater retirement, and with this view he erected Marly, which was attended with an immense expence, though, at first, it was his intention to spend very little money upon it. Trianon, and the palace of the Louvre at Paris, were also built during this reign.

The observatory was erected by the order of Lewis, in 1666, when he instituted the academy of sciences. But the most important of his undertakings, in point of utility, extent, and difficulty of accomplishment, was the canal of Languedoc, which forms a junction between the two seas, and falls into the port of Cette, constructed for the reception of its waters. This work was begun in 1664, and continued, without interruption, till 1681.

The foundation of the Hospital for Invalids, and its chapel, the most elegant building of the kind in Paris, reflects infinite credit on the memory of Lewis. It affords a comfortable retreat for four thousand soldiers, and a great number of officers. His martial disposition induced Lewis to pay great attention to every thing that concerned the army. He established regular corps of artillery and engineers, under the direction of the celebrated Vauban; and appointed inspectors-general, whose duty it was to deliver in, at stated periods, an account of the state of the troops; and by their reports it was seen whether the commissaries of war had discharged their duty. He instituted the order of Saint Lewis, an honourable distinction, which excited a laudable spirit of emulation, and was sought after with greater eagerness than pecuniary rewards.

In 1692, Lewis had an army of one hundred and eighty thousand regular troops, which were afterwards augmented (including marines) to four hundred and fifty thousand. In 1681, his navy consisted of one hundred and ninety-eight ships of war, and thirty gallees. But the expences he incurred by his military preparations were the more burdensome to the nation, inasmuch as they tended to encourage his projects of ambition and vanity, pregnant with destruction, as well to his own subjects as to those of the neighbouring powers. It is dreadful to think, that, in a period of forty-eight years—from 1667 to 1715—nine-and-twenty were passed in war, which cost the nation twelve hundred thousand men, and fifteen hundred millions of livres! Humanity shudders at the idea! The annual expences of Lewis the Fourteenth have been estimated by Voltaire, *communibus annis*, at a sum equal in effect to thirteen millions, seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, of the present money. His revenue did not exceed one half of that sum; and, at his death, the nation was found to have contracted an enormous debt of two thousand six hundred millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres the mark. In 1683, France contained about five hundred millions of livres, in coined money, which in 1730 was augmented to twelve hundred millions²⁵.

²⁵ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 53.

Coaches, with springs, were first used, during this reign ; as were the wines of Champagne, then first brought to that state of perfection which introduced them into general use, and rendered them an advantageous article of exportation.

In his protection of the sciences and the fine arts, nature seems to have seconded the efforts of Lewis ; for though patronage may lead to the acquisition of knowledge, no encouragement can tend to the creation of genius ; and his reign was eminently distinguished by numbers of men of superior genius. In eloquence, poetry, and literature, few nations equalled, and none excelled, the French. The French language and style of composition, hitherto harsh and impure, acquired a degree of correctness and elegance, that at once gratified the ear and improved the taste. John de Lingendes, bishop of Mâcon, is the first *orator*, to whom this merit is due. His sermons and funeral orations were justly esteemed models of eloquence ; the funeral oration which he pronounced, in 1630, on Charles-Emanuel, duke of Savoy, was holden in such estimation, that the celebrated Flechier introduced the exordium, and several considerable passages, in his funeral oration on marshal Turenne.

The establishment of the French academy tended essentially to purify the language. Vaugelas, chamberlain to Gaston, duke of Orleans, produced a translation of Quintus-Curtius, in 1646, which was the first book, in the French language, written with purity. Lewis the Thirteenth had given him a pension of two thousand livres, which was taken from him, during the disgrace of Gaston, but was restored by cardinal Richelieu, as an inducement to assist in the composition of "The Dictionary of the French Academy." On this occasion the cardinal said to Vaugelas, with a smile—"You'll not forget the word *pension*, in the dictionary."—"No, my lord,"—replied Vaugelas—"nor the word *gratitude* neither."

Oliver Patru, the friend of Vaugelas, and of many of the best authors of the age, was the first barrister whose speeches were distinguished for order, perspicuity, decency, and elegance ; merits till then unknown to the French bar. He prevented the French academy, of which he was a member, from chusing an ignorant nobleman, of high rank, from succeeding to the place of Conrart, by the following observation. "An ancient Greek"—said Patru, to his brethren—"had an admirable lyre, one of the chords of which he had the misfortune to break ; instead of replacing it with another made of catgut, he would have one of silver, which totally spoiled the harmony of the lyre."

The book called "The Maxims of Rochefoucault" is mentioned, by Voltaire, as a work that tended more than any other to form the taste of the nation, and to enforce justness and precision in literary compositions. The work itself has little else to recommend it ; the maxims it contains being chiefly calculated to show, what few persons are unacquainted with, that *self-love* is the ruling principle in human life.

Blaise Pascal flourished during this reign. He was born at Clermont in Auvergne, in 1623, and in his early youth exhibited uncommon marks of genius. At sixteen he was deemed one of the first mathematicians of the age. The work which gained him most applause was his "Provincial Letters," published in 1654, and containing a most severe satire on the Jesuits, whom he attacked with the dangerous weapon of ridicule. This publication, which has been characterized as containing all the wit of Moliere, and all the eloquence of Bossuet, was the first work of *genius*, written in prose, that appeared in the French language. It was nevertheless stigmatized, by the church and the parliament, as an infamous libel; but this censure, far from suppressing the work, only tended to encrease its circulation. Pascal's constitution being impaired, and his organs deranged, by intense study, he died at Paris, in 1662, at the age of thirty-nine. Bossuet said, that he would rather have been the author of the Provincial Letters than of any other work.

The most distinguished ecclesiastical orators and writers of this age were Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Fenelon. The first, born, of a noble family, at Dijon, in 1627, was destined by his parents for the bar, and had engaged to marry a young lady, of great merit, of the name of Des Vieux; but an early display of his theological talents, and of that species of eloquence peculiarly calculated to shine in the pulpit, induced his parents to forego their choice, and the lady to resign her lover. He was admitted a doctor of the Sorbonne in 1652, and, being patronized by the queen-mother, he preached before the court, and obtained, by means of his eloquence, the bishoprick of Condom, which he resigned, on being appointed preacher to the dauphin, in 1670. His fidelity in discharging the duties of this important station was rewarded, by the appointment of first almoner to the dauphiness, in 1680; and by the bishoprick of Meaux, in the year following. In 1697 he was appointed chancellor of state, and, soon after, first almoner to the duchess of Burgundy. He died, in 1704, at the age of seventy-seven. His works were numerous; most of them on subjects of theology; many of them controversial; but few of them are now read, except his Essay on Universal History, composed for the use of his pupil, and his funeral orations, which are equally pathetic and sublime. His mode of pronouncing these orations was strongly impressive and affecting; and a passage, in one of them, spoken on the death of Madame, is said to have forced a flood of tears from every one of the audience, though it contains nothing that seems calculated to produce such a powerful effect. The passage is this—"O disastrous night! O night of horrors, when, like a sudden burst of thunder, this astonishing news was heard to resound—Madame is dying; Madame is dead!" He entered into a controversy with Fenelon, who had published a book which, in the opinion of Bossuet, was not perfectly orthodox. This controversy, on the part of the latter, was conducted with more zeal than temper; the firmness of his mind is displayed in his answer to the king, who, after Bossuet had defeated his adversary, asked him, what he would have done, if he (Lewis) had protected the archbishop of Cambrai? "Sire,"—replied Bossuet—"I
3 S 2 " should

“ should have exclaimed ten times louder : when a man enlists in the cause of truth, he “ is sure to triumph, sooner or later.” His time was so wholly devoted to the duties of his profession, that he scarcely allowed himself any leisure for exercise or recreation. Though he had most beautiful gardens he so seldom visited them, that his gardener could not refrain from telling him one day, “ If I were to plant saints, such as Saint Augustin “ and Saint Chrysostom, you would come and see *them*; but, as for your *trees*, you care “ nothing about them.”

Lewis Bourdaloue was a native of Bourges, and, in 1648, when only in his seventeenth year, assumed the habit of a Jesuit. His orations and sermons are composed in a style rather remarkable for strength than ornament; perspicuous, not florid, he rather wished to convince the reason than affect the passions of his audience; he disdained the fallies of imagination, and would not stoop to *please*. He died in 1704, highly respected, even by those who were no friends to the Jesuits. His sermons and orations are still read and esteemed.

François de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon, was born at the castle of Fenelon, the seat of his ancestors, on the sixth of August, 1651. Having distinguished himself by his sermons at Paris, he attracted the notice of the king, who employed him to convert the Protestants in Xaintonge, and the Pays d'Aunis. He was afterwards entrusted with the education of the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and the precepts he was careful to instil into the minds of his pupils rendered the duke of Burgundy one of the most virtuous and accomplished princes of the age. This important service was rewarded with the archbishoprick of Cambrai, to which he was appointed in 1695, and which he only accepted on condition of being permitted to pass three months in the year with his pupils, to whom he was sincerely attached. At the same time he voluntarily resigned the abbey of Saint Valery, his conscience not permitting him to hold a plurality of benefices, the duties of which he could not discharge. His acquaintance with madame Guyon, a woman of some fashion, who had adopted, with that enthusiasm so natural to the sex, the doctrine of *Quietism*, gave great offence to Bossuet, (formerly his master, now his rival), who required him to join him in his condemnation of the fair enthusiast, and to subscribe his pastoral instructions. Fenelon refused to sacrifice either his sentiments or his friend; and, in order to justify the former, he published his book, entitled, “ An Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints.” This work was violently attacked by Bossuet, and defended, with great mildness, by Fenelon; the controversy, to which it gave rise, was terminated by an order from the king for the latter to retire to his diocese. The pope, (Innocent the Twelfth) after an investigation of nine months, pronounced his condemnation of the work in 1699. On this occasion, Fenelon displayed a degree of humility, resignation, and self-denial, unparalleled in the annals of theological controversy. He submitted, without a murmur, to the sentence of the pope; published a mandatory letter to his flock against his own book; and condemned it, himself,
from



Jones Fecit

FENELON,
Archbishop of Cambrai.

Published as the Act Directs by C. Lowndes. N^o 66 Drury Lane June 15 1793.



from the pulpit. As a proof of his repentance, he caused a picture to be painted in which two angels were represented bearing a sun, and one of them treading upon various heretical works, among which was his own, distinguished by its proper title.

After this defeat, he lived in his diocese, universally respected, for the sanctity of his life, the purity of his manners, and the mildness of his temper: the duke of Marlborough, during the last war waged by Lewis the Fourteenth, gave strict orders to his troops to commit no depredations on the estates of Fenelon. This worthy prelate died, in 1712, aged sixty-three. His principal works are “*Telemachus* :”—“*Dialogues of the Dead*,” in two volumes :—“*Dialogues upon Eloquence in general, and upon that of the Pulpit in particular* ;” to which is annexed a “*Letter upon Rhetoric and Poetry*,” addressed to the French academy, of which the author was a member :—“*Directions for the Conscience of a King*,” composed for the duke of Burgundy :—“*An Abridgment of the Lives of the Ancient Philosophers*,” an unfinished work :—an excellent “*Treatise on the Education of Females* :”—“*Philosophical Works, or Demonstration of the Existence of God, by Proofs drawn from Nature* :”—“*Spiritual Works*,” in four volumes :—a volume of “*Sermons*,” composed in his youth; and several publications in favour of the constitution *unigenitus*.

Of all these books *Telemachus* has secured the greatest admiration; and, perhaps, no greater test of its excellence will be required, than its translation into all the European languages. It has been asserted that this work was composed for the instruction of the duke of Burgundy; but the assertion is wholly unfounded in fact, and seems to have originated in a conviction that it was well calculated for such a purpose. It was written during his residence in his diocese, and is said to have been delivered into the hands of the printer by a domestic whom Fenelon employed to transcribe it. But a small part of it was printed, at first; and only two hundred and eight pages had issued from the press, when Lewis the Fourteenth, unjustly prejudiced against the author, and imagining that the work was intended as a satire upon his government, issued orders for its suppression. The same prejudice led the king, after the death of the duke of Burgundy, to burn all the manuscripts of his preceptor, which that prince had carefully preserved. But fortunately the fiat of Lewis was not received as law in the dominions of science; and while foreign nations loudly condemned this act of arbitrary power, they bestowed on *Telemachus* the commendations it deserved. Some of those ingenious critics who are skilled in the discovery of allusions that exist but in their own brain, saw, in *Telemachus*, what Fenelon himself had, probably, never seen: they discovered *Madame de Montespan*, in *Calypso*; *Mademoiselle de Fontanges*, in *Eucharis*; the *Duchess of Burgundy*, in *Antiope*; *Louvois*, in *Protesilaus*; *King James*, in *Idomeneus*; and *Lewis the Fourteenth*, in *Sesostris*. But men of taste contented themselves with pronouncing it a work of genius; and every friend to his country secretly wished to see the court adopt the maxims of government it tended to inculcate.

La Bruyere, who flourished during this reign, produced a work (*His Characters*) not less singular (though in a different style) than *Telemachus*; a work, of which a friend of the author observed, on reading it in manuscript, that it would procure him many readers, and many enemies. It would require a volume to give even a faint sketch or outline of the lives of all the literary characters that reflected honour on the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth. Montesquieu and Fontenelle flourished at this period. Among the historians of the age, were Daniel, Mezerai, Henaut, Varillas, Le Vassor, Vertot, and Saint Real. Of the dramatic writers, Corneille, Racine, and Moliere, need only to be named to be admired; nor should Crebillon, Destouches, and Regnard be refused the commendations to which many of their productions are so justly entitled: of the poets, the most distinguished were Boileau, La Fontaine, Quinault, La Motte, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, Regnier, Flechier, (bishop of Nîmes), Grecour, Voiture, Chaulieu, and Vergier. The good abbé de Saint Pierre also flourished in this reign, who deserved to be immortalized for his "*Project* (however impracticable) of a *Perpetual Peace*;" and though his works have been—not inaptly—denominated the *dreams* of a good citizen, his idea of confining *intolerant divines* in a receptacle for lunatics, proves him to have been a man of sense, and a good Christian.

Of the three orders of the state, the least numerous, the clergy, is that which has ever required the most delicate management on the part of the sovereign. To preserve, at once, the union with the see of Rome, and to maintain the liberties of the Gallican church; to enforce from the prelates the submission of subjects, without infringing on the rights of episcopacy; to subject them, in many respects, to the secular jurisdiction, and to leave them the power of judges in others; to make them contribute to the wants of the state, without violating their privileges: all this requires a mixture of dexterity and firmness, which Lewis the Fourteenth, in general, possessed.

The clergy of France were, by degrees, restored to that state of order and decency whence the civil wars and the licentiousness of the times had removed them: the king would no longer suffer seculars to hold livings, under the title of *Confidentiaires*; nor persons who were not priests to enjoy bishopricks, as cardinal Mazarin, and many others had done²⁶, in the former part of his reign.

The contributions paid to the king by the clergy of France, and of the conquered towns, amounted, *communibus annis*, to about two millions, five hundred thousand livres; and afterwards, the value of money being encreased, they paid to the state almost four million of livres, in tenths, extraordinary supplies, and gratuitous gifts. The expression of *gratuitous gift*, properly used by the clergy, during the early ages of the

²⁶ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 113, 114.

monarchy, was still retained, (though no longer applicable to their present contributions) as well as their claims to the immunities they formerly enjoyed, with this, their favourite maxim, that *the property of the church is the property of the poor*; not that they pretended to be exempted from contributing to the wants of the state—for the state, when in want, must ever stand first on the list of poverty—but they insisted on their right of affording only *voluntary* assistance; whereas Lewis the Fourteenth always exacted such assistance in a manner that precluded the possibility of refusal.

It has been frequently asserted, that the French clergy did not contribute near so much as they ought to the exigencies of the state, on the erroneous supposition that they possessed one third of the kingdom. Voltaire, who may safely be credited when he speaks in FAVOUR of the clergy, asserts, that, of all the Catholic churches in Europe, that of France had accumulated the least riches. The revenues of the French bishopricks, with very few exceptions, were moderate: those of Strasburgh and Cambrai were the most considerable, because they originally belonged to Germany, where the church was immensely rich. In short, it appears, that, at the commencement of the present century, the total revenue of the church of France did not exceed eighty millions of livres, (about three million, three hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds sterling) which supported ninety thousand monks and nuns, and about one hundred and sixty thousand ecclesiastics. The grand abuse, in the distribution of this revenue, was the insufficiency of the incomes of the inferior clergy, which seldom exceeded five-and-twenty or thirty pounds a year.

Lewis the Fourteenth was particularly careful in confining, within proper bounds, the authority of the church: he enforced the right of appealing from the ecclesiastical ordinances to the parliament, in all cases where those ordinances interfered with the royal jurisdiction. Though the clergy frequently complained of this conduct, they had sometimes cause to be pleased with it; for if, on the one part, these appeals tended to maintain the rights of the state against episcopal authority, they afforded, on the other, support to that authority, by maintaining the privileges of the Gallican church, in opposition to the court of Rome; so that the bishops considered the parliament both as their adversaries and defenders; and the government took care that the bounds prescribed to either party should not be transgressed.

The privilege of the Regale, which we have before explained, had given rise to various contentions between the church and the state, from the partial exemptions to which particular prelates preferred a claim. In 1608, under the reign of Henry the Fourth, the parliament declared that the Regale extended universally over every part of the kingdom; the justice of this, however, was questioned by the clergy; and the affair remained long undecided. Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin caused several arrêts to be issued by the council, enjoining those prelates who claimed an exemption, to produce the
titles.

titles on which such claims were founded : but this produced little effect, and, so late as the year 1672, the king did not dare to dispose of a single living, in most of the dioceses beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of a see.

At length, in 1673, the chancellor, Le Tellier, affixed the great seal to the edict, by which all the bishopricks in the kingdom were subjected to the Regale. Two prelates alone, and those, unfortunately, the most virtuous men in the kingdom—*Pavillon*, bishop of Alet, and *Caulet*, bishop of Pamiers—refused to submit. The plausible reasons alleged, on both sides, only served to prove that the matter was involved in greater doubt and obscurity than had been generally imagined. The bishops remained inflexible ; excommunicated two canons appointed by the king ; and the pope (Innocent the Eleventh) espoused their cause.

The king, at first, contented himself with banishing the principal officers of the refractory prelates ; and the bishop of Alet, whose great age commanded respect, was suffered to die in peace. The bishop of Pamiers, though he had lost his coadjutor, remained unshaken, redoubled his excommunications, and persisted in his refusal to register his oath of fealty, from a conviction that such an oath tended too much to subject the church to the monarchy. The king seized his temporalities ; but he was amply recompensed by the pope and the *Janseuists*, who rendered his income larger than it was before. He died in 1680, firmly persuaded that he had maintained the cause of God against the king. His death, unfortunately, did not terminate the quarrel : some canons, nominated by the king, were forcibly expelled from their church, and excommunicated, by some monks, who pretended to be canons and grand-vicars. Monpesat, archbishop of Toulouse, whose business it was to take cognizance of this affair, in vain pronounced sentence against the usurpers, who appealed to the court of Rome. The parliament then interfered in favour of the archbishop ; but one of the monks, named *Cerly*, had the presumption to annul both the sentences of the Metropolitan, and the arrêts of the parliament. Provoked by this insolence, the parliament condemned him to lose his head, and he was accordingly executed in effigy ; but, secure in his retreat, and encouraged by the pope, he insulted both the archbishop and the king. The pope persuaded, like the bishop of Pamiers, that the Regale was an abuse which had crept into the church, and that the king had no right over the bishoprick of Pamiers, broke the ordinances of the archbishop of Toulouse ; excommunicated the new grand-vicars, appointed by that prelate, and the canons nominated by the king.

Lewis now convened an assembly of the clergy, composed of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second order. The Janseuists, for the first time, took the part of the pope ; and the pope, being an enemy to the king, favoured the Janseuists, whom he did not like. The assembly, however, which continued sitting in the years 1681
and

and 1682, declared unanimously in favour of the king. Meanwhile another dispute arose, which, from the violence with which it was pursued, became important. The archbishop of Paris having nominated a prior to a priory in one of the suburbs of the metropolis, the pope annulled the transaction, and broke the ordinance of the prelate. The parliament having declared the proceeding of the pope to be an abuse of his power, the pope issued a bull, ordering the inquisition to burn the arrêt of the parliament; and, in revenge, the parliament ordered the bull to be suppressed.

The assembly of the clergy, however, had recourse to moderate measures, and proved, by their conduct, that prudent men can yield, with dignity, to their sovereign, without the intervention of any foreign power. They consented to the extension of the Regale throughout the kingdom; but this was rather a concession on the part of the clergy, who relaxed from their pretensions from gratitude to their protector, than a formal recognition of the absolute right of the crown.

The assembly attempted to justify their conduct to the pope, in a letter; one passage of which ought to serve as an eternal rule in all disputes²⁷: viz.—*It is better to sacrifice some part of our rights, than to disturb the public peace.* The king, the Gallican church, and the parliaments, were all satisfied; but the Jansenists published some libels, while the pope, who remained inflexible, issued a brief, by which he annulled all the resolutions of the assembly, and ordered the bishops to retract. Such a violent proceeding was sufficient to promote an eternal separation between the churches of France and Rome. During the administration of Richelieu and Mazarin, it had been in agitation to appoint a patriarch; and the magistracy all eagerly wished, that the tribute of the annates might no longer be paid to the court of Rome; that the pope should be deprived of his right of nominating, during six months in the year, to all the benefices in Brittany; and that the French prelates should cease to call themselves bishops *by permission of the holy see*. Had the king been so disposed, a single word would have effected the separation; he was master of the assembly of the clergy, and the whole nation would have joined him. But there are ancient boundaries which cannot be broken down without violent convulsions: greater interests, stronger passions, and more effervescence in the minds of the public were necessary to promote a sudden rupture with the court of Rome; and it would have been very difficult to accomplish this project, while it was in agitation to extirpate the Calvinists. It was even thought a bold stroke in the assembly of the clergy, to publish their four famous decisions, of which the following is the substance.

1. God has given no power, to Peter and his successors, either direct or indirect, over temporal affairs.

²⁷ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 123.

2. The Gallican church approves of the council of Constance, which declares the superiority of general councils, in spiritual matters, over the pope.
3. The rules, customs, and practices, received in the kingdom, and in the Gallican church, ought to remain unshaken.
4. The decisions of the popes, in matters of faith, are not to be received as final until accepted by the church.

These four propositions, in their utmost extent, were registered in all the tribunals, and in all the faculties of theology; and an edict was published, forbidding the promulgation of any doctrine of a contrary tendency. This firmness was considered, by the court of Rome, as a rebellious attempt; and, by all the Protestants of Europe, as the feeble effort of a church, born free, to recover its ancient liberty. The four maxims were, at first, maintained with enthusiasm by the nation; but that enthusiasm subsided by degrees; towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, they began to be considered as problematical; and cardinal Fleuri afterwards procured, from an assembly of the clergy, a partial disavowal of them, which created neither noise nor astonishment.

Innocent, meanwhile, continued his threats, refusing bulls to all the bishops and commendatory abbots nominated by the king, so that, at the death of that pontiff, in 1689, there were nine-and-twenty dioceses in France unprovided with bishops. These prelates, indeed, received their revenues, but neither dared to undergo the ceremony of consecration, nor to perform the functions annexed to their stations. The idea of electing a patriarch was revived; and it was generally believed, that the time was, at length, come, for establishing in France a church *Catholic and Apostolic*, but not *Roman*. The attorney-general, Harlai, and the advocate-general, Talon, encouraged this idea, when they appealed, in 1687, from the bull published against the franchises enjoyed by the ambassadors at Rome, and exclaimed, with great violence, against the obstinacy of the pope, in leaving so many churches without pastors; but the king would never consent to the measure.

Alexander the Eighth and Innocent the Twelfth confirmed the condemnation pronounced by Innocent the Eleventh against the assembly of the clergy, and pursued the same line of conduct as had been observed by that pontiff; while the bishops, tired of their precarious situation, demanded of the court of France permission to appease the court of Rome; and the king had the weakness to comply with their request. Each of the prelates wrote a letter to his holiness, in which he observed that he was *grievously afflicted at the proceedings of the assembly*, and did not consider their maxims as decisive. Innocent the Twelfth, less implacable than his predecessors, admitted the excuse, and a
reconciliation

reconciliation took place, though the four propositions still continued to be taught in France from time to time.

A considerable reform took place in the manners of the clergy during this reign, and some steps were taken towards the suppression of that spirit of superstition which had too long given an undue influence to designing priests over an ignorant and credulous multitude. Gaston Louis de Noailles, bishop of Châlons, had so far conquered the prejudices of the age in which he lived, that, in 1702, he ventured to destroy a relic, which had been carefully preserved, for several centuries, in the church of our Lady, and adored under the name of *The Navel of Jesus Christ*. All Châlons murmured against the bishop for having committed this flagrant act of profanation. Presidents, counsellors, crown-lawyers, treasurers of France, tradesmen, notables, canons, and rectors, unanimously protested, by a juridical act, against the conduct of the bishop, reclaiming the sacred relic, and justifying their anxiety on the occasion by various examples, such as the robe of our Saviour, preserved at Argenteuil; his handkerchief, at Turin and Laon; one of the nails of the cross, at Saint Denis; his prepuce, at Rome; and various other relics, which are often despised even by those who pretend to value them most.

But this slight attack on the superstitious practices of the age by no means tended to check that spirit of intolerance which springs from a more contaminated source, and is productive of more fatal effects. Lewis the Fourteenth was animated against the Hugonots, by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the insinuations of the Jesuits, by the court of Rome, and, lastly, by the chancellor, Le Tellier, and his son, Louvois, who, being enemies to Colbert, wished to destroy the reformed as rebels, because that minister protected them as useful subjects. Lewis, ignorant of the motives of their secession from the established church, only considered them as dangerous subjects who had frequently revolted against the authority of their sovereign. Bent on their destruction, he endeavoured, at first, to undermine, by degrees, the edifice of their religion: the smallest pretext was sufficient to deprive them of their places of worship, and they were forbidden to take Catholic wives;—an act of impolicy which betrayed an ignorance of the influence of the fair-sex, of which no one could have suspected the king. The intendants and bishops endeavoured, by the most plausible means, to deprive them of their children. Colbert had orders, in 1681, to admit, in future, no Hugonot into any of the offices of the revenue; and they were generally excluded from all trading companies.

In order to operate their conversion appeals were made to their avarice: and arguments of this kind did not fail to *convince* many of the poorer class, this trifling success rendered the council more bold; in 1681, a declaration was issued by which children, at the age of seven, were admitted to renounce their religion; and, in support of this measure, many children were taken from their parents in the provinces, with a view to force them to abjure, and soldiers put in their place. The consequence of such proceedings

was the emigration of numerous families, who repaired to foreign countries, where no restraint was imposed on their religious principles, and where they were received with open arms.

The council, alarmed at this natural consequence of their own violent and unjustifiable conduct, sought to remedy the evil they had occasioned, by farther acts of violence and injustice. An edict was published, by which the punishment of the galleys was denounced against all Protestant artisans and mariners who should endeavour to quit the kingdom: it being remarked, that many of the Calvinists were preparing to sell their estates, a declaration immediately appeared, confiscating all such property, in case the venders should leave the kingdom within a year. Severities were now redoubled against the clergy, who were forbidden to preach on the slightest offence, whilst all the property bequeathed them was appropriated to the use of the national hospitals.

All Calvinistic school-masters were forbidden to receive boarders; the ministers were subjected to the Taille; the Protestant mayors were deprived of their nobility; and all such Hugonots, as were officers in the king's household, or king's secretaries, had orders to dispose of their places. All of that religion were excluded from exercising the profession of a notary, advocate, or attorney. While the Catholics were enjoined to make proselytes; the punishment of perpetual exile was declared to be the portion of any Protestant minister who should make a similar attempt. These arrêts were all publicly solicited by the clergy of France, whom Voltaire, on this occasion, compares to the children of a family unwilling to divide their property with foreigners introduced by force²³.

At length the Hugonots, in 1682, ventured to disobey, in some districts, the tyrannical mandates of their sovereign. They assembled, in the Vivarais and in Dauphiné, near the places where their temples had been demolished: when attacked, they defended themselves; two or three hundred of them, without a leader, without a fortified town, and even without a plan of proceeding, were dispersed with facility, in a quarter of an hour. Punishment followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiné caused the grandson of the minister *Chamier*, who had drawn up the edict of Nantes, to be broken alive. The intendant of Languedoc inflicted a similar punishment on the preacher *Chomel*: three others were condemned to die in the same way, and ten to be hanged, but they fortunately found means to escape, and were only executed in effigy. These transactions occurred in 1683.

It was at this period, that the king, after having sent missionaries into all the provinces, was persuaded to send dragoons also. These acts of violence were ill-timed,

²³ Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 152.

but they were the consequence of the ridiculous idea which then prevailed at court, that every thing must give way, at the name of Lewis the Fourteenth. They did not reflect that the Hugonots were no longer the same men who had displayed their courage, in the fields of Jarnac, Montcontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was extinguished, and that if the fathers had been rebels, under Lewis the Thirteenth, the children were submissive subjects, under Lewis the Fourteenth. In England, Holland, and Germany, different sects who, in the preceding century, had massacred each other, were now seen to live in peace in the same towns. Every thing in short tended to prove, that an absolute monarch might be equally well served by Catholics and Protestants: and the justice of queen Christina's observation is evident; "I consider France"—says she in one of her letters—"as a sick person whose arms and legs are cut off, as a remedy for a disorder which mildness and patience would have totally cured."

If motives of humanity could not induce Lewis to adopt a different line of conduct, policy ought to have prevented him from attacking the Hugonots at a time when he was at variance with the pope. But his intolerable vanity, which betrayed him into so many errors, led him to adopt the resolution of humiliating the pope with one hand, and crushing Calvinism with the other.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1684, while Lewis the Fourteenth, armed on all sides, had nothing to fear from his neighbours, troops were sent into all the towns and castles, where most Protestants resided; and as the dragoons were ill-disciplined at that time, they committed more excesses than any other soldiers: this expedition was called *the Dragonade*. The cruelty and oppression to which the unhappy Hugonots were subjected, when hunted like wild beasts, and exposed to the licentious rage of a brutal soldiery, have already been described. There was something strangely inconsistent in the conduct of the court, which, while engaged in voluptuous gratifications, and distinguished for mildness of manners and refinement of taste, issued orders the most barbarous and merciless. The inflexible despotism of Louvois seems to have predominated in this affair; and there are letters of his still extant, written in 1685, conceived in these terms.—"It is his majesty's will, that the greatest rigours shall be executed on those who will not adopt *his* religion; and, that such as have the stupid vanity to hold out to the last, should be pursued to the last extremity."

One of the most tyrannical and detestable edicts that was issued during this æra of persecution, was that which enjoined the seizure of the children of Protestants, in order to place them under the care of their nearest Catholic relations; an order so repugnant to nature and humanity, that it was scarcely ever enforced.

But in the celebrated edict which revoked that of Nantes, it appears that the court defeated their own ends. Their object was to unite the Calvinists to the national church.

church. Gourville, a man of great judgment, when consulted by Louvois on the subject, proposed to him to confine all the ministers, and only to release such as, gained by secret pensions, would abjure in public, and thereby serve to promote the desired union much more efficaciously than missionaries and soldiers. But, instead of following this politic advice, it was ordained, by the edict of revocation, that all ministers who would not become converts, should leave the kingdom in fifteen days:—a strange infatuation! to suppose, that, when the pastors were expelled, a great part of the flock would not follow them. The old chancellor, Le Tellier, when he signed the edict, exclaimed, in a transport of joy—“Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!”

All the temples of the Hugonots being destroyed, and all their ministers banished, the next object of the court was to devise means for retaining within the pale of the Catholic church all such as had become converts from interest, persuasion, or fear. These amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand, who were all obliged to attend the celebration of the mass, and other ceremonies of the church. Some were sentenced to be burned for spitting out the consecrated wafer after receiving it from the hands of the priest; and the bodies of such as refused to receive the sacrament, on their death bed, were dragged on a hurdle, and thrown into the highway.

But the spirit of the Calvinists seems to have encreased by persecution. They assembled, in different places, to sing their psalms, notwithstanding the edict which declared such assemblies illegal, and denounced the punishment of death against all persons who should attend them. The same punishment was also decreed against such ministers as should return into the kingdom; and a reward of five thousand five hundred livres was offered to any person that should inform against them. Several, however, returned, and were put to death by various ways.

The sect still subsisted, though it appeared to be annihilated, and, at the commencement of the present century, while Lewis was engaged in a dangerous war, the Calvinists found means to excite an insurrection in Languedoc, and the adjacent country. A conspiracy was formed for seizing the duke of Berwick, and the intendant, Baviile, in the town of Nîmes; for promoting a general revolt in Languedoc and Dauphiné; and for introducing the enemy into those provinces. The secret was inviolably preserved, for a considerable time, though upwards of a thousand persons were engaged in the conspiracy. At length, the indiscretion of one man led to a discovery: upwards of two hundred Protestants were tried and executed; the duke of Berwick endeavoured to exterminate them; and the few that escaped the sword retired into foreign countries.

But the extirpation of the *Heretics* did not procure peace to the French church, which was divided by the disputes that subsisted between the *Jansenists* and the *Jesuits*;
disputes

disputes the most frivolous and absurd, founded on certain propositions, said to be contained in a book, written by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and entitled *Augustinus seu doctrina sancti Augustini de humanæ naturæ sanitate, ægritudine, medicinâ adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses*. This book was not published till after the death of the author, when it fell, on the reduction of Ypres, into the hands of the Great Condé, who gave it to the world. Thus Jansenius became the head of a sect, without intending it: his book, it must be confessed, was not calculated to do much service to Christianity, though Jansenius was, doubtless, of a different opinion; it tended to enforce the doctrine of necessity, maintaining that man was led *invincibly* though *voluntarily* to the commission of good or evil; whence the author inferred the *impossibility* of complying with certain commandments, from want of the necessary portion of *grace*. This doctrine was condemned by the pope; and was violently opposed by the Jesuits in France; but the most curious part of the dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits was this—that the five propositions condemned by the latter were asserted by the former never to have been advanced by Jansenius; and the passages of the book whence they were said to have been extracted, were never once quoted, by either party, during the whole progress of the dispute.

Le Tellier, the king's confessor, found means to interest Lewis in behalf of the Jesuits; and that monarch, instead of imposing silence on both parties, which would have been the best purpose for which he could possibly have exerted his authority, applied to the pope, and obtained from him the famous bull *Unigenitus*, which served to render him uneasy during the remainder of his life.

The Jesuit, Le Tellier, and his party, had sent one hundred and three propositions to Rome to be condemned: one hundred and one of them were proscribed by the holy office; whence the bull issued in 1713. It excited great murmurs in France, and the king, whose object in applying for it was to prevent a schism in the church, had nearly created one by obtaining it: the clamour was general, because many of the propositions that had been condemned by his holiness appeared to every one to be not merely inoffensive, but replete with the purest morality. A numerous assembly of bishops was convened, on the occasion, at Paris, when forty accepted the bull, for the sake of preserving peace: but, at the same time, gave such explanations of it as were calculated to quiet the scruples of the public. Their acceptance, unclogged with restrictions, was sent to Rome; and the modifications were reserved for the people; by which means the prelates thought they should satisfy, at once, the pope, the king, and the multitude. But cardinal de Noailles, and several other prelates of the assembly, refused to adopt either the bull or the modifications, unless the latter came directly from the pope. For this purpose they framed a letter to the pontiff, but it was intercepted by the king, who sent the bishops to their dioceses, and forbade the cardinal to appear at court. Seven more bishops now joined the cardinal, and a serious division took place in all the orders of the clergy.

clergy. Every body acknowledged that the object of dispute had no relation to the fundamental points of religion, yet were the parties as violent as if the subversion of Christianity had been in agitation; and all the springs of policy were set in motion on both sides, as in an affair of the most profane nature.

The Jesuits were particularly anxious to procure the acceptance of the bull, by the Sorbonne; and, though there was a majority of votes against it, they still found means to get it registered. They were assisted, indeed, by the ministry, who imprisoned, by virtue of lettres de cachet, all who opposed it.

This bull had been registered in the parliament, in 1714, with the reserve of the usual rights of the crown, the liberties of the Gallican church, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops; but the voice of the public was still against it: and cardinal Bissi, one of its most zealous defenders, declared, in one of his letters, that it could not have been received with greater indignity at Geneva than it was at Paris.

The minds of the people were particularly irritated against the Jesuit, Le Tellier, who exerted his influence over the king for the most unworthy purposes. All the prisons had long been full of citizens accused of Jansenism; and Lewis, whose ignorance of these matters was inexcusable, had been taught to believe that it was the duty of a Christian king, and the only means of expiating his sins, to persecute the heretics. Le Tellier even presumed so far on his credit, as to make a proposal for effecting the deposition of cardinal de Noailles by a national council.

As a preparatory step to the assembling this council, which was destined to depose a prelate, become the idol of Paris, and of the kingdom, by the purity of his manners, the sweetness of his temper, and still more by the persecution he experienced, Lewis the Fourteenth was persuaded to make the parliament register a declaration, by which all bishops, who had not accepted the bull, exempt from all restrictions and modifications, were ordered to adopt it, under pain of being prosecuted as rebels by the attorney-general. The chancellor, Voisin, secretary at war, a man of a despotic temper, had framed this edict; but D'Aguesseau, the attorney-general, who had a greater knowledge of the laws of the kingdom, absolutely refused to act upon it: and as the first president, de Mesme, remonstrated with the king upon the evil consequences that would result from a proceeding so rigorous and unjust; the execution of the edict was deferred; the king was in a dying state; and these disputes embittered his last moments, and accelerated his dissolution. His merciless confessor harassed him by continual exhortations to complete a work which certainly would not have tended to secure respect to his memory. The attendants of the dying monarch, enraged at the conduct of the Jesuit, twice refused him admission into the royal presence; and, at last, insisted that he should not mention the bull *Unigenitus* to their master.—The death of Lewis produced a change in ecclesiastical affairs.

LEWIS



Jones fecit.

LOUIS, XV.

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LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

A. D. 1715 to 1720.] THE infant Monarch being unable, from his tender years, to assume the reins of government, the first object that commanded the attention of the court and the nation, was the appointment of a regent. The late king had, by his will, established a council of regency, composed of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, (who was not to take his seat until he had completed his twenty-fourth year) the duke of Maine; the count of Toulouse; the chancellor; mareschals Villeroy, Villars, Tallard, and Harcourt; the four secretaries of state; and the comptroller-general of the finances. In this council all questions were to be decided by a majority of votes, and the only pre-eminence assigned to the duke of Orleans was the privilege of a casting vote. The person of the young king was placed under the safeguard of the council of regency; and the duke of Maine was appointed to superintend his education, with an absolute power over the officers of his guard. In the event of the duke's death, he was to be succeeded by the count of Toulouse. Mareschal Villeroy was nominated governor to the king, but subject to the authority of the duke of Maine¹.

It was easy to foresee, and indeed Lewis himself was aware of it, that a will of this kind, which betrayed a mistrust of the duke of Orleans, whose birth entitled him to the exercise of an authority more honourable than that which was here bequeathed him,

¹ D'Avrigny, tom. v. p. 320.—Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 32, 33.

would meet with considerable opposition. Accordingly, on the second of September, the day after the king's death, the duke went to the parliament, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and peers of the realm, and attended by an armed force, capable of influencing the votes of the court by the operation of terror, if they had not been previously secured by insinuations and promises².

The duke opened the assembly by a short speech, in which he briefly explained his right to the regency, and intimated that it ought not even to become a subject of discussion; in other words, he declared himself regent, and the parliament acquiescing in the declaration, he, in fact, became so, even before the will was opened. Amidst the transports of joy, excited by success thus prompt and complete, he suffered promises to escape him which he certainly did not intend to perform. An intelligent person, devoted to his interest, who was present at the time, slipped a note into his hand, containing this caution—"You are ruined unless you break up the sessions."—The duke gave credit to the assertion, and immediately adjourned the assembly to the evening of the same day.

The will was then opened, and the parliament were very much astonished to find that the person whom they had declared regent, had only been named by the king head of the council of regency. At each article, the first-president, de Mesmes, who was firmly attached to the duke of Maine, exclaimed, "*Hear, gentlemen, observe; that is our law!*" But the parliament judged otherwise, and this pretended law was almost wholly abrogated³. The duke was declared sole regent, and a council was appointed to assist him with their advice, the members whereof he had the power of augmenting or diminishing at his pleasure. The duke of Maine only reserved the office of superintendant of the king's education.

Having thus happily surmounted this first difficulty, the regent proceeded to the formation of seven councils, the object whereof is sufficiently defined by their titles; viz. —the council of regency; of war; of finances; of the navy: of foreign affairs; of the home department; and a council of conscience, to take cognizance of all religious affairs, and particularly to nominate to vacant benefices⁴. On the twelfth of September, the duke took the infant monarch to the parliament to hold his bed of justice; when all the regulations previously adopted were registered and published.

It was not to be expected that a change thus general and precipitate would meet with universal approbation. Marechal Villars, although appointed president of the

² Mémoires de la Regence, tom. i. p. 10.—Mémoires du Marechal Duc de Berwick, tom. ii. p. 233.—Saint Pierre, p. 560.—Mémoires de Madame de Staal, tom. i. p. 275, 281. ³ Berwick, tom. ii. p. 238.—Mémoires de la Regence, p. 13. ⁴ Mémoires de Villars, tom. ii. p. 353.

council of war, objected to the measure, and represented, that, in the first moments of a new administration, it was dangerous to subvert the established order of government; that if some changes appeared necessary, it would be prudent to adopt them by degrees, to remove only what was acknowledged to be bad, and to substitute in its place what should appear better, without overturning the whole system at once.

But it was of consequence to the regent, at the commencement of his government, to give such an idea of it as would flatter the people; and in this attempt he succeeded, as well by the creation of the councils above mentioned, in which he gave seats to persons of the different orders of the state, most of whom were honoured with the public esteem; as by various other changes, establishments, and projects, which were highly approved by the nation⁵.

He restored to the parliament the right of remonstrating against the edicts of the crown, which had been taken from them by Lewis the Fourteenth; he provided for the pay of the troops, in a punctual and regular manner; he adopted means for discharging the interest of the national debt; and he fixed the value of gold and silver, which had, hitherto, perpetually varied. He evinced a disposition to attack the financiers, which is always pleasing to the people, and to enrich the state with the fruits of their plunder. He circumscribed the power confided to the intendants, whose extensive authority had long been viewed with jealousy and mistrust; and he ordered the state prisons to be inspected, and the complaints of persons confined therein to be duly attended to. Many of these prisoners were released; bishops, priests, and even laics, exiled for matters of religion, returned in triumph to their families, and had the pleasure of hearing a sentence of banishment pronounced, in their turn, on the Jesuit, Le Tellier, and many of his turbulent brethren, who deserved to experience a severer punishment. Lastly, the regent circulated a letter, in which he asked for information on the measures to be pursued for effecting a diminution of imposts, and for rendering the mode of collecting the taxes less onerous to those who paid them. He also enforced a reform in the expences of the court; and completed the joy of the Parisians by promising to bring the young monarch, as soon as possible, to the capital. But the only person who was openly disgraced amidst the changes that now occurred was Phelippeaux Pontchartrain, a man whose attachment to the legitimated princes, carried to an extreme that strongly favoured of affectation, rendered him suspected by the duke of Orleans; his place of minister of the marine department was given to the count of Maurepas, a youth of seventeen⁶.

But under this new minister the navy of France soon fell to decay. Marechal Villars, governor of Provence, having visited the port of Toulon, in 1716, the year after

⁵ Mémoires de la Regence, tom. i. p. 12, 17.

⁶ Mémoires de Dangeau.—Saint Simon, tom. iii. p. 187.

the appointment of Maurepas, found it in the most deplorable state. "I saw, with grief,"—says the *mareschal*⁷—"the destruction of that formidable navy which had, under the late king, successfully resisted the united efforts of the maritime powers. I found near thirty vessels totally abandoned, like floating citadels, some of them carrying an hundred and twenty guns; and which had formerly borne the glory of the king and of the nation, and the terror of our arms, to the farthest extremities of the earth."

This decline of the navy might in part be owing to the negligence of the regent, which has, by some authors, been ascribed to the confidence he reposed in the English. He had long lived in habits of intimacy with lords Stair and Stanhope, who are represented as having availed themselves of the credit which a conformity of taste and inclinations gave them with the duke of Orleans, to promote the interests of their own nation⁸. They began by offering him the forces of England, in case Spain, as there was reason to dread, should attempt to disturb him in the possession of the regency: and, in return for these offers, the duke consented to sacrifice the Pretender, who had lately made an unsuccessful attempt to assert his claim to the English throne. The regent, being thus prejudiced in favour of the English, is said to have adopted their maxims, their opinions, and their systems; and this partiality had a considerable influence upon public affairs, by means of the ascendancy which the abbé Dubois, who was paid by the English, acquired over the regent⁹.

Dubois—who had been tutor to the duke of Orleans—must not be considered merely as a libertine, as many writers have represented him, solely intent on arranging parties of pleasure: if he contributed to inspire his pupil with a spirit of debauchery, or if he encouraged a disposition ready formed to his hand, he also took care that he should acquire such knowledge as was suitable to his rank; and his industry and application had more than once been rewarded by the approbation of the late king. Still, however, he possessed so many bad qualities, paid so little regard to decency in his conduct, or truth in his professions, that the duke of Orleans, though strongly inclined to serve him, was fearful of following his inclinations, lest he should incur the indignation of the public. Dubois, however, after many indirect attempts, determined to press the regent to bestow on him some mark of his favour; he accordingly went to the palace, and boldly said to him—"At a time when you have experienced such a change of fortune, will you suffer a man who has been your preceptor to remain in a state of inactivity?" The pupil hesitated, but, unable to resist the importunities of a person whom he had long been accus-

⁷ *Mémoires de Villars*, tom. ii. p. 367.
tom. vii. p. 100.—*Villars*, tom. ii. p. 352.—*Dangeau*.

⁸ *Mémoires de la Régence*, tom. i. p. 40.—*Saint Simon*,

⁹ In the *Memoirs of Saint Simon*, (tom. v. p. 292.) mention is made of a pension of forty thousand pounds sterling paid by the English to Dubois, and which that minister enjoyed at his death.—*Anquetil*, tom. iv. p. 73.

tomed to oblige, he, at length made him a councillor of state. When the duke informed Dubois of this promotion, which appeared incredible to many persons, he embraced him in an affectionate manner, and said—" *Abbé, a little reſtitution I beſeech you*¹⁰."

Dubois, having gained admission into the miniſtry, began to think how he ſhould diſplay his talents to the greateſt advantage. At this period there exiſted two parties at the court, one of which was attached to the ſyſtem of Lewis the Fourteenth, which they wiſhed to ſee purſued as nearly as poſſible: the other, ſwayed, probably, by a deſire of rendering abortive the plans of a monarch whoſe abſolute power had afforded them juſt grounds for diſguſt, oppoſed, with ardour, every thing which bore even the remoteſt reſemblance to his ſyſtem of policy. Lewis had never loſt ſight of the project of replacing the houſe of Stuart on the Engliſh throne, and, with this view, he had conſtantly kept up a correſpondence in the kingdom of England, which, even after his death, proved the cauſe of no ſmall alarm to George the Firſt. Though the Pretender had not profited by it, it was ſtill an object of inquietude as long as France ſhould retain the diſpoſition to rekindle the flame of revolt which had been ſmothered, but not extinguiſhed. In order to remove this ground of uneaſineſs, lords Stair and Stanhope could deviſe no other means than that of giving a ſuperiority to the party that oppoſed the maxims of the old court; and they ſucceeded in this attempt, by gaining over to their ſide the abbé Dubois.

Dubois himſelf was, indeed, materially intereſted in promoting a total ſubverſion of the political ſyſtem of France, becauſe, if it remained the ſame as it was in the preceding reign, neither his advice nor his negotiations would be wanted; whereas if a change took place, other meaſures would be adopted, that might afford him employment. Fears had already been inſtilled into the mind of the duke of Orleans with regard to the intentions of Spain to deprive him of the regency; and care was now taken to inſpire him with freſh apprehenſions on the ſubject of the ſucceſſion to the throne, by inſinuating that, if Lewis the Fifteenth, who enjoyed but a bad ſtate of health, ſhould die, Philip the Fifth might, poſſibly, not think himſelf bound by his renunciation; and as Spain, at that time under the government of Alberoni, an active and enterpriſing miniſter, betrayed a diſpoſition to ſhake off her ſloth, and was actually arming, the regent was eaſily perſuaded that the object of theſe preparations was to ſupport, in the event of the king's death, the claim of Philip to the throne of France.

The duke of Orleans moſt certainly could not have been blamed for taking every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt on this head; and ſuch was the opinion of mareſchal Villars, who, one day, ſaid to him in the council—" We are firmly perſuaded that you

¹⁰ Dangeau, Janvier, 1716.

“ wish the king to live as sincerely as any of us ; but no one here can be astonished at
“ your carrying your views still farther. Nor is it possible that those measures which
“ every individual is at liberty to take for securing an estate to his family, should incur
“ censure when adopted by a prince who is heir to the crown of France.” Villars
concluded, that the regent ought to content himself with ascertaining what were the
real views of Spain, in her preparations for hostility ; and, if France were not the object
of her attacks, to wish her success, and not interfere with her projects.

By adopting this advice, the French ministry would, in fact, have discovered that the
object of Alberoni was to reunite to the Spanish monarchy such of the Italian states as
had been torn from it during the war of the succession, in order to erect them into sove-
reignties for the children of the princess whom he had placed on the throne ; and that, to
prevent the English from giving any assistance to the emperor, who was in possession of
those states, the Spanish minister intended to furnish them with employment at home,
by enabling the Pretender to make another descent on the coast of Britain. On this sub-
ject Villars observed to the regent—“ If Spain wishes to aggrandize herself, instead of
“ opposing, assist her. The more you contribute to her aggrandizement, the less will
“ she be disposed to interfere with your pretensions to the crown ; and were Philip the
“ Fifth to make any such attempt, he would see all Europe arm against a prince whom
“ you would have rendered too formidable by contributing to the extension of his pow-
“ er. England, at least a part of it, is disposed to receive its *lawful sovereign* ; let us
“ follow those views with which the glory of the nation and proximity of blood inspire
“ you, rather than those which will finally lead you to wage war against the king of
“ Spain.” The regent appeared to be stricken with the concluding exhortation of Vil-
lars ; and looking steadfastly in his face, he exclaimed—“ Your projects are on a large
“ scale.”—But his resolution was already taken.

The regent continued his intimacy with lords Stair and Stanhope, as well as his ne-
gociations, with the secret of which the abbé Dubois was alone entrusted. This agent
was soon after sent to the Hague, in the capacity of ambassador-extraordinary, to assist
the English in persuading the Dutch to enter into a treaty of alliance against Spain.
The treaty was signed on the ninth of July, 1716, by the ministers of France, England,
and Holland : the regent engaged that the Pretender should immediately quit the domi-
nions of France, and never return thither on any pretence whatever : that no rebellious
subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in France ; and that the treaty of
Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the
satisfaction of his Britannic majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all
the places possessed by the contracting powers ; of the Protestant succession on the throne

“ Villars, tom. ii. p. 391.

of England, as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home, or invaded from abroad. It was the singular fate of this treaty to be equally censured by the English and the French. The former alledged, that a needless umbrage was given to Spain, with which their nation had great commercial connections, and that, on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom: while the latter complained, that the English, who, a few years before, had waged a destructive war against France, were now not only admitted to terms of familiarity with the regent, but were suffered to domineer over the council, and prescribe laws to the court.

During these negotiations, a chamber of justice was established by the regent, in 1716, for the purpose of enquiring into the malversations of all persons employed in the different departments of the revenue. This chamber was composed of presidents and councillors of the parliament, officers of the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids; and masters of requests; who were intrusted with very extensive powers. In order to encourage informations, one fifth part of the fines and confiscations was promised to the informer, and a tenth of all concealed effects to such as should furnish the means of discovering them. If we may be allowed to form an idea of the extent of their fraud and extortions by the degree of terror and alarm which the objects of this prosecution evinced on the publication of the edict, we must conceive their malversations to have been enormous. The proceedings were, at first, carried on with vigour and impartiality; the Bastille and all the other prisons were soon filled with persons accused or merely suspected, and many of them had a guard placed at their own house: an order was issued to refuse post-horses to such as should seek for safety in flight, and to forbid all persons from favouring their evasion by any means whatever. The people, always enemies to that description of men, distinguished, in France, by the appellation of *Mal-tôtiers*, were highly gratified at seeing those who had excited their envy and indignation by their riches, and, sometimes, by their insolence, dragged to this new tribunal, despoiled of their ill-gotten wealth, and branded with ignominy. Some were condemned to the pillory, others to the galleys, a third description was dismissed after paying heavy fines, and one only—and he, probably not the most dishonest¹²—was sentenced to die, in a province remote from the capital.

After the first example had been made, a different mode of punishment was adopted, and fines, under the denomination of *taxes*, were, indiscriminately, imposed on all offenders. These amounted to about four hundred, who paid upwards of one hundred and eighty millions of livres, of which eighty were appropriated to the payment of the notes

¹² Samuel Bernard offered six millions of livres (two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling) to be allowed to escape without paying a fine.

issued, and other debts contracted, by the government ¹³. What became of the rest we may learn from madame de Maintenon, when she says—"We are daily told of some " new grant of the regent upon the taxes, and people murmur very much at this mode " of employing the money taken from the peculators."—When we know, too, that there were courtiers, at that time, mean enough to solicit, by way of gratification, taxes on hired carriages, and on the Jews, we may fairly presume, that many of the same description held out their hands, on this occasion, to the regent, whose facility of disposition suffered millions to fall into them that ought to have been employed in diminishing the debts of the state, and the burdens of the people.

But the regent derived no advantage from the abasement of the financiers, which circumstance occasioned a general murmur at the useless, or, rather, *unprofitable*, severity that had been exercised against them ¹⁴. And this murmur increased in proportion as the chamber of justice continued its researches, and deviated from the path which had been prescribed by the edict of erection. Tradesmen of good character were now cited to appear before this arbitrary tribunal, and compelled to lay open their affairs before the judges, in order to confute the charges of extortion and fraud that were unjustly exhibited against them. In short, the very persons who had, at first, praised the establishment as an act of wisdom and justice, now earnestly implored its suppression, through fear of falling victims to the malevolence of informers, from whose daring attempts innocence seems to have formed but a feeble protection. These apprehensions induced people to conceal their money; and commerce, for want of its main spring, languished of course.

It became necessary, at the expiration of a year, to suppress this tribunal; and the chancellor's speech, on its dissolution, is best calculated to explain the sensations it had occasioned in the minds of the public:—"You know,"—said he—"gentlemen, that remedies themselves may, sometimes, when continued too long, be converted into evils. " At the sight of a multitude of criminals, who, by the ties of blood and the connection of fortunes, have found means to interest in their behalf even the sound parts of " the state, the affrighted public are thrown into a kind of consternation and discouragement, which retards their operations, and obstructs all the movements of the body politic. Such even is the character of the people, who, ever disposed to inconstancy, " easily pass from excess of hatred to excess of compassion. *They enjoy the sight of a punishment prompt and rigorous*, but they cannot support the idea of its duration; and, " suffering their first sentiments of indignation against the guilty soon to subside, they " almost accustom themselves to believe them innocent, when they see them wretched " for any length of time ¹⁵."

¹³ Lettres de Maintenon, tom. vi. p. 251.—Dangeau, Jan. 4 et 16, 1716.

¹⁴ Mémoires de la Régence, p. 106.

¹⁵ Dangeau, 22 Mars, 1717.





The Duke of Orleans,
REGENT OF FRANCE.

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The chamber of justice being suppressed, the decision of such matters as were in a state of discussion was referred to the court of aids. A general amnesty was granted to all against whom no charges had yet been preferred; and, in order to correct one excess by another, it was decreed, by a particular declaration, "That in future the farmers-general should be exempted from all taxes and researches," a privilege directly contradictory to the edict of 1625, recited in the preamble to the edict of erection, which says—"That every ten years a chamber of justice shall be established, in order that the malversations of officers and other persons concerned in the collection, receipt, or distribution of the public money, may never remain unpunished¹⁶."

The regent's extravagant thirst after pleasure; his violent aversion from business; his facility in following the advice and adopting the prejudices of others; his indolence in examining matters, and his confidence in conjectures, which occasioned family disputes that were converted into affairs of state; a foreign war; a total derangement of the finances; and violent movements among the clergy and magistracy; all these events rendered the first years of the regency a period of confusion and trouble.

The duke of Orleans was certainly not vindictive; indeed, his indulgent disposition was so well known to the Parisians, that, in their songs, the only appellation by which they distinguished him was that of *Philip the Debonnaire*. Yet in his conduct to the legitimated princes, there are strong grounds for suspecting that he was actuated by an impulse of resentment. On the very first day of his regency, he had assumed the whole of the power, which it had been the wish of Lewis the Fourteenth to divide; his political objects therefore were attained; but as men are seldom apt to spare those whom they have once offended, he permitted the duke of Bourbon (though he might easily have prevented it) to present a request to the parliament, the object of which was to deprive the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse of the rank and prerogatives of princes of the blood, which had been conferred on them in the preceding reign¹⁷.

¹⁶ *Mémoires de la Regence*, tom. i. p. 89.—The regent retained so little of the money taken from the financiers, that he could not pay for the valuable diamond which he purchased, and which was called, from him, *The Regent*. He was averse from incurring an expence so considerable, until urged by the suggestions of the duke de Saint Simon, who represented the honour of the crown as concerned in the purchase.—*Dangeau*, 6 Juin, 1717.—*Saint Simon*, tom. vii. p. 99.

This diamond weighs upwards of five hundred grains, is perfectly clear, without the smallest flaw, and of the first water. The price given for it was two millions of livres, (eighty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence, *sterling*), and the seller kept the parings. As the duke of Orleans was not in possession of so much money, he gave the person of whom he bought it an annuity, until such time as he could pay him, and, in the interval, lodged jewels in his hands to the amount of two million.—*Anquetil*, t. iv. p. 104.

¹⁷ *Mémoires de la Regence*, tom. i. p. 241, 272, 289, 314, 343, 346.—*Staal*, tom. i. p. 304.—*Lettres de Maintenon*, tom. vi. p. 99, 188, 205, 301.

In the account of the proceedings of this famous trial, it is in vain to search for the motives which led the duke of Bourbon to seek the degradation of persons so nearly allied to him, as his mother's brother, his aunt's husband, and the regent's wife's brother. He professed, indeed, to be solely actuated by a concern for the interest of the nation, which could, not, he said, admit of an arbitrary disposal of the crown, and, of the interest of the peers, who, by the title of princes of the blood, accorded to the illegitimate offsprings of the late monarch, were removed one step farther from the throne; but, in fact, he was swayed by two motives of a different nature. The first was a violent antipathy to the duke of Maine: "He has"—said Madame de Maintenon—"the same aversion from this poor prince that some people have from particular animals." The second arose from some litigious discussions concerning a law-suit that had taken place between the relatives of the houses of Conti and Condé. The duke of Maine, who had married into the latter, had done all in his power to accommodate the duke of Bourbon; and the duchess of Maine, at the request of her husband, had made some considerable sacrifices to her brother: but all these concessions were inadequate to prevent the prevalence of a violent hatred; the suit was carried on with a degree of acrimony and virulence, which, unhappily, are but too common in family disputes; and although an accommodation afterwards took place, the duke of Bourbon still cherished a degree of resentment that impelled him to this enterprize against the legitimated princes.

As the families of Condé and Conti had claimed the interference of the dukes and peers, the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse called to their assistance the upper class of nobility, who were offended with the peers for having espoused the cause of the princes of the blood in a manner that seemed to indicate a separation of interests, and to enforce a claim of superiority over the rest of the nobility. The legitimated princes required that the decision of the cause might be deferred until the king should come of age, on the pretence that an edict so solemn as that which had given them the rank of princes of the blood, could not be annulled during a regency. They likewise maintained, that since the question related to the succession to the throne, the states-general, who alone had a right to decide on it, ought to be convened.

But these objections were over-ruled, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the legitimated princes, a royal declaration was published, on the second of July, 1717, and registered on the eighth, by which those princes were deprived of the titles, rights, and privileges of princes of the blood, excepting only the rank which they enjoyed in the fittings of the parliament¹⁸. In this edict the king, alluding to the probable extinction of the reigning family, was made to say—"But if the French should experience this calamity, it would belong to the nation alone to repair the loss by the wisdom of its choice;

¹⁸ Mémoires de Pollnitz, tom. viii. p. 82.—Lettres de Maintenon, tom vii. p. 219, 258.

“ and since the fundamental laws of the kingdom have happily deprived us of the ability to alienate the dominions of our crown, we glory in the acknowledgment that we are still less authorised to dispose of the crown itself.” The duchess of Maine was highly enraged at the edict, but her husband displayed a degree of coolness and tranquillity on the occasion, that disconcerted his enemies. His constant reply to some proposals that had been made to him for an accommodation, on certain conditions, was—That a man should never consent to become the instrument of his own degradation, but patiently submit to what he could not prevent, and defer his attempts to obtain redress to a more favourable opportunity.

The conduct of the parliament in this business was the most extraordinary—Though they pretended to be the representatives of the three orders of the kingdom, and therefore opposed the motion for convening them, they nevertheless made no attempt to exercise their rights. After having registered the edict of Lewis the Fourteenth, without the smallest difficulty, they now registered, with equal facility, that which revoked it; and they carried their inconsistency so far as to suppress a protest, signed, by thirty-nine persons of the upper class of nobility, against any decision in an affair which concerned the nation, and therefore ought to be tried by an assembly of the states; and even to suffer five of those who subscribed it to be arrested in their presence, and thrown into prison.

From these disputes the attention of the regent was diverted by preparations to fulfil the engagement he had contracted with the empire and the maritime powers. While these were carrying on, the intriguing genius of Alberoni had led that minister to project a conspiracy for effecting a change in the government of France. The time was not ill-chosen; for though there was no absolute insurrection in the kingdom, there still existed a spirit of discontent, a kind of uneasiness in the body politic, occasioned by a consciousness that there were some things in the government which ought to excite displeasure. The majority of the nation were by no means pleased with the alliance concluded with England, and the total subversion of the political system adopted by Lewis the Fourteenth incurred great disapprobation.

The people too had lost all their hopes of a prudent and economical administration: hopes that were founded on the establishment of the councils at the commencement of the regency, and on the right of remonstrance restored to the parliament. The councils, at which the regent sometimes met with opinions contrary to his own, displeased, and people who were fond of guessing at events from causes, foretold that they would not be of long continuance. The remonstrances of the parliament were not interdicted, but it was pretended that they ought to be confined to particular objects. It was determined by the court to circumscribe their substance and their form; and these limits, imposed, as was then generally believed, with a view to throw a veil over the operations of the ministry, gave rise to conjectures, which engendered suspicions and fears.

Lastly, the respect which is due to decency of manners had some share in promoting the general discontent; for even persons who are not very rigid in their morals will be shocked at an open display of contempt for what the world is accustomed to hold sacred. Many of those who had disapproved the scruples of Lewis the Fourteenth, censured, with great severity, the unbridled licentiousness of the present period, which corrupted almost all the young men who frequented the court. If such persons as made every thing a source of amusement sometimes laughed at the indecent jokes of the duke of Orleans, prudent men, who were aware of the consequences of such conduct, refused their approbation to the insulting levity with which the first man in the state treated religion and its ministers¹⁹. The favour, too, enjoyed by Dubois, excited universal indignation; it led him openly to aspire to the first dignities of the church, though incapacitated from obtaining them by means of a marriage which he had secretly contracted, and the proofs of which he had contrived, by the most unworthy means, to destroy.

That minister contributed, by his advice, to the persecution which was renewed, at this period, against the duke of Maine; with whom he was displeased for having strongly opposed, in the council, the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance²⁰; and he joined his resentment to the hatred of the duke of Bourbon, who, persevering in his antipathy, could not be contented until he had totally stripped the duke of Maine of all his honours and emoluments. The duchess of Maine, foreseeing the storm, endeavoured to avert it by coming to an explanation with the regent. Her efforts, however, proved vain, for the regent had been persuaded, that the duke of Maine had formed a project for taking the king to the parliament, with a view to procure a declaration of his majority, and, by that means, annihilate the regency. Mareschal Villars, to whom the duke of Orleans imparted this pretended plot, observed, that he did not believe the duke of Maine to be sufficiently determined to adopt such a resolution; and, indeed, the indecisive conduct of that prince proved the justice of the mareschal's opinion²¹.

On the twenty-sixth of August, 1718, at six in the morning, the members of the council of regency were summoned to attend an extraordinary council, which they were told would be followed by a bed of justice, at the palace of the Tuilleries. The edicts that were to be carried to the latter were first read in the former. By one of them parliaments were prohibited from taking cognizance of state affairs; another declared, that every edict presented to the court to be registered, should be considered as registered (whether it was or not) at the expiration of eight days from the time at which it was

¹⁹ Having made a numerous promotion of bishops, he said before the whole court—"The Jansenists will not complain; for I have just given every thing to *grace*, and nothing to merit." ²⁰ Although, at that time, there were but three contracting parties, it was, nevertheless, called *The Quadruple Alliance*, because a place was left open for the king of Spain, which he was afterwards compelled to fill. ²¹ Dangeau—*Mémoires de la Régence*, tom. ii. p. 113.—Villars, tom. ii. p. 407, 412.

presented: by a third edict it was declared that, the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse were deprived, at the solicitation of the peers, of the rank which they held in the parliament, where, in future, they were to take place after all the peers of France, except such as had been created posterior to the edict of 1694. An exception, however, was made in favour of the count of Toulouse, who was suffered to retain his honours, rank, and prerogatives, though debarred the privilege of transmitting them to his posterity.

The duke of Bourbon next read a memorial, in which he thus addressed the king:—
“Sire, the late king having expressed a desire that the duke of Maine should be entrusted with the education of your majesty, although that place belonged to me in right of my birth, and according to ancient examples, I made no opposition, in consideration of my minority. But all the reasons by which my conduct was then actuated having ceased to operate, I require that this honour may be conferred on me, according to the justice of my claim.”

These papers were all read a second time before the parliament, who were assembled in an adjoining apartment where the bed of justice was holden. The first president asked permission to deliberate on the different edicts; but the keeper of the seals, after approaching the king's person, as if to receive his orders, briefly replied, “*That his majesty required instant obedience.*” With regard to the duke of Bourbon's request, the regent advised the young monarch to comply with it.

Many of the peers were greatly astonished at these harsh measures, adopted in their name; they highly disapproved of the conduct of the regent; but they wanted firmness to oppose what they had virtue to condemn. The duke of Maine himself, far from making any efforts to preserve a place which was, at least, indifferent to him, told marshal Villars, before this disgrace, that he was so tired with the tribulation he was destined to experience, that, notwithstanding the honour he derived from superintending the king's education, he would willingly give ten thousand crowns to the courier who should bring him a *lettre de cachet*, to banish him to his estates for five years. The duchess of Maine prized this honour more than the duke; and when she received the order to resign to the duke of Bourbon the apartment which her husband occupied at the Tuilleries, as superintendant of the king's education, she replied, in a transport of rage, “*Yes, I will resign it!*” At the same time, she ordered her servants to remove the furniture without delay, and, to accelerate the business, she broke, with her own hands, all the pier glasses and china ornaments, and every thing else she could lay hold of. As it was publicly known that she was extremely irritated, all the malecontents immediately flocked around her, not doubting but that she would be well-disposed to revenge the affront her husband had sustained, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur.

In addition to the severe treatment which the parliament had experienced at the bed of justice, the regent ordered three of their members, who had opposed his proceedings, to be arrested and committed to prison; which excited a great fermentation, not only in the company itself but in the metropolis, where every one was astonished at an act of rigour that had not been attempted since the time of the barricadoes. Similar exertions of severity, exercised upon other parliaments, chiefly on that of Brittany, also spread the alarm in the provinces. The duke of Orleans having, at the same time, suppressed the councils established at the commencement of the regency, in order to substitute departments in their place, at the head of which he placed secretaries of state more dependent on himself; almost all the great families, and sovereign courts, who, from their members having seats in these councils, considered themselves as admitted to a share in the government of the kingdom, could not forbear murmuring at being deprived of a prerogative on which they placed so high a value.

The spirit of discontent was farther increased by the immense losses which private families sustained from the discount of the notes issued by the government as security for the debts contracted by Lewis the Fourteenth, during the time of his distress. The loss upon these notes was no less than seventy-eight and an half per cent. while the notes of the new bank, erected, in virtue of a royal edict, on the fifth of May, 1716, under the direction of the celebrated John Law, an enterprising Scotchman, who had conceived the project of establishing a company that might pay off the debt of the nation by notes, and reimburse itself by its profits, daily increased in value. The scheme he proposed appeared so plausible, that it was adopted, with great eagerness, by the regent; and the people, equally deceived by the seducing allurements held out to them, hastened to exchange their cash for the notes of this bank, which soon bore a premium of fifteen per cent. The notes of the government were received at the enormous discount above mentioned, and those of the bank were given in their place, at the premium they bore; so that the State not only paid off its debts at a trifling expence, but acquired wealth at the same time; while individuals were ruined, by suffering themselves to be despoiled of more than two thirds of their property.

The astonishing eagerness which people displayed to get rid of the bills of the government arose from an opinion artfully propagated, that they would continue to decrease in value until they became waste paper, while the bank, supported by the flourishing commerce of the Mississippi, of which wonderful stories were told, and strengthened by the emoluments arising from the farming of the national taxes, could not fail to prosper, and consequently to enrich the proprietors beyond all estimation.

The English, who are so well acquainted with all the arts of stock-jobbing, need not be told that an opportunity was by this means afforded to individuals of acquiring splendid fortunes; and Law who held, as it were, the balance of this lucrative traffic, did not
forget

forget himself. In less than a month he purchased, of the count of Evreux, the county of Tancarville in Normandy: he offered the prince of Carignan fourteen hundred thousand livres for the hotel de Soissons: he paid the marchioness of Beuvron five hundred thousand livres for an estate which he bought of her: and about the same time he was endeavouring to make a bargain with the duke of Sully for the marquissate of Rosny ²².

Sums thus considerable, acquired in so short a space of time, and expended with so much ease, made people think that there were much larger profits which did not appear. Many persons began to open their eyes, and to remark that the director of the bank could not have acquired such an immense fortune, unless a great number of individuals had sustained losses or had reason to apprehend that they would sustain them. The parliament took the alarm, and issued an order to arrest Law; but the regent took him under his immediate protection, and he pursued his system to the great detriment of many and advantage of others.

Alberoni paid the greatest attention to what was passing in France. The regent and the English minister pressed him to complete the quadruple alliance by the accession of Spain; but he exerted all his ingenuity in the creation of delays, while he endeavoured to give the Spaniards a firm footing in Sicily; and at the same time that he expected, by this artifice to restrain the English, who were prepared to attack the Spanish fleet as soon as it should quit the harbour of Cadiz, he flattered himself with the hope of suspending the efforts of the duke of Orleans by the troubles he was endeavouring to excite in France ²³.

Whether the prospect that was now discovered *originated* with the Spanish minister, or was first conceived by the French malecontents, it is not easy to decide; it is certain however, that they soon understood each other, and acted in concert. It is natural to suppose that the duchess of Maine was not the last to embrace, or even to devise, means for injuring the regent: we are told by her friend, Madame de Staal, that her original intention, when she first opened a communication with the court of Spain, was only to engage Philip to support the duke of Maine and his oppressed family: and that the instructions she gave to the person she sent to Madrid were confined solely to this point. But whether these instructions were only given with a view to sound the disposition of the Spanish monarch, before she ventured to place a confidence in him, or whether the advances made by Alberoni induced her to go farther than she had intended, she certainly entered into a close correspondence with the Spanish ambassador. Their first plan

²² Mémoires de la Regence, p. iii.

²³ Idem tom. ii. p. 153, 238, 301, 393.—Saint Pierre, p. 656.
Dangeau, p. 546, 575, 584, 609.—Staal, tom. ii.

was to prevent the king of Spain from acceding to the quadruple alliance, as being too favourable to the duke of Orleans, and to engage him to demand the convention of the states-general, for the purpose of limiting the authority of the regent, and of repressing the abuses that obtained in his government.

But in proportion as the probability of success appeared to encrease, they extended their project; and, by the letters, which the duchess of Maine persuaded M. de Malezieu and cardinal de Polignac to compose for Philip who was to send them to the young king, his nephew, to the parliament, and to the states-general themselves, it appears; that the Spanish monarch was not only to require that France should reject the quadruple alliance, but, in express terms, that the regency should be taken from the duke of Orleans, on account of the abuses of which he had been guilty, and given to the king of Spain, who had the best right to it.

The ambassador was well aware that he could not possibly succeed in an attempt of this magnitude without the assistance of a considerable party; he therefore employed himself, with the utmost diligence, to gain over men of all descriptions—nobility, officers, priests, monks, gentlemen, and magistrates. He cared not by what interests they were actuated; whether their views were the same, or they all concurred in promoting the same design; being convinced, that when the storm was ready to burst, hatred against the regent, the love of novelty, or the dread of finding themselves alone, would induce them to join that faction which should be pointed out to them. Hence various parties were formed, each of which had its own mysteries, and endeavoured to augment the number of its associates. Like all men of ardent dispositions, who imagine their plans can never fail of success, these conspirators, particularly the subalterns, flattered themselves with the idea that all who did not openly oppose their sentiments were their zealous coadjutors, and as such inscribed their names on their lists. Cellamare, no longer doubting a successful issue to his project, gave an account of his progress to Alberoni, who, confiding in the assurances of the ambassador, considered the regent as already deposed.

This minister was the more anxious to promote a revolution in France, as the English, tired out with his delays, had, at length, determined to attack Spain. They met, encountered and defeated the Spanish fleet, destined to carry succours to the army in Sicily. The cardinal, enraged at this check, and finding himself threatened, at the same time, by France, wrote to the ambassador *to set fire to the mine*.

Whilst this order was on the road to Paris, the prince of Cellamare sent to Madrid the model of the letters, and other instruments on which he wished to consult the minister before he made use of them. He thought he had discovered a certain mode of conveying them in safety, by entrusting them to the abbé Porto-Carrero, nephew to the cardinal of that name, who was going to Spain with Monteleone, son to the Spanish ambassador

ambassador at the court of England. They had a chaise with a false bottom, in which the papers were put.

Messages, appointments, and conferences between the conspirators could not take place without movements that created suspicion. The duchess of Maine was closely watched: none of her actions escaped observation: not a person that frequented her house, by day or night, disguised or not, but was well known. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, it is probable the duke of Orleans would have made no discovery but for an accident, which is differently represented by different authors.

The account of Madame Staal, who relates what was generally believed at the time, is this:—That the Spanish ambassador's secretary, in order to excuse himself for not attending an assignation he had made with a celebrated courtesan, told her that he had so many dispatches to prepare, on account of the departure of the abbé Portocarrero, that he found it impossible to keep his word with her. This woman, who was intimately connected with the regent, related the circumstance to him, under an idea that he might possibly be concerned in the event: and the duke immediately dispatched a courier, with orders to search the travellers²³.

The other account is to be found in the Memoirs of Dangeau, who tells us, that the two abbés, having obtained a passport for themselves and their suite, had suffered a Spanish banker, who was flying from London, where he had broke for a considerable sum, and had defrauded his creditors, to accompany them. This man being pursued by some of his creditors, who procured an order to arrest him wherever they should find him, was overtaken by them at Poitiers, and, in searching for his papers in the chaise, they discovered those of the Spanish ambassador, which they seized, and then suffered Portocarrero to pursue his journey.

The courier dispatched by the abbé to the prince of Cellamare, with the news of this disaster, arrived before the person who carried the papers to the regent; so that the ambassador had sufficient time to destroy his most important papers, and he had the presumption to demand the restitution of those which had been seized. Instead, however, of complying with this modest request, the regent placed a guard at his door, and afterwards ordered him to be conveyed to Blois, where he remained until the duke de Saint Aignan, the French ambassador at Madrid, returned to France.

One of the accomplices, for whom the prince of Cellamare entertained the greatest apprehensions, was the abbé Brigaut, well known as a man of intrigue, and, therefore,

²³ Staal, tom. ii. p. 49.

likely to attract the notice of government. The ambassador sent him an hundred louis, and his best horse to facilitate his escape. The abbé accordingly disguised himself, and travelling with great expedition, proceeded to the distance of twenty leagues from the capital, but he was overtaken between Nemours and Montargis, and thrown into prison. Several others, who had not been allowed to exercise so much diligence as the abbé, were arrested; and the Bastille was soon filled with prisoners. Every day some new accomplice was seized; and as the emissaries of Spain had made application to great numbers of persons, even such of these as had entered into no kind of agreement with them, being ignorant whether or not they had inscribed their names on their lists, began to entertain apprehensions for their personal safety, and the alarm, by this means, became general ²⁵.

Some of the parties concerned having been examined, the duchess of Maine was arrested at Paris, on the twenty-ninth of December, and conveyed to the citadel of Dijon; the duke of Maine was also seized at Sceaux, and confined in the castle of Dourlens. Several of their domestics and dependants, among others, Mademoiselle de Launay, afterwards Madame de Staal, were committed to the Bastille. Their sons, the prince of Dombes and the count D'Eu, were confined in the town of Eu; their sister, Mademoiselle du Maine, was shut up in the convent of the visitation at Chaillot; and cardinal Polignac received orders to remain at his abbey of Anchin in Flanders.

In order to justify, in the eyes of the nation, these strokes of authority, the regent published the three letters which had been found among the papers of Portocarrero, designed to be addressed, by the king of Spain, to the king of France, to the parliament, and to the states-general as soon as they should be assembled: together with another paper, entitled, *Request of the States to his Catholic majesty*, desiring him to assume the regency of the kingdom, or else to appoint some other person to hold it for him ²⁶. But there were several articles in these papers which it would have been highly prudent in the regent to suppress. Among these may be reckoned the following remarks on his conduct to the parliament:—"This company, whose power to appoint to the regency
" has been acknowledged; to whom application was made for receiving it; with whom
" stipulations were entered into on receiving it from their hands; to whom promises
" were publickly made and confirmed with an oath, that the regent only wished to have
" the power of bestowing favours, and would leave all affairs of state to be finally de-
" cided by a majority of votes in the council of regency;—this company is now treated
" with contempt; their wise remonstrances are disregarded; and their most worthy
" members excluded from the council; the moment truth issues from their lips, the re-
" gent not only refuses to listen to them; but modesty forbids to repeat to your majesty

²⁵ Villars, tom. ii. p. 416, 426, 424.

²⁶ Mémoires de la Regence, tom. ii. p. 178, 184.

“ the indecent and insulting language he makes use of to the crown-lawyers ; of which
 “ the registers of the parliament will transmit the attestation to the latest posterity ”²⁷.”

Another passage ran thus—“ The public has reaped no advantage, either from the pro-
 “ secution of the financiers, or from other measures that were professed to be adopted
 “ with a view to its emolument : the same contributions that were levied by the late
 “ king, during his most expensive wars, are still exacted ; but Lewis the Fourteenth,
 “ while he received with one hand distributed with the other, and that circulation of
 “ money afforded subsistence to the nobility and people ; whereas at present the patri-
 “ mony of the crown is wholly consumed by foreigners, who know how to flatter the
 “ prevailing passion of the regent.” Again—“ It seems to have been the first care of
 “ the duke of Orleans to shew that he gloried in his irreligion. That irreligion has
 “ plunged him into an excess of licentiousness, of which ages the most corrupted afford
 “ no example ; and, while his conduct excites the contempt and indignation of the peo-
 “ ple, it affords strong grounds for apprehending that the kingdom may experience the
 “ severest effects of divine vengeance.”

The same imprudence which had superinduced the publication of these writings, in the
 first heat of resentment, had caused them to be preceded by a notice, “ That as soon as
 “ the king’s service, and the precautions necessary for the safety and repose of the state,
 “ would permit, the publication of the other projects, manifestoes, memorials, and all
 “ the circumstances of this *horrid conspiracy*, would be fully explained.”

But, after interrogating the prisoners, instead of the enormous crimes which these ex-
 pressions seemed to imply, all that appeared was a design of assembling the states-gene-
 ral ; nor was this design—criminal from the mode of accomplishing it, and from the cor-
 respondence with a foreign power to which it led—substantiated by proofs sufficient to
 convict the parties accused. Indeed, the papers taken from the abbé Portocarrero tended
 completely to establish the guilt of the Spanish ambassador, in profiting by his situation
 to excite troubles in France ; but they could tend to the conviction of no other person,
 for these papers being only copies, the persons named or alluded to therein might, and, in
 fact, *did* deny having any knowledge of the business.

D’Argenson, keeper of the seals ; Le Blanc, secretary at war, and the abbé Dubois,
 were appointed commissioners for trying the prisoners. Madame de Staal compared

²⁷ This allusion probably relates to what was then reported of the regent, who, being teized one day by the
 crown-lawyers on some matter of importance, exclaimed—“ *Allez-vous faire f——e.*” One of them replied, with
 great gravity, “ *Is it your royal highness’s pleasure that this answer shall be inserted in the registers?*” The duke laughed,
 and immediately attended to the business.

them, on their entrance into the Bastille, to the Three Judges of Hell. They found extreme difficulty in procuring, from the depositions they took, any proof of the *detestable conspiracy* that had been so solemnly announced. The president de Malezieu, and cardinal Polignac, were the only persons against whom any legal process could be instituted; and they could not deny that they had composed the letter destined to be sent to the king of Spain for the purpose of requiring the convention of the states.

The original letter, in their own hand-writing, was intended to be burned; and the cardinal, in a hurry to attend the king's mass, just as the copy was completed, desired the duchess of Maine would not fail to have it thrown into the fire. Malezieu took it with him for that purpose, but as he did not burn it immediately, he laid it by so carefully, that when he afterwards wanted to commit it to the flames, all his efforts to find it proved fruitless. This occasioned him great uneasiness for a considerable time, but at length he recovered his tranquillity from a conviction that the paper had been destroyed by accident; but when he was arrested, it was found in his *escritoir*, folded up in his son's marriage contract: as soon as he saw it he snatched it out of the officers hands and tore it, but the pieces were so carefully collected that the whole of it was preserved, and produced against him at his trial.

Many other proofs, indeed, might have been brought forward, but for the generous conduct of a chevalier de Menil, a gentleman of Anjou, which extorted commendation even from the regent himself. He was acquainted, but not intimately, with the abbé Brigaut, who, just before he left Paris, took some papers to him, which he said were family papers, and which he requested him to keep for him till he returned from a short journey which he was about to make. The chevalier, devoid of suspicion, took charge of the papers; but when he heard of the detention of the prince of Cellamare, knowing that the abbé was connected with him, he began to suspect that his hasty departure might arise from the same cause as the prince's arrest. Extremely embarrassed with his charge, he nevertheless chose rather to expose himself to the severity of the law, than to betray a man who, though not his friend, had still reposed a degree of confidence in him: curious, however, to discover the contents of the papers, he broke the seals, and found all the projects and memorials relating to the conspiracy of which hitherto he had not the smallest knowledge. He had not time to read all the papers, but by casting his eye over them he saw sufficient to know that they contained nothing hostile to the king, nor, *in his opinion*, to the state; and finding the names of many persons of distinction, who would of course be brought into trouble were the papers discovered, he determined to commit them all to the flames.

When the chevalier was apprehended, he immediately acknowledged what he had done, and avowed the motive of his conduct. His candour, however, did not save him from prison, where he remained for a considerable time. On the news of his arrest, a marquis de

de Menil, of a different family, went in great haste to the duke of Orleans, to assure him that he was neither the relation nor the friend of the chevalier. "*So much the worse for you, Sir,*"—replied the prince—" *the chevalier de Menil is a man of honour*²³."

It must be acknowledged, to the honour of the regent, that all the persons confined, on account of this affair, were treated with great indulgence, except the duke and duchess of Maine. The latter, conveyed to Dijon in a hired chaise, had the mortification, on her arrival, to be kept waiting, till a room was prepared for her reception, as there was not one in the prison that was habitable. The duke of Maine experienced, at the castle of Dourlens, such cruel treatment, from a brutal gaoler, that his health was materially injured, and, indeed, he was so ill that the regent became extremely anxious to terminate a business that, for six months, had kept so many persons in suspense, and among them several men of the first families in the kingdom, whose imprisonment began to excite murmurs.

After having promised the public to furnish proofs of an *abominable conspiracy*; after having procured from all the parliaments in the kingdom a condemnation of the writings of Cellamare, as seditious, insolent, and calumnious, the horrid part of the plot remained still to be discovered. It appears that the advisers of the duke of Orleans, who had urged him to carry things to such extremities, were extremely anxious to establish the guilt of the duke of Maine; and they had recourse to the most unjustifiable measures to extort from the witnesses some charges against that prince, and to conceal what appeared in his favour. But this shameful partiality produced nothing that could criminate him in the smallest degree; on the contrary, his innocence, from the unanimous testimony of every person examined, appeared incontestible.

The regent, however, was determined not to release any of the persons that had been arrested, without a written confession, acknowledging they had not been unjustly detained, which he deemed necessary for his own justification. The duchess of Maine signed one of these, and all the rest followed her example; but it is remarkable that these declarations were precisely the same. Notwithstanding the vigilance of their gaolers and guards, the prisoners had found means of carrying on a correspondence with each other, of communicating their ideas, concerting their plans, and settling what they should discover and what conceal; so that all their confessions exactly tallied. The regent read them at the council, not that he thought they afforded proofs of the guilt of the parties, but as a kind of justification of the publicity which he had given to this affair.

The duchess of Maine had permission to return to Sceaux, where she expected to find her husband; but the duke, enraged at the imprisonment he had suffered through her

²³ Staal, tom. ii.

imprudence, refused to join her. After a short interval, however, he became reconciled to her, as did also the duke of Orleans, who said, when the duchess of Maine attempted to explain matters—" *Every thing is forgotten*;"—and his subsequent conduct proved that he had spoken the truth.

The Spanish minister has been accused of betraying a want of skill in the formation and combination of his plan; but it is probable that his failure was only owing to his having conceived it too late. If he had put it in execution at the time when the duke of Maine was superintendant of the king's education; and if the duke of Maine would have concurred in it, and have taken the young monarch, of whose motions he was then master, to the parliament, escorted by the principal nobility, partisans of the old government, or discontented with the new; if, at the same time, a Spanish fleet had appeared on the coasts, and a Spanish army on the frontiers; and the fermentation of the capital had been skilfully propagated throughout the provinces; it cannot be doubted but that the regent would have been thrown into the greatest embarrassment, and success might, probably, have justified the hazardous plan of Alberoni.

The detection of this conspiracy tended to accelerate the declaration of war against Spain, which took place at the commencement of the year 1719; when the first hostile operations of Lewis the Fifteenth were directed against his uncle, whom Lewis the Fourteenth had, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, established on his throne. Alberoni continued to keep France in a state of alarm, by his preparations for the invasion of England; and by forming connections with some of the nobility of Brittany, who were to deliver up to him several places that would enable him to keep the whole coast in awe, and to prevent the regent from sending succours to his allies. The duke of Orleans, meanwhile, sent an army into Roussillon, under the command of marechal Berwick, who had orders to penetrate into Spain; and, at the same time, published a manifesto, in which he declared that his attempts were solely directed against the Spanish minister, who was an enemy to the repose of Europe.

Some new discoveries were continually made of the effects of Alberoni's intrigues, which occasioned greater anxiety than the publick were aware of. The regent established at Nantes a chamber of justice, for the purpose of trying several of the nobles whom the Spanish minister had stimulated to excite an insurrection in Brittany. Four of them suffered decapitation; the rest escaped, and the tranquillity of the province was preserved. The French ministry, by dint of negociation, found means to detach from their alliance with Spain all the northern powers; and, in order to render fruitless any assistance which the Turks, whom Alberoni had also engaged to espouse his cause, might be tempted to afford him, they determined to push the war with vigour in the Spanish dominions; to penetrate into the centre of the kingdom, and thus to compel the court of Spain to abandon her minister.

This

This plan was attended with success. Their Catholic majesties no sooner found that hostilities were seriously commenced, that Fontarabia and Saint Sebastian were already reduced, and Catalonia threatened, than they consented to sue for peace. The conditions imposed by the regent were precisely the same with those of the quadruple alliance, by which it was stipulated;—That the emperor should renounce his pretensions to the crown of Spain, and acknowledge Philip the Fifth as the lawful sovereign of the Spanish dominions in Europe, and the New World; that the Catholic king should, on his part, renounce, in favour of the emperor, the states that had been dismembered from the Spanish monarchy, both in Italy and the Netherlands; that Sicily and Sardinia should be ceded to the emperor, who should bestow the latter on the duke of Savoy: that if the dukes of Tuscany and Parma should happen to die without male heirs, the eldest son of the king of Spain by his second wife, and, in default of him, his other sons by that princess, and their male heirs, should inherit those duchies; and that the king of Spain should be at liberty to secure this inheritance by immediately sending an army of six thousand men, *not Spaniards*, into those territories. There was a secret article, by which Philip the Fifth confirmed his renunciation of the crown of France. Anquetil is of opinion that there was a second article of a still more secret nature, by which the king of England promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain ²⁹.

One of the principal conditions of the peace was the disgrace of Alberoni. This prelate, possessed of the true talents of a minister, though, apparently, so foreign from his education and birth ³⁰, shewed, during the short period of his administration, what might be expected from the efforts of Spain when governed by an able minister. He wished to serve Philip as Richelieu had served *his* sovereign; but neither the time, the circumstances, nor the master, was the same ³¹. Forced to leave Spain, he traversed the fron-

²⁹ The facts which M. Anquetil advances in support of this opinion, must, if their authenticity be admitted, be deemed unanswerable. They are as follows—On the tenth of March 1727, the pope's nuncio at Madrid wrote to inform the nuncio at Paris that the king of Spain accepted a suspension, for two years, of the commerce of Ostend, as proposed by the emperor, *but, at the same time, he demanded the restitution of Gibraltar, maintaining that the king of England had promised him to restore it.* Villars, tom. iii. p. 281.

On the second of November 1727, the count of Rotembourg, the French ambassador at Madrid, relates that the queen of Spain complained very much of the severe treatment Spain had experienced from England, *and speaking of Gibraltar, she asked the king for the key of a small box out of which she took an original letter of the king of England, in which he promised to restore Gibraltar.* Villars, tom. iii. p. 351.

If this be true, the assertion of our historians that, by a secret article of the treaty, Philip made an absolute cession of Gibraltar to the English crown, must be false; and a gross breach of faith must have been committed. The acknowledged perseverance of Philip in demanding the restitution of that fortress, certainly seems to confirm the facts above mentioned.

³⁰ He was the son a gardiner of Piacenza, where he followed the occupation of his father till he had attained the age of fourteen.

³¹ *Essais D'Argenson*, p. 144.

tiers of France, accompanied by an officer, whom the regent had ordered, not to pay him honour, but to guard him as a prisoner. Genoa refused to afford him an asylum; Rome also rejected him; and he was reduced to the necessity of concealing himself, for some years, in the dominions of the emperor; whence he was, at length, taken by the pope, who appointed him his legate in Romagna.

About this time Dubois, whose exaltation was still more extraordinary than that of Alberoni, extorted, from the culpable facility of the regent, an appointment to the archbishoprick of Cambrai. Law, about the same time, changed his religion; and people remarked, on the occasion, that the consecration of the first could no more convert him into a good prelate, than the abjuration of the latter could make him a good Catholic. Law's object was to enable the regent to place him at the head of the finances without exciting murmurs among the people ³².

But the reign of this enterprising speculator was nearly at an end, and the most violent convulsions marked the period of his political dissolution. We have already observed that at the first opening of the bank the French hastened to exchange their solid cash for paper security, which cash was devoted to the purpose of buying up, at an immense advantage, the notes which had been issued by the government. As these notes, from the vast quantity of them that were bought up, began to disappear; the opportunity of employing the bank paper to advantage was in a great measure lost; but Law, whose fertile brain was seldom at a loss for resources, devised another expedient for renewing that opportunity: this was, to lower the value of the current coin, while the notes issued by the bank were always to retain their first value; thus people were induced to carry their money, the value of which was diminishing, to the bank, and to receive in exchange notes which, they conceived, were in no danger of losing their original value; when the ministry, alarmed at the rapid fall of money, produced by this means, had recourse to an edict for enhancing its value, people then shut it up in their desks as a precious article, and it there remained in a state of inactivity, until, depreciated by a new edict, it was again carried to the bank.

The enormous and rapid fortunes that were made, during the prevalence of this infatuation, excited a kind of phrenzy in the minds of the publick, that it would be difficult to describe. There were instances of individuals, beginning with a single bank note, who in the course of a few weeks, by a combination of skill and good luck, in the management of this alluring traffic, found themselves in possession of millions; the *Rue*

³²In the fragments of letters, written by Madame de Baviere, mother to the regent, we find that Lewis the Fourteenth would have accepted the proffered services of Law, in the department of the finances; but, as he was not a Catholic, the *charitable* monarch said no confidence could be placed in him.



Jones Fecit

LE DUC D'ANTIN,

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Quinquempoix, a long and narrow street, became, for what reason is not known, the rendezvous of the brokers and speculators, and the theatre of their rage. Servants, who, on the Monday, had come thither *behind* the carriages of their masters, were seen to return, on the Saturday, *within* them³³. The croud was so great that many persons were crushed to death. Never was the *Auri sacra fames* known to rage with so much violence as at Paris, during this period.—But the French were always in extremes.

All commerce and society ceased in the metropolis. The artisan in his shop; the merchant in his counting-house; the magistrate and man of letters in their study;—were all exclusively occupied with gambling speculations in the funds. As on the news of the day their gain or loss depended, the first question they asked, on meeting an acquaintance in the street, before the usual salutations of politeness were interchanged, was—“What news?—How are the stocks³⁴?” This was the only subject of conversation in the fashionable circles, and gaming was now totally confined to the bank.

One of the worst effects of that worst of passions, avarice, was the spirit of cruelty and injustice which it engendered. The ties of blood and of friendship proved insufficient to restrain a man from promoting the ruin of his friend, when his own interest was concerned in the event, and an early knowledge of a fall of the stocks too frequently offered an opportunity to the rapacious to impose on the credulous and unsuspecting. Hence suicides, assassinations, and all the crimes that avarice and despair can produce, became prevalent.

While the bank appeared in the most prosperous situation, and the holders of bills, exulting in the wisdom which had led them to exchange their cash for notes, were feeding themselves with the hopes of obtaining immense fortunes, an edict was published, on the twentieth of May, 1720, at a time when it was least expected, which reduced the company's actions to one half the price which they then bore³⁵. This measure was deemed

³³ In the *Mémoires* of the Regency (tom. ii. p. 31) we are told, it was sufficient to approach this *lucky* street, in order to make a fortune. A hump-backed man, gained, in a short time, upwards of fifty thousand livres, by *letting* his hump, as a writing desk, (for which purpose, it seems its shape was peculiarly well calculated) to those who wanted to sign their names in the street, for the transfer of notes, or other purposes relating to their traffic.

³⁴ The following curious anecdote is related by Madame de Baviere.—Chirac, a celebrated physician, as he was going to the house of a lady, who had sent for him in a great hurry, received intelligence that the stocks had fallen: having a considerable property embarked in the Mississippi scheme, the news made so strong an impression on his mind, that, while he was feeling his patient's pulse, he exclaimed, “Good heavens how they fall! lower, lower, lower!”—The lady, in alarm, flew to the bell, crying out:—“I am dying, M. de Chirac says that my pulse get lower and lower, so that it is impossible that I should live.”—You are dreaming, madam”—replied the physician, rousing himself from his reverie—“your pulse are very good, and nothing ails you; it was the stocks I was talking of, for I am a great loser by their fall.

³⁵ *Mém. de la Regence*, tom. ii. p. 402—tom. iii. p. 5.—Villars tom. iii. p. 430.

necessary to check that publick enthusiasm and credulity, by which Law had profited, in order to put into circulation notes to a much greater amount than all the money in the bank could possibly discharge. Villars, says there were eight thousand millions of paper in circulation. This unexpected blow dispelled the national delusion: confidence and hope were now succeeded by fears and reflections of the most mortifying nature, and the fabric which credit had raised was destroyed by doubt. The parliament presented remonstrances on the subject which the regent received with an appearance of favour: he even accepted the resignation of Law, who had, in a moment, become the object of publick execration: but the next day he was again placed at the head of the bank and of the finances.

The remonstrances of the parliament, however, and the reasons by which they were supported, opened the eyes of the nation; and gave a mortal wound to the new system. In vain did Law exert all the resources which his genius could supply, and the regent all his authority, to restore the confidence of the publick; all their efforts proved fruitless. New money was coined inferior in value to the old, and the circulation of all other rigorously prohibited; but the orders that were issued to carry all the old coin to the mint were generally disregarded. Every person was forbidden to keep more than five hundred livres, in cash, in his house; but this prohibition only tended to convince the people of the necessity of not parting with their money. As a large sum, from its bulk, exposed its possessor to the danger of detection, numbers of persons converted their money into pearls and diamonds; this also was forbidden, though not prevented, by an edict. In vain too was a fresh allurements holden out to the public by giving to the notes their original value; the charm was dispelled, and nobody would receive them.

Individuals found, in the diminution of their fortunes, the most powerful motives for no longer suffering themselves to be deluded by chimerical advantages; and they were farther stimulated to remain on their guard by the resistance of the parliament, who refused to register the edicts presented by the ministry in support of the system. Harassed by these obstacles, which impeded the motion of his machine, Law obtained from the regent a sentence of banishment against the parliament, who were, accordingly, sent in exile to Pontoise on the second of July. A multitude of edicts, declarations and arrêts of the council of finance then appeared, to fix the price of the precious metals, to restrain the use of plate and trinkets, to augment the current cash, and to enforce a variety of regulations with regard to the receipt of notes and the keeping of accompts at the bank. In short, no less than three-and-thirty edicts of this kind, some of which were contradictory to others, were issued in the course of eight months: a sure proof of the embarrassment of those who had recourse to a measure at once so violent and so inefficient. The persons who had enriched themselves by successful speculations in the stocks, foreseeing the approaching storm, hastened to escape with their wealth into foreign countries; and many of them retired to England and Holland.

In

In the midst of these doubts and distresses, the regent, in October, 1720, circulated a summary account, in which he informed the public, that since the death of Lewis the Fourteenth he had paid off seventeen hundred and twenty-two millions, two hundred and forty-nine thousand, two hundred and twenty-nine livres of the national debt. But as, during this interval of five years, no new treasures had been discovered; the lands had not produced a double or triple quantity of grain; no showers of pearls and diamonds, as in the times of the Fairies, had fallen from the clouds; no extensive system of economy had been adopted; no new discoveries in industry or commerce, which could draw to France the wealth of other nations, had been made; it follows, of course, that the nation had drawn this immense sum from its own substance. The diminution of the national debt, by such base means, was an injury done to every citizen, who, by fraud, artifice, or seduction, had been induced to resign his securities for the sums he had advanced to the government in the hour of distress; though it must certainly be allowed that the sufferings which proceed from avarice are less entitled to compassion than such as flow from a more honourable source.

The kingdom exhibited a most dreadful scene, after the destruction of the bank had effectually dispelled the delusion, which had not been confined solely to the capital, but had spread with incredible rapidity over the provinces. Marseilles and a part of Provence had been ravaged by a destructive pestilence; and a dreadful conflagration had just reduced to ashes one half of the city of Rennes. The regent, who was unjustly accused of encouraging these disasters, in order to divert the minds of the people from other objects, exhorted the bishops, in a circular letter, to contribute to the relief of the sufferers by charitable collections in their respective dioceses: the answer he received from the bishop of Castres, will convey some idea of the situation of the kingdom:

“ All my exertions in favour of the families who have suffered by the plague have
 “ only produced, in my diocese, one hundred pistoles in money, and five thousand livres
 “ in notes. The inundation of these bills has done almost as much mischief in these
 “ cantons, as the flames in Brittany. If the sight is not so dreadful, the effects are
 “ scarcely less fatal. Our evils are more concealed, but they are not less real; indeed
 “ they are, on that account, the more incurable. What avails it that our houses have
 “ not been reduced to ashes, if, of all the necessities of life nothing remains but an ar-
 “ ticle that is only fit to be thrown into the fire?

“ What a change have these notes effected, in the space of six months, in fortunes
 “ that appeared to be the most firmly established! It is impossible to conceive it
 “ without seeing it, and it is impossible to see it without being overwhelmed with
 “ grief. No longer is any commerce, any labour, any confidence, to be found, either
 “ in industry, in prudence, in friendship, or even in charity itself. Commerce, from the
 “ total interruption it has experienced, renders industry either inactive or useless. The
 “ destruction

“ destruction of confidence has either destroyed friendship or suspended its effects, by
 “ persuading individuals, that prudence requires they should, in future, give credit to
 “ no one, nor lend money either to their friends or relations. Charity, ever ingenious,
 “ can now find no object for the exertion of her ingenuity, but the discovery of ex-
 “ treme want where she had always been accustomed to meet with resources; reduced
 “ to weep with those who weep, without finding any one to rejoice with, or discover-
 “ ing the means of drying the tears of the poor and afflicted. These”—adds the pre-
 late—“ are not exaggerations; they are the simple narration of a truth known to
 “ every one³⁶.”

This representation of existing misery, experienced by the whole kingdom, affords a convincing proof that the extinction of so large a debt could not enrich the state, as some authors have asserted, and as the regent himself appears to have believed, unless the *state* be distinguished from the members of which it is composed. But the evils produced by the new system, evils of greater consequence than temporary distress, were an unbounded luxury which pervaded all ranks of people; the desertion of the country, from the hope of acquiring wealth with rapidity in the towns; an excessive rise in the price of labour, and of every article of provision; and, what was worse than all, the love of money—which stifles every generous sentiment, and corrupts all the nobler principles of the mind—substituted for the love of honour and of virtue.

It is worthy of remark that Law, who had been the principal means of reducing the kingdom to this dreadful situation, did not profit by the wealth he had accumulated, during the first rage for speculation. Become an object of indignation to the public, he was protected by the regent from the fury of the populace, who repeatedly threatened his life; and he, at length, effected his escape to Flanders, whence he afterwards repaired to Venice, where he passed the remainder of his days, in a state but little removed from indigence.

A. D. 1720, 1721, 1722.] As soon as this storm had ceased, it was natural to suppose that a perfect calm would ensue by the immediate recal of the parliament; but the clouds which had obscured the political hemisphere, though separating, were not yet dispelled; and that company was still menaced with the thunder of sovereign power.

It had been the intention of Lewis the Fourteenth to make the parliament register the bull *Unigenitus* as a law of the realm, but he died at the very time he had fixed for the execution of his project, which, during the regency, was sometimes pursued with vigour, and sometimes wholly neglected; at length, however, the duke of Orleans deter-

³⁶ Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 203, 204, 206.

mined to bring this affair to a conclusion. He had long pressed the cardinal de Noailles to issue a *mandement*, expressive of his acceptance of the bull. The prelate promised to comply as soon as the parliament should have registered, and the parliament refused to register until the archbishop of Paris should have published his *mandement*. This conduct seemed to indicate a collusion between the parties which greatly displeased the regent, who took the resolution of banishing the parliament to a greater distance from the capital, and to transfer them from Pontoise to Blois. This resolution would certainly have been enforced, but for the interposition of mareschal Villars, who persuaded the cardinal to issue his *mandement*; after which the parliament made no farther difficulty, and were suffered to return to Paris, on the twentieth of December, 1721.

The regent was induced to pursue this affair with much so warmth, from the strenuous solicitations of Dubois, who, since his promotion to the see of Cambrai, had cherished a desire to attain the dignity of cardinal, and, with that view, neglected nothing which he thought might tend to gratify the pope³⁷. It is probable, too, that the duke of Orleans had only supported the interests of his ancient preceptor from an anxiety to see him in possession of a dignity that might justify the transfer of the burden of government, of which he seemed heartily tired, to one who was extremely desirous of bearing the weight³⁸.

The care of assuaging that distraction which the project of Law had excited was entrusted by the regent to Pelletier-de-la-Houffaye, who was appointed comptroller-general of the finances. The first step that was taken towards the re-establishment of order, was to issue an injunction to all holders of bills to attend at offices fixed for the purpose, in order to prove that their bills had been received in exchange for some *real* property. The notes were then stamped, and all such as had not this mark of validity immediately fell in value to such a degree, that a bill of one thousand livres sold only for sixty-three or sixty-four, and, in a short time, was worth nothing.

The inconveniences arising from this mode of proceeding are obvious. In the first place it must have been highly disagreeable to the holders of bills to be reduced to the necessity of declaring that they had sold the inheritance of their fathers. Then such as had received the notes in exchange for merchandize or furniture, being excluded from the benefits of this regulation, were left in possession of paper without value. Even with regard to the stock-brokers, by profession, it was an act of flagrant injustice to deprive them of the fruits of their industry, by a formal edict. Nay, the injustice was carried still farther, for many of them having presented themselves at the offices with their notes, the ministers not only refused to stamp them, but kept the notes: others, too, received

³⁷ Villars, tom. ii. p. 455.—Fragment de Lettres Originales, tom. ii. p. 262.

³⁸ Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 211.

orders, under pain of confiscation, to take to the bank a certain quantity of bills to be thrown into the fire. Troops were sent to the houses of such as refused to obey, their gold and plate were seized, and several of them were thrown into prison.

Hence it is evident, that the advantages of this operation were confined to the government, who, by that means, got rid of a vast number of notes which they must otherwise have paid; and that it only proved useful to some few individuals, whose circumstances had constrained them to convert their real property into paper. Nor was the business conducted with that justice and impartiality which ought invariably to mark all public proceedings. The clerks received bribes to admit persons to a participation of the advantages whence they were formally excluded by the regulation of the *Visa*—for so this operation was denominated. The most opulent holders of bills, disdaining the interest of subordinate agents, made a direct application to the favourites of the regent, and “ offered them millions to protect the remainder of their property, which they promised and performed ³⁹.” But the duke of Orleans himself, who, by holding in his own hands the balance of the system, had an opportunity of acquiring immense wealth, reaped not the smallest advantage from it: by which disinterested conduct he differed materially from the other princes of the blood, the origin of whose extensive property may be traced to this period.

Towards the end of the summer of 1721, Lewis the Fifteenth was seized with a violent fit of sickness that excited the most serious apprehensions for his life, and afforded an opportunity to the enemies of the regent to propagate a suspicion that the young monarch had been poisoned. But the foul calumny was amply confuted, as well by the prudent conduct of the duke of Orleans, during this trying emergency, as by his known disposition, which prevented him from ever forming a wish to wear the crown ⁴⁰. The youth of the king successfully resisted the attacks of the disease; and soon after his recovery he gave the cardinal's hat to the archbishop of Cambrai, who had just been promoted to that dignity. In the letter which the sovereign pontiff wrote to the king on the occasion, he said, that he had honoured that prelate with the purple, on account of the important services which he had rendered to the church, to the peace of which he was one of those who had contributed in the greatest degree. Such was the point of view under which the conduct of Dubois was considered at Rome; but, in France, where his defects and his vices were generally known, because he did not even take the trouble to conceal them, it was agreed, that the sacred college had covered itself with shame by the admission of such a member.

But before the duke of Orleans resigned the reins of government into the hands of

³⁹ Mémoires de la Régence, tom. iii. p. 70, 78.—Villars, tom. iii. p. 523, 549.—Saint Pierre, p. 672.—Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 212, 213, 214. ⁴⁰ Mém. de la Reg. tom. iii. p. 119.—Saint Simon, tom. v. p. 23.—Staal, tom. i. p. 269.

this unworthy prelate, he concluded a double marriage between the king and the infanta of Spain, and the prince of the Asturias and his own daughter, Mademoiselle de Montpensier. In this last alliance the ages of the parties were well-proportioned, since the prince had completed his fourteenth year, and the princess was far advanced in her twelfth; but the case was different in the first, the infanta being only in her fifth year, and Lewis in his thirteenth. As no offspring could, for a long time, be expected to issue from this connection, it was remarked, with more malice than truth, that the regent had displayed his skill, in assuring to his daughter the crown of Spain, while he prolonged his own hopes to that of France. It would, perhaps, have been more politic, and certainly not less proper, to marry Mademoiselle de Montpensier to the king by which means those inconveniences would have been avoided which followed these marriages, one of which was never completed, while the other proved a source of unhappiness. It was agreed that the infanta should be conveyed to France to be educated; and the duke de Saint Simon was appointed to repair to the frontiers to witness the exchange of the two princesses, and then to proceed to the court of Madrid to represent the regent at the ceremony of his daughter's marriage.

A. D. 1722, 1723.] This matter being settled, the next object to which the regent directed his attention was the promotion of cardinal Dubois to the post of prime minister; an appointment which excited the astonishment of the nation, but for which the abbé de Saint Pierre has accounted in a rational manner. "Many persons"—says that author—"have been surprized at his promotion, when they recollected his birth, his defects, and his want of probity: they knew him to be choleric, envious, addicted to scandal and calumny; a debauchee, and a signal cheat, even to the prejudice of his friends; but they did not reflect that he possessed a great degree of penetration in discovering the weak side of a man, and a great degree of skill in profiting by such discovery."

"They did not reflect that he slept but very little; that he never read; that he neither took delight in the pleasures of the table nor in conversation, and that, consequently, he had four times as much leisure as other men, perpetually to think on the augmentation of his fortune, on the obstacles he had to encounter, and the means he possessed of removing them."

"They did not reflect that an ardent mind, with more leisure than other men possess, who has only one object in view, finds twenty times more expedients for attaining it; and they were not aware that one who is destitute of friendship, gratitude, and probity, is not stopped by those impediments which effectually obstruct the progress of the just man."

"They did not reflect that an individual, whose fortune depends on his management of one man, perpetually surrounded by his spies; who is never disgusted at any rebuffs
" he

“ he experiences, but suffers every thing with patience ; who is determined to perse-
 “ vere, with resolution and constancy, in the attainment of his object ; who has the op-
 “ portunity of ruining, in the mind of his master, by ridicule or calumny, all those
 “ who approach him, soon becomes master himself.

“ If those who expressed their astonishment at his elevation, had made these reflections,
 “ they would, on the contrary, have seen, that, by the usual laws of Providence, it
 “ was impossible, with such qualities, that he should not dispose of the whole authority
 “ of his old pupil. Cardinal Alberoni was his rival in fortune, his equal in birth and
 “ talents ; but Alberoni had a greater knowledge of business than of men, Dubois a
 “ greater knowledge of men than of business. Hence it was that Alberoni, from want
 “ of a sufficient number of spies, was dismissed, and that Dubois, by making himself
 “ necessary, rendered his dismissal impossible ⁴¹.”

The regent was fully aware of the cardinal's defects, but his own aversion from the restraints which the duties of his station necessarily imposed on him, and the extreme facility of his disposition, which made him dislike to refuse even where reason and justice forbade to comply, proved favourable to the ambition of Dubois, who was formally appointed prime-minister, on the twenty-second of August, 1722, and as such presented to the king by the duke of Orleans. His conduct, however, in the discharge of this arduous office, greatly exceeded the expectations of the public ; for we are told, by marshal Villars, that, the moment he had no other interest to consult than that of the state, he appeared to be entirely devoted to it, courting the friendship and approbation of virtuous men, and expressing a determination to inflict punishment on those of a contrary description ⁴².

Two months after the promotion of Dubois, the king was crowned at Rheims, and on the second of February following, his majority was formally declared by the parliament. On the morning of that day, when the duke of Orleans went to compliment the young monarch, he asked him what orders he pleased to give with regard to some persons who had been banished ; Lewis replied—“ *I have banished nobody.*” The exiles were of course recalled ; and, some days after, the legitimated princes were restored to the possession of all their honours and prerogatives, excepting the right of succeeding to the crown ; an exception that excited great discontent ⁴³.

Every thing now succeeded to the wishes of the cardinal. The regulations he introduced into the different parts of the government were approved by the public, and he

⁴¹ Saint Pierre, p. 673.
 Regence, tom. ii. p. 201.

⁴² Villars, tom. iii. p. 80.

⁴³ Saint Pierre, p. 682.—Mémoires de la

had reason to flatter himself with the pleasing idea that his administration would prove beneficial to the kingdom, when an old disorder, which had long lain dormant, broke out with great violence at the beginning of August, 1723. It was an abscess in a part where similar attacks generally prove fatal. The danger being imminent, the necessity of an immediate surgical operation was declared; but the cardinal refused to submit, till the disorder had made too great a progress, and, a mortification ensuing, he expired on the tenth of August, in the sixty-seventh year of his age⁴³. He left, besides plate, furniture, and jewels, to a considerable amount, eleven hundred thousand livres in ready money; all of which fell to his brother, a canon of Saint Honoré, a man of excellent character, who devoted a part of the money to the erection of an elegant mausoleum in the church of Saint Honoré, where the remains of the cardinal were deposited, and disposed of the rest in acts of charity.

The riches which the cardinal left at his death will not appear surprizing, when the extent of his revenue is considered. He received from the archbishoprick of Cambrai one hundred and twenty thousand livres per annum; from the abbey of Nogent-sous-Coucy, ten thousand; that of Saint Just, ten thousand; Airvaux, twelve thousand; Bourgueil, twelve thousand; Berg Saint Vinoux, sixty thousand; and Cercamp, twenty thousand. His post of prime minister produced him an income of one hundred and fifty thousand livres; that of superintendent of the posts, an hundred thousand; and his pension from England was nine hundred and sixty thousand. Two other pensions amounted to fifty thousand. So that his annual income was fifteen hundred and four thousand livres, upwards of sixty-two thousand six hundred pounds sterling. It was his intention, had he lived, to add to his other numerous church preferments the abbies of Prémontré, Cîteaux, and Chiny, with many others, so as to execute the project of Richelieu, by becoming a kind of patriarch in France⁴⁴.

A. D. 1723.] Immediately after the death of Dubois, the duke of Orleans took the post of prime minister, and reassumed the reins of government. It was remarked that he hastened to recall all the courtiers whom the persuasions of the cardinal had induced him to banish; and that, quitting, in a great measure, his former habits of life, he applied himself, with great diligence, to the duties of his station. A material difference was found between the two ministers. The duke of Orleans was patient, affable, and complaisant: he attended to all applications with an air of goodness that delighted those who made them; and the uneasiness he evinced when unable to comply with a request tended to console the persons who suffered by his refusal⁴⁵. His look, though piercing, was mild and flattering; and his manners were amiable and insinuating. Thus, not-

⁴³ Mémoires de la Regence, tom. iii. p. 305.—Saint Simon, tom. v. p. 284.

⁴⁴ Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 256.

⁴⁵ Mémoires de la Regence, tom. iii. p. 309.—Saint Pierre, p. 684.—Saint Simon, tom. ii. p. 147. tom. v. p. 382.

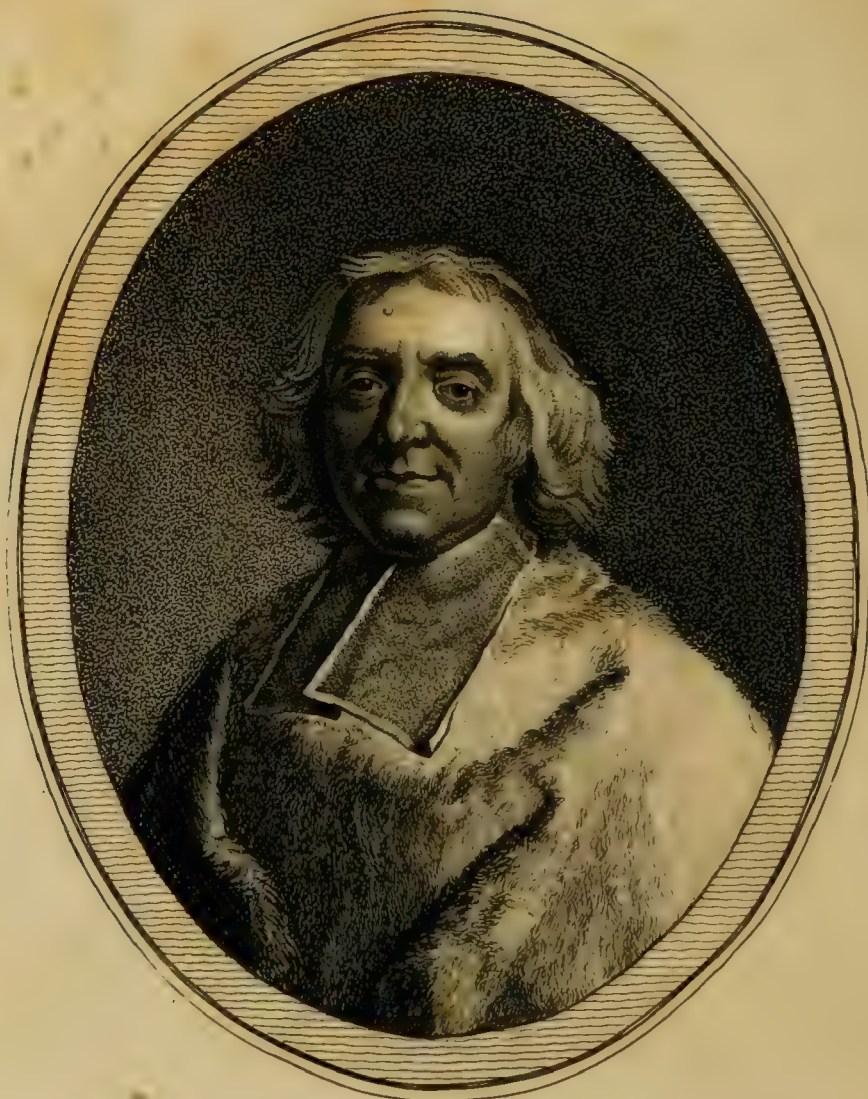
withstanding the calamities occasioned by the destructive system that proved the ruin of so many persons, he was not only beloved, but *adored* by the Parisians; who crowded round his carriage whenever he left or returned to the Palais-Royal, where he resided; and flocked to the public places in hopes of procuring a sight of him ⁴⁶. The foreign ministers spoke highly of his politeness and attention; they admired the solidity of his understanding; his penetration; his prudence and address in political matters; his exquisite discernment; the facility with which he *unravelled* affairs the most intricate; his neatness in explaining, his reserve in interrogating, and his finesse in replying. The young king, moved by the respect he invariably shewed him, by his attention to please him, by his frankness, and by the enlivening manner in which he conveyed instruction, never spoke of him but with esteem and affection.

Unhappily for the kingdom, for the promotion of whose welfare and happiness his efforts were now successfully directed, this prince enjoyed his post but a short time. On the second of December, 1723, he was seized with an apoplexy, which instantly deprived him of his senses, and, in six hours, put an end to his life.

A. D. 1724, 1725.] On the death of the duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed, by the youthful monarch, to the hands of the duke of Bourbon-Condé, who possessed none of the qualifications requisite to form the prime-minister of an extensive empire. The attention he had ever paid to his own affairs, might, indeed, have led a superficial observer to imagine that he could manage, with equal ability, the affairs of the state; while the immense fortune he possessed might superinduce a belief that he had a mind superior to all considerations of self-interest. But these appearances were deceitful, and the duke's conduct soon proved him unworthy of his station. The first act, by which he sought to signalize his administration, was the publication (on the fourteenth of March, 1724), of a rigorous edict against the Protestants and other sectaries, who were prohibited, under the severest penalties, from all exercise of their religion, and enjoined to bring up their children in the established faith of the realm; the property of relapsed heretics was declared to be confiscated; and the memory of such as should die without having received the sacraments of the church was dishonoured.

The publication of this edict was calculated to revive those religious animosities, which had so long desolated the kingdom, but the total extinction of which an interval of tranquillity and submission, on the part of the persecuted Calvinists, for a period of eight years, had tended strongly to confirm. This conduct afforded a striking contrast to that of the late regent, whose exertions had invariably been directed to suppress the rage of the clergy, and to moderate the violence of the parliament, on matters of religion; and

⁴⁶ Anquetil, tom. iv. p. 260.



Jones Fecit.

CARDINAL FLEURY,

Engraved as the Act Directs by C. Towns March 2^d 1793

who even pardoned sixty-eight Protestants who had been sentenced to the galleys, and gave them full permission to leave the kingdom, and retire wherever they pleased.

While the duke, by the adoption of a measure thus violent, impolitic, and unnecessary, disgusted all men of sense and moderation, he contrived to excite the indignation of the people by imposing a new tax, of one fifteenth part of the produce of all property whatever, which, in the time of peace, was considered as a burden equally onerous and superfluous. Lewis, meanwhile, is said to have exhibited symptoms of aversion from his destined bride; and the people, from the extreme youth of the princess, finding no hopes of a speedy consummation of the marriage, began to be apprehensive that the kingdom might be exposed, by a disputed succession, to the calamities of civil war. Such, at least, were the ostensible motives urged by the minister for sending back the infant; an insult which so irritated the queen of Spain, that she would probably have resented it by open hostilities, had she not already been engaged in a dispute with the empire.

A. D. 1726 to 1729.] These were the only political events that characterized the short and languid administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. He soon after received a *lettre-de-cachet*, dismissing him from his post, and enjoining him to retire to Chantilly, while the helm of government was submitted to the direction of cardinal Fleury. At the age of seventy-three, that prelate devoted the remains of a life, which had hitherto bidden defiance to the shafts of calumny, to the ungrateful toils that attend ministerial power; and, at a period when the most ambitious seek repose, impelled by the love of his country, he entered the lists of fame.

Fleury was highly distinguished for his simplicity and modesty, and had with reluctance exposed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court: he had been appointed, in the former reign, to the bishoprick of Frejus, a see in a distant and disagreeable country; and he was so disgusted with the situation, that he soon after subscribed a familiar letter to cardinal Quirini, "Fleury, by divine indignation, bishop of Frejus." But in that station he practised the same rigid economy which he afterwards displayed in a more exalted state; and though the see of Frejus, at the time of his nomination, was considerably burthened with debts, he resigned it clear and unincumbered. The state of his health was the pretence for his resignation, and candour will excuse the harmless deceit which enabled him to relinquish a dignity so many anxiously sought after. The solicitations of marshal Villeroi prevailed on Lewis the Fourteenth to appoint Fleury, by a codicil in his will, preceptor to his infant grandson; a post, the possession of which would have proved highly flattering to an ambitious mind, though to Fleury it proved the cause of regret, excited, as he says in a letter to Quirini, by the loss of his liberty.

But though he had displayed an unwillingness to accept this important trust, he nevertheless discharged it with unwearied diligence, and fidelity unimpeached. With a mind

superior to the intrigues of a court, he disdained the cabals which a minority foster, and endeavoured to form the mind of his royal pupil to business, to secrecy, and to probity ⁴⁷. The regent, though licentious himself, saw and approved the virtues which he neglected to imitate; the esteem of the public was added to the regard of the prince; and his amiable and prudent disposition excited the universal wish of France to see him at the head of affairs.

With this wish the gratitude of Lewis induced him to concur; and cardinal Fleury, while he rejected the invidious title of prime-minister, ruled the kingdom with absolute authority. His first care was to provide for his sovereign a suitable alliance, in lieu of that which had been recently dissolved.

Stanislaus Leszczinski had been raised to the throne of Poland by the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, in whose calamities he participated after the defeat of Pultowa. The nobility of Poland had recognized their former sovereign, Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom the Swedish king had impelled to relinquish the throne, and to retire within his electoral dominions. Stanislaus bore his misfortunes with the firmness of a philosopher and the resignation of a Christian, and continued to cultivate, in a private station, the virtues he had displayed on the throne. His daughter Mary, who still retained the title of princess, was chosen, by the cardinal, to share the bed of Lewis; and their nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. The new queen was not endowed with those personal charms that are calculated to make a strong impression on the bosom of a youthful king; but she possessed, in an eminent degree, those mental qualifications which, when adorned with piety and meekness, cannot fail to extort esteem. The birth of a dauphin, the fruits of their union, established the peaceable succession to the crown, and excited the greatest joy throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1729 to 1732.] The pacific disposition of Fleury corresponded with the immediate welfare of France; he quietly left the kingdom to repair its losses, and enrich itself by the advantages of an extensive commerce, without making any innovation; and treated the state like a strong and robust body, which recovers by the vigour of its own constitution.

A. D. 1733.] But anxious as the cardinal was for the preservation of peace, on which the welfare of the nation so essentially depended, his efforts were in vain exerted for the prevention of a war, occasioned by a vacancy on the throne of Poland, which tended to create fresh troubles in Europe. Augustus died at Warsaw, at the end of January, and all the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The elec-

⁴⁷ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 275:

tor of Saxony, son to the late king, and Stanislaus, father-in-law to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia, espoused the interests of the Saxon; while Lewis supported the pretensions of Stanislaus. The foreign ministers at Warsaw immediately began to form intrigues among the electors; and the marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the Catholic dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the Imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland.

Lewis no sooner understood that a body of Imperial forces was encamped in Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and adopt measures for making an incursion into Germany, in case the Imperialists should enter Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador. As the day of election approached, the Imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered in their several declarations, by way of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels. The Russian general, Lasce, entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony, on the twenty-fifth day of August: prince Viesazowski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula, with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party.

The primate, nevertheless, proceeded to the election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king, and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. The opposite party, however, soon increased to ten thousand men, who protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. Stanislaus, conscious of his inability to cope with such formidable adversaries, retired, with the primate and the French ambassador, to Dantzick, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered upon terms: the foldiers and inhabitants then proceeded to plunder the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the residence of the Russian minister. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a Kolo at Grocow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen and proclaimed, by the bishop of Cracow, king of Poland, under the denomination of Augustus the Third, on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where, in their turn, they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

During these transactions, Lewis concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against the emperor. Manifestoes were reciprocally published

published by all the contracting powers. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of Fort Kehl, which, in a few days, was surrendered on capitulation; he then repassed the river, and returned to Versailles. The king of Sardinia, having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces, commanded by marechal Villars, and drove the Imperialists out of the Milanese. A powerful armament was, at the same time, detached to Italy by the Spaniards, who there invested the Imperial fortress of Aulæ, the garrison of which were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice expressed her determination to take no share in the disputes of Italy: the states-general signed a neutrality with Lewis, for the Austrian Netherlands; and the English councils seemed altogether pacific.

A. D. 1734.] In the ensuing campaign the joint forces of Russia and Saxony invested the city of Dantzick, in the hope of securing the person of Stanislaus. The town was strong; the garrison numerous; and, animated by the example of the French and Poles, made a gallant resistance. For some time they were supplied, by sea, with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May, a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men were landed from two French ships of war, and some transports, under fort Wechsefmunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted: they therefore re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. A larger number were afterwards landed at the same place, and attacked, with great intrepidity, the Russian entrenchments, with a view to force their way into the city: they were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of admiral Gordon, when the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechsefmunde was surrendered; the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic. Stanislaus escaped, in the disguise of a peasant, to Marienwarder, in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzick submitted to the dominion of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expences of the war to the Russian general, count de Munich, who had assumed the command, after the siege was begun. The Polish lords at Dantzick signed an oath of submission to Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva: there a council was holden in his presence. The recusant nobles took the oath he proposed; a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the king set out on his return to Dresden.

On the Rhine, the French arms bore down all resistance. The count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach; the duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Philippsburgh; while prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the twelfth day of June, the duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball; when the command devolved on the marquis D'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being, at length, joined by
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the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines, but found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack, and such precautions taken, that, with all his military talents, he could not relieve the besieged. Thus deprived of all hopes of relief, general Watgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions.

The allies were equally successful in Italy. The French army, commanded by marshal Villars, had orders to join that of the king of Sardinia, and to attempt the conquest of Lombardy. The good fortune of Villars did not forsake him in his old age; the gates of the towns were thrown open at his approach; but in undertaking a post of this importance he had rather consulted his zeal and his love of glory than his strength and ability. The excessive heat of the climate, joined to the bodily fatigue and mental exertions which his station required, had soon a visible effect on his health. The gallant veteran resigned, with reluctance, the command of his army, which devolved on the marquis de Coigny, and retired to Turin, where he died, in a few days, on the seventeenth of June, 1734.

The king of Sardinia appeared to regret Villars, though, in fact, he was not sorry to get rid of a man who incessantly tormented him by boasting of the extent of his capacity, and who, opposing all his schemes, was the better enabled to impede his operations, inasmuch as the French troops formed the principal part of the combined forces.

The marquis de Coigny and the count of Broglio, the two officers next in seniority to Villars, divided the command between them, and were soon after promoted to the dignity of marshals of France. They were both men of active dispositions, impetuous, and eager after glory, but less anxious to enforce discipline, than to gain the affections of their troops; qualified for the command of a small body, but incapable of directing the complicated movements of a large army; in other respects, attached to their country, and acting in concert for the good of the common cause. This, indeed, was strongly exemplified in their conduct at the battle of Parma, fought on the twenty-ninth of June, 1734, in which the Imperialists, commanded by the count de Merci, began the attack: victory long remained doubtful; the troops of the enemy displayed great valour, and threw the French into disorder; but at the moment when their general began to flatter himself that the day was his own, he received a wound that deprived him of life. Notwithstanding the utmost care was taken to conceal his death from the troops, they soon became acquainted with it, and immediately began to relax in their efforts; while the exertions of the combined forces, deriving additional vigour from this circumstance, turned the scale of victory, and drove the enemy off the field, with the loss of eight thousand men.

The reduction of Modena, by the marquis of Maillebois, was the immediate consequence of this victory. The prince of Wirtemberg, who had succeeded to the command
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of the Imperial army, dismayed by the late defeat, did not dare to attempt the relief of the town; but, like a skilful general, he profited by an error committed by marechal Broglio, and obtained a trifling advantage, more flattering to his vanity, than useful to the cause in which he was engaged. The armies had changed their position, and having both advanced towards Guastalla, ten thousand Imperialists drew up on the banks of the Secchia, within sight of a post occupied by the French. This post Broglio was strenuously solicited by his officers to reinforce; but he rejected their advice, and maintained that its natural strength was sufficient to protect it from insult. The enemy, aware of his neglect, forded the river in the night, put to the sword a small detachment that was left for the defence of the post, entered the French camp, and penetrated to the tent of the general, who, with difficulty, escaped in his shirt.

Marechal Broglio, impatient to revenge this insult, brought the enemy to action, in the plains of Guastalla, on the nineteenth of September: the Imperialists, after defending themselves with extraordinary courage, during eight hours, were totally defeated, and compelled to retire, with precipitation, to the opposite banks of the Po. The combined forces paid dear for this victory; they lost twelve hundred men, besides many officers of distinction, among whom was the marquis de Péze, colonel of the king's own regiment, and camp-marechal, a man of great merit. Five thousand of the Imperialists perished in the field, including the prince of Wirtemberg, generals Valpareze and Colminero, and many other persons of rank. The allies crossed the Po; the marquis de Maillebois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola, but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize, and rejoin the army, which retired under the walls of Cremona to wait for succours.

Great as were the disasters experienced by the emperor in Lombardy, his affairs in the kingdom of Naples were still in a worse situation. Urged by the repeated invitations of the Neapolitan nobility, the infant Don Carlos resolved to take possession of that territory. He began his march, in February, at the head of the Spanish forces; published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the count de Visconti, the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The duke de Montemart marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners.

Don Carlos, being proclaimed and acknowledged king of Naples, created the duke of Montemart duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom that

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were garrisoned with Imperial troops, and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand men, destined for this expedition, were landed in the road of Solanto, in the month of August, under the command of the new duke of Bitonto, who, being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the Imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards became possessed of the whole of the kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani.

During the operations of war, the ministry had framed several useful ordinances for restraining the luxury which prevailed in the army, by regulating the number of horses, carriages, and servants to be allowed to each officer. Some other regulations of a salutary tendency were also adopted; but, on the second of November, an edict of a different nature was published at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually employed, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who, being taken by surprise, and deprived of all communication with their friends, must have perished with cold and hunger, had they not been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris, as ambassador from the king of Great Britain, made such spirited remonstrances to the ministry upon this unprecedented outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to release the prisoners, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

A. D. 1735 to 1739.] An attempt, by England and Holland, to promote an accommodation between the belligerent powers, during the winter, having proved unsuccessful, the rival armies again prepared to take the field. The affairs of Poland, meanwhile, became more and more unfavourable to the interests of Stanislaus; for, though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother, the primate, after he had sustained a long imprisonment, and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince for his sovereign.

In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and completed the conquest of the island, almost without opposition; while the Imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was opened between France and

the house of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed, on the third of October, 1735, without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: that the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the duke of Lorraine: that the duchies of Lorraine and Bar should be allotted to king Stanislaus, and, after his death, be united to the crown of France: that the emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: that the king of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: that Don Carlos should be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elbu, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.

Although these preliminaries repaired the greater part of the losses sustained by the Spanish crown from the war of the succession and the peace of Utrecht, still Philip was discontented, and saw himself, with regret, deprived of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and of Tuscany, which he had hoped to preserve. The king of Sardinia, too, had expected a greater accession of territory, and complained that his zeal and his services were ill rewarded; but these powers, being unable, without farther assistance, to contend with the emperor, were obliged to comply. Francis, duke of Lorraine, on the contrary, acquiesced with joy, in an exchange which assured him the hand of the archduchess, eldest daughter of the emperor, with one of the richest successions in Europe.

The definitive treaty was signed, on the nineteenth of November, 1738, at Vienna, by the marquis de Mirepoix, the French ambassador and plenipotentiary; and by the Imperial ministers. About the same time the treaty of alliance was renewed with the king of Sweden, who, in consideration of a subsidy of ninety thousand livres, engaged to enter into no treaty with any other power, without the king's consent.

Cardinal Fleury, rejoiced at the restoration of tranquillity, still pursued that pacific system to which he was so strongly attached. Instead of seeking to scatter the seeds of dissention among the neighbouring powers—a dishonest system of policy, to which the French have too frequent recourse—he incessantly laboured to extinguish their jealousies, and reconcile their hostile dispositions. He promoted a temporary reconciliation between the Genoese and Corsicans, who had already plunged themselves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte, which desisted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and, at his intercession, granted peace to the emperor.

A. D. 1740] But the tranquillity which Europe enjoyed proved of short duration: the emperor, Charles the Sixth, the last prince of the house of Austria, expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his death awakened the pretensions of the different princes of Europe. Maria-Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lot-

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raine, grand duke of Tuscany, claimed, by right of blood, and in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, the whole of the Austrian succession. This comprized the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four forest towns, Burgaw, Brisgau, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

The wishes of the people immediately declared themselves, in the most unequivocal manner, in favour of their new sovereign; who, from this unanimity, derived her chief support. On the seventh of November she received, at Vienna, the homage of the states of Austria. The Italian provinces and the kingdom of Bohemia sent deputies to tender their oaths of allegiance; and Maria-Theresa ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily taking the ancient oath of their sovereigns, by which their subjects are allowed, if their privileges are invaded, to take up arms in their own defence, without being treated as rebels.

Her first act of administration was to associate her husband in the government of her dominions, under the denomination of *Co-Regent*, in virtue of a diploma first registered in all the Austrian tribunals, and afterwards in those of her other territories. But, resolved to fulfil the intentions of her father, she gave up no part of her sovereignty, nor violated, in the smallest degree, the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction. Her object, in investing her husband with fresh dignities, was not to derive any assistance from him in the management of her affairs, but to render him, in the eyes of the electors, more worthy of the Imperial crown.

But though this princess was permitted peaceably to take possession of this vast inheritance, it was not long before various competitors appeared. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, from the will of Ferdinand the First, brother to the emperor, Charles the Fifth, asserted his right to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia resumed his claim on Milan; the kings of Spain and Poland urged their pretensions to the whole succession; nor was Lewis the Fifteenth destitute of a similar claim, being descended, in a direct line, from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses married to his ancestors, Lewis the Thirteenth and Lewis the Fourteenth; but he wished not to awaken the jealousy of Europe, and entertained hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by supporting the pretensions of another.

A. D. 1741.] The king of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna a part of Silesia, in virtue of some ancient treaties, either obsolete or annulled; and he promised to assist the queen with all his forces in case she should comply with his demand; but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia, at the head of a powerful army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. One of his generals surprized the town

and fortrefs of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary; prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deffau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by escalade, made the generals, Wallis and Reski, prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison, and took the military chest, fifteen pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The queen of Hungary, having in vain applied for assistance to the maritime powers, prepared to resist the threatening storm. She issued orders to count Neuperg, to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to impede the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies met, in the vicinity of Néiss, at the village of Molwitz; and, after an obstinate conflict, the Austrians were obliged to retire with the loss of four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage, however, was dearly purchased by the king of Prussia; his kinsman, Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, and general Schuylemberg, being killed in the action, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the victor, who also forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian hussars.

The king of Prussia's invasion of Silesia had not been concerted with France, as was generally supposed at the time. The marquis of Beauveau, who had been sent by Lewis to Berlin, to compliment the Prussian monarch on his accession to the throne, when he first saw the preparations for hostilities, was at a loss to know whether they were to be directed against his own country, or against Austria: but his doubts were removed, on his departure from Berlin, by an observation of the king's, who said to him: — "*I believe I am going to play your game for you: if I get the aces into my hand, we will divide the winnings.*" This effort towards a negotiation is said to have made some impression on cardinal Fleury, who was justly fearful of losing his own reputation, and of injuring the king's, by labouring to destroy the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had formally signed, and guaranteed in the most solemn and authentic manner. But these laudable sentiments were stifled by the suggestions of men who had more ambition and less justice than the cardinal. The count of Belleisle, in particular, a man of an enterprising spirit, and great military talents, exerted himself to the utmost to persuade the cardinal to engage in the war. He imparted to him a project he had conceived, for placing the Imperial crown on the head of the elector of Bavaria, by gaining over some of the principal electors, and intimidating others; and for inflicting, at the same time, a mortal wound on the house of Austria, by depriving it of some of its most valuable territories, in order to form an establishment for the new emperor. The count maintained, that the success of this scheme was infallible, provided a skilful negociator was sent to the diet at Frankfort, who was well acquainted with the characters of the electors, capable of managing them, and sufficiently versed in the affairs of Germany to convince them that France, in renouncing her own pretensions, had no other object in view, than

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to promote the interests of the Germanic body, and, by the establishment of a proper balance, to secure their liberty and repose.

It was, of course, intended to support these negotiations by a formidable army, which, acting as auxiliaries to the Bavarians, might seize upon Austria, Bohemia, and the most fertile provinces belonging to the queen of Hungary, and, at the same time, keep in awe the partisans and allies of that princess. It must also have been foreseen that it would be necessary to send another army, of inferior strength, into Westphalia, with a view to support the elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, against any attempts of the neighbouring powers, and particularly of the king of England, whose fears for his electorate of Hanover, would, in that case, it was conceived, induce him to remain tranquil.

The author of the project insisted on the necessity of securing the king of Prussia, whose recent irruption into Silesia was the most favourable circumstance that could occur for promoting the success of his plan; and he maintained that the united efforts of so many powers could not fail to produce a general peace in less than six months. This last idea had a great effect on the cardinal, who moreover was not insensible to the glory of completing the scheme for humiliating the house of Austria, conceived by Henry the Fourth, and pursued by Lewis the Fourteenth; though, in fact, such an essential change had taken place in the situation of that power, that what would have been justifiable policy in the time of Henry the Fourth, would be gross injustice in the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth. Farther arts were employed to overcome the scruples of the cardinal; it was suggested, that the personal claim of the elector of Bavaria having destroyed the Pragmatic Sanction, the guarantee was annulled of course; that the emperor had been told by the court of France, in 1737, that, by his guarantee, Lewis the Fifteenth did not mean to injure, in any respect, the pretensions of his ally; and that his Imperial majesty had, in 1732, when he made the states of the empire sign his act for maintaining the unity of the empire, formally declared that he did not attack the rights of any one: and, lastly, it was urged, that France ought to be determined to support the elector from gratitude to his family, attached for time immemorial to the house of Bourbon; and particularly to the father of the reigning prince, who had lost his dominions in the war of the Succession, a sacrifice for which his son now demanded a reparation.

The count of Belleisle received orders to reduce his plan into form, and in the space of a week it was drawn up, submitted to the council, and approved. The count himself was appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the diet of Ratisbon, assembled for the election of an emperor, and at the courts of the different princes of the empire. He was, soon after, created marshal of France, and entrusted, in conjunction with Broglio, with the command of the army. He immediately repaired

to the Prussian camp, and settled with Frederic a treaty, the object of which was to divide a considerable part of the empire among the different claimants; honour was here sacrificed to policy, and justice rendered subservient to interest.

Belleisle succeeded in all his negotiations, and nothing remained to enforce the conditions he had subscribed, but to put in motion an army adequate to the purpose. He had always represented the military part of his project as a coup-de-main, the success of which entirely depended on the promptitude with which it was executed; and on not sparing either men or money. In his first conversations on the subject, fearful of alarming the cardinal, he had, probably, not spoken thus decisively, and had diminished the number of men and the quantity of money which it would be necessary to sacrifice; but it is certain that, in the written account of his scheme, which he delivered in to the ministry, he particularized all these circumstances. He there proposed, that an army of fifty thousand French—of which at least twenty thousand should be cavalry—should pass the Rhine, before the month of June, and proceed to the Danube; he explained the particulars of their march, and the means of their subsistence; and perpetually repeated that it would be better not to make any attempt, than to do things by halves, for that by neglecting to send a sufficient force at first, the enemy would have time for combining the means of defence, and enhancing the difficulty of conquest.

Besides the fifty thousand French, Belleisle supposed that the elector of Bavaria would, with the assistance of his allies, supply an army of equal strength; and as the expence of raising and maintaining all these troops was to be defrayed by France, it was much the same thing as if she had herself sent an army of one hundred thousand men, independent of forty thousand that were to act on the Rhine. A project of this extent exceeded the capacity of the minister, who considered the proposals of the count as extravagant, and declared to him, on his departure for Germany, that he should reserve to himself the privilege of reducing the number of troops to be supplied, as to him should seem expedient.

But if the cardinal was sparing of men, he had certainly supplied the count with sufficient sums of money to secure a majority of voices in the Imperial diet; after which, he repaired to Munich, where he presented the elector of Bavaria with a commission appointing him generalissimo of the French troops, marching to his assistance: and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded. Lewis engaged to assist the elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the Imperial throne: the elector promised, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered: that he would, in his capacity of emperor, renounce the barrier treaty; and agree that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she might subdue in the Austrian Netherlands.

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By the treaty concluded with the king of Prussia it was stipulated ; that the elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese ; that the king of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia ; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss, and the county of Glatz. After these precautions were taken, the count of Belleisle repaired to Frankfort, where he published a declaration of his sovereign's, notifying, that as the king of Great Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor ; his most Christian majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanic body, and to secure the freedom of the Imperial election.

In July the French forces under mareschal Broglio having effected a junction with the elector of Bavaria, that prince surprized the Imperial city of Passau upon the Danube ; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, the capital of that country, where he received the homage of the states. Some of his scouring parties extended their incursions to within three leagues of Vienna, the inhabitants of which city were thrown into the utmost consternation ; but the elector neglected to profit by the favourable opportunity, and directing his march to Bohemia, was there reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of count Rutowski, natural son to the late king of Poland. His Polish majesty had, by this time, acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburg, and declared war against the queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The elector advanced to Prague, which was taken by escalade, in the night of the twenty-sixth of November ; it was at this siege, that the celebrated count Saxe first signalized his conduct and courage : he was natural brother to the present king of Poland, and had been elected duke of Courland ; but Russia having deprived him of a dignity conferred by the unanimous voices of a whole people, he entered into the service of Lewis the Fifteenth. The mode of attacking the town had been conceived by the count, whose efforts were also exerted with equal success for preserving the inhabitants from pillage and insult. In December, the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into this capital, where he was proclaimed king of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities : after which he set out for Frankfort, to be present at the diet of election.

At this period, the queen of Hungary found herself abandoned by all her allies, and apparently resigned as a prey to the ambition and rapacity of the neighbouring powers. Her courage, however, never forsook her, and she was fortunately provided with good officers and an able ministry. She retired to Presburg, and having assembled the states, addressed them in a pathetic Latin speech, and holding in her arms her infant son—*"I place in your hands"* said she, *"the daughter and the son of your king, who expect to be indebted to you for their preservation."* All the Hungarian Palatines, moved by her distress,

distress, drew their sabres and unanimously exclaimed.—“*Moriamur pro Rege nostro*”⁴³, *Maria Theresia*. The scene was rendered more affecting by the condition of the queen, who was then pregnant, and who, in a letter which she had written to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, had expressed her doubts whether she should have a town left in which she could be delivered. The ban being raised, the brave Hungarians crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their resentment against the enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary. By a pecuniary supply she received from the king of England, Maria Theresa was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her places of strength in a posture of defence. In December, her generals Berenclau and Mentzel defeated count Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Khevenhuller compelled the French troops, under the count de Segur, to retreat before him, and take refuge under the cannon of Lintz, a town situated on the Danube, by which river the French general expected to receive his convoys. But the vigilance of Khevenhuller intercepted the supplies; and, the communication being cut off, Segur found himself, in a few days, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

A. D. 1742.] The elector of Bavaria, soon after his arrival at Frankfort, whither the Imperial diet had been removed from Ratisbon, was chosen emperor of Germany, and, on the twelfth of February, he was crowned by the name of Charles the Seventh. The Austrians, having compelled Segur to capitulate, and placed a garrison in Lintz, proceeded to ravage the electorate of Bavaria, and to reduce Munich, the capital: they likewise levied contributions on a part of the Palatinate, because that elector had sent a body of troops to reinforce the Bavarian army. In March count Saxe reduced Egra, and the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they returned soon after. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached general Berenclau to Dinglefing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy, whose numbers had now greatly increased. In May a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkersberg on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river; the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the allies were defeated.

The queen of Hungary, meanwhile, had assembled two powerful armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of fifty thousand men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. The prince then directed his march to Bo-

⁴³ The Hungarians always give the title of *king* to their sovereigns, whether male or female.

hemia, and mareschal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the king of Prussia received a strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies met at Czeslaw, on the seventeenth of May, when a fierce battle ensued: the Austrians, at the beginning of the day, gained a manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage; but their irregular troops, intent on plunder, neglected every other consideration. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally; the battle was renewed, and, after a very obstinate conflict, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The loss of the Prussians, too, was considerable; and from the circumstances of the action, the king is said to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his general, count Schwerin, assuring his majesty that there was no danger of a defeat.

The queen of Hungary, meanwhile, had perceived the necessity of getting rid of an enemy so formidable from his vicinity, his youth, activity, valour, and prudence; in short, from an union of all the qualities which constitute the general, the politician, and the statesman. She resolved to resign to him all that he had conquered, and made proposals to him for that purpose, from a conviction that by making such a sacrifice she should be enabled to preserve the rest of her dominions, and, perhaps, to exact from her other competitors a reparation for her losses. The king of Prussia, on his part, deemed himself fortunate in obtaining, by a treaty, the fruits of two campaigns, which he might probably lose in a third, and, which at best, was all that he could hope to secure. He foresaw that, in a short time, the whole weight of the war would fall upon him. The emperor's troops, commanded by inexperienced generals, and weak by themselves, were only supported by the money of France, and must disperse as soon as that resource should fail, a period that could not be far distant. The Saxons had exhibited no proofs of courage, and were considered as of little utility. He was apprehensive, too, that as soon as the first ardour of the French was past, they would be discouraged, by encountering hardships at such a distance from home, and would either disband from want of recruits, or perish with distress. He deemed it prudent to avert such a combination of calamities; even to affect an air of moderation doubly becoming in the hour of victory, and, by sparing the blood of his subjects, to extend his dominions. He did not suffer the engagements he had contracted with his allies to operate as an impediment to the accomplishment of his scheme; he had begun the war alone; had achieved his conquests alone; and therefore thought himself justified in concluding a separate peace.

The negotiations could not be conducted with such secrecy but that some part of them transpired. Mareschal Broglio had written to the French court on the subject; he had repeatedly warned them to place no confidence in the Prussian monarch, who was

only intent on promoting his own interests; and he assured them that he would soon espouse the cause of the queen of Hungary, or, at least, make peace with her, without consulting France or her allies. But no attention was paid to this advice, because mareschal Belleisle, deceived by Frederick, had assured the French minister that it was wholly unfounded in fact. After the battle of Czefflaw, however, the king of Prussia wrote a letter to mareschal Broglie, which he concluded with these words—"I have acquitted myself towards my allies, for my troops have just obtained a complete victory. It is your place to profit by this advantage without delay, otherwise you will be responsible to your allies for your neglect."

Mareschal Belleisle, alarmed at this letter, immediately repaired to the Prussian camp; where Frederick, after listening with patience to his remonstrances, coolly replied—"I warn you that prince Charles is advancing towards mareschal Broglie, and that if you do not profit by the victory I have gained, I shall conclude a separate peace." The king knew that, without his assistance, the mareschal could not profit by the victory; that the French army, diminished by sickness and famine, so as scarcely to amount to fifteen thousand men, far from being in a situation to attack the enemy, could not make head against the united forces of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, which amounted to sixty thousand men. This being the case, it became necessary to draw together the troops that had been posted at a considerable distance from each other, with a view to keep possession of a greater extent of country. Mareschal Broglie had opposed this injudicious disposition, which was ascribed to the elector of Bavaria, or rather to the advice of mareschal Belleisle, whose usual penetration had failed him on this occasion.

The quarters of D'Aubigné and Boufflers, who occupied a distant post, were forced by the Austrians, and those officers effected, with difficulty, their escape to the army. Mareschal Boufflers, in this emergency, concealed his alarms, and shewing an intrepid countenance to his men, divided his small army into three bodies, and, while the brigades of Navarre and Anjou engaged an host of Croats and Hungarians, he passed the river Blanitz, and drew up his troops in order of battle on the opposite banks. He decamped during the night, and leaving his baggage behind him, made good his retreat, and placed himself under the protection of the cannon of Prague.

A retreat, in which so much conduct and courage was displayed, was doubtless worthy the applause of the king of Prussia, who possessed too great military talents himself not to perceive the merit of it; but still it was a retreat, that is to say, the contrary of what Frederick required. It evinced the inability of the French to attack the enemy, and even to maintain the conquests they had made. The only means of preserving their ally would have been to send an army into the field sufficiently strong to act without him. This not being the case, the king of Prussia, adhering to the resolution he had adopted, signed a treaty at Breslau, on the eleventh of June, under the auspices of the

the king of England, whose ambassador, lord Hyndford, accompanied the Prussian monarch during the campaign, and was vested with full powers by the queen of Hungary. By this treaty, Maria-Theresa ceded to the king of Prussia the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz, in Bohemia; in return for which Frederick engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia, in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which was comprehended, the elector of Hanover; the czarina; the king of Denmark; the states-general; the house of Wolfenbüttele, and the king of Poland, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

Deserted by their allies, the French were now reduced to a situation the most dangerous and distressing. Their forces when united did not amount to thirty thousand men; they were at a great distance from home, in a foreign country, in want of subsistence, and without the means of procuring it; detested in the towns they had reduced, and even ignorant of the language, a knowledge of which was requisite to make known their wants; a spirit of insubordination prevailed among the subalterns, and dissensions obtained among the generals. Under such circumstances, it was scarcely possibly to resist the efforts of prince Charles, whose army was superior in numbers, who was beloved by his troops and by the people, and who was in a situation to procure constant supplies of men, money, ammunition, and provisions. Still, by uncommon exertions of valour, skill, and perseverance, the French contrived to remain in Bohemia six months after the treaty of Breslau.

The dissensions that prevailed among the generals arose from the return of mareschal Belleisle to the camp. He had the patent of general in Bohemia, but mareschal Broglie, being his senior officer, insisted on retaining the command; and the principal officers were at a loss which to obey. The army, meanwhile, part of which had entered the city of Prague, while the rest were strongly entrenched without the walls, was invested by the Austrians, who encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girifnitz. Mareschal Belleisle, whose superiority in the arts of negotiation was acknowledged by his rival, opened a conference with count Koenigseck, and offered to surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places which the French possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The proposal was rejected, and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July.

The trenches were at length opened, and the operations of the siege carried on with vigour; but the French destroyed in one day the labour of weeks. On the twenty-second of August, they made a sally with twelve thousand men, and taught the besiegers the danger and the difficulty of the enterprize in which they were engaged. The French returned to the city with two hundred prisoners, among whom was general Monti, and several colours and cannon; but they had to lament the loss of the marquisses of Tessé,

Clermont, and Moluc, and several other officers of distinction: the duke de Biron, too, who commanded the expedition, was wounded in the attack.

But this engagement would only have served to accelerate the reduction of the town, by lessening the means of defence, if the Austrian artillery had been as well served as it was numerous and formidable. The unskilfulness of their engineers induced the besiegers to trust to the slower but more certain operations of famine. The dearth of provisions was extreme; so early as the commencement of August horse-flesh was served up at the best tables, and cost more than half-a crown a pound. The account of the hardships experienced by the troops being conveyed to cardinal Fleury, that minister became extremely anxious for the conclusion of a peace. He sent a letter to marshal Belleisle to deliver to count Koenigseck, in which he expressed himself in these terms—"Many persons know how strongly I opposed the resolutions we adopted, and that I was, in a great measure, forced to consent to them. Your excellence is too well informed of every thing that passes, not to guess who is the man that exerted his utmost efforts to persuade the king to enter into a league that was so contrary to my inclination, and to my principles."

It was, doubtless, extraordinary that marshal Belleisle should be fixed upon as the bearer of a letter, in which his conduct was so severely censured; and it can only be accounted for on the supposition that he had voluntarily consented to take all the blame upon himself, in the eyes of the Hungarian plenipotentiary. The French minister by that means rendered himself less disagreeable to the court of Vienna, but at the same time he rendered the person of his negotiator more odious. Besides, he betrayed a want of firmness, and it was highly impolitic thus to make the enemy acquainted with his weak side. The consequence was such as he ought to have foreseen: his letter was treated with contempt; and the queen of Hungary, instead of answering it, ordered it to be printed. The cardinal complained of this conduct in a second letter to the Austrian general, in which he said—"That in future he would never write what he thought." This letter did him still greater injury than the first; and his eminence disavowed them both in the public papers; a weakness which was deemed excusable in a man of eighty-seven, whose mind had been harassed by contradiction and ill-successes.

As soon as the king was informed of the situation of his army in Prague, which the cardinal had concealed from him as long as he could, he assembled his council, in which the question, whether an attempt to relieve the troops should be made or not, was formally discussed. Fleury, from his anxiety to terminate the war, decided in the negative, and expiated on the immense sums which it had already cost the nation for supporting a prince who made no efforts in his own behalf; but the majority of the ministers, and particularly M. D'Orry, comptroller-general of the finances, maintained a contrary opinion. They insisted that the glory of the king and the honour of the nation were
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interested not only in relieving the French troops, but in continuing to support the emperor; and that, as the danger was imminent, orders should be immediately sent to marechal Maillebois, to march with his army to Bohemia with the utmost diligence. In order to remove the cardinal's uneasiness with regard to the means of defraying the expenses of this expedition, M. D'Orry assured him that he had seventy millions in reserve for that purpose.

One strong objection, however, still remained; by sending the army from the banks of the Rhine into the heart of Bohemia, the kingdom, unprovided with a sufficient number of troops for its internal defence, would be left at the discretion of the neighbouring powers. Great pains, indeed, had been taken to conciliate the friendship of the Dutch, to whose attacks it was most exposed. The French ministry had recently concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation with Holland, by which the subjects and inhabitants of the United Provinces were allowed the same rights, liberties and exemptions, as were enjoyed by the subjects of the king, in the seas, ports; and roads of France, on payment of the same duties; the conditions, indeed, were reciprocal, but still the advantage was evidently in favour of Holland, on account of the superior extent of her commerce. The marquis of Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, had declared to the states-general, that his sovereign, in granting succours to the elector of Bavaria, had no intention of making any conquests for himself, nor of encreasing his own power; and that his sole object was the support of his allies, and the advantage of the empire; and the states seemed so well satisfied with this assurance, that Fenelon informed the minister that he might rely on the neutrality of the Dutch.

But England was still to be dreaded, whose minister had haughtily rejected both the overtures of cardinal Fleury, and those of the emperor, who had in vain offered to secularize the bishopricks of Osnaburgh and Hildesheim, and to cede them to the elector of Hanover, in satisfaction of his claims. An English army, assembled in Flanders, under the command of lord Stair, might make an irruption into the kingdom, while twenty thousand men constituted the sole force that could be brought to oppose their progress. In this dangerous emergency, it was resolved to consult the most experienced and most able generals. Marechal de Puysegur expostulated on the great difficulties and dangers of the proposed expedition; marechal Noailles acknowledged the danger, but insisted on its necessity; and marechal D'Asfeld professed the same sentiments.

Marechal Maillebois, accordingly, received orders to march, with the utmost expedition, to Bohemia. On the receipt of this intelligence, the French troops in Prague experienced a renovation of strength and courage, while the hopes of the enemy decreased in proportion. The negotiations, formerly rejected, were now renewed; but marechal Belleisle refused, in his turn, to abide by the propositions he had before offered;

ed; and the Austrian generals found it necessary to march, with the greater part of their army, to oppose the entrance of the French into Bohemia.

The court of France, meanwhile, experienced the greatest anxiety, nor were their fears diminished till they received information that Maillebois had advanced as far as Egra; that he had been reinforced by a detachment of fifteen thousand men, under the duke of Harcourt, who had, for some time, been employed in fruitless efforts to make his way to Prague; and that he soon hoped to be joined by marechal Broglio, who had left the capital of Bohemia with a part of his troops in order to meet him. Count Saxe, who was thoroughly acquainted with the country, also effected a junction with Maillebois, at the head of fourteen thousand men, and pledged himself to conduct the army in safety to the place of their destination. But Maillebois, though the sole object of his expedition was, by the relief of Prague, to save the army of Belleisle, to accomplish which he had now sixty thousand men, in the finest order, all eager for battle, refused to advance. Having remained inactive until the provisions for the troops were nearly consumed, he called a council of war, at which all the general officers, except the count D'Etrees, advised an immediate retreat. Maillebois, in compliance with this advice, left the command of Egra to the marquis D'Herouville, and, turning to the right, took the road to the Danube, and endeavoured to alarm the enemy for the safety of Austria. The grand duke, on this movement, hastened to cover Passau, while general Berenclau evacuated Munich, which was taken possession of by the Bavarian general count Seckendorff.

The Parisians, meanwhile, began loudly to censure the conduct of government. The natural restlessness of the people had made them eager for war; but they soon found fault with the mode of pursuing it: they perceived that an emperor who possessed little more than his title was a burdensome ally: they could not but admire the queen of Hungary, and they wished to be revenged on the king of Prussia, who had reaped all the fruits of victory, and left the French to support all the expence and calamities of the war. The moment the news arrived of the retreat of Maillebois the indignation became general, and it was deemed necessary by the court to recall that officer, and to bestow the command of his army on marechal Broglio.

Having expelled the French from Bohemia, prince Lobkowitz renewed the blockade of Prague, which was soon reduced to a more dreadful situation than before. Belleisle, who commanded the garrison, deprived of all hopes of relief, exerted his utmost efforts to support the reputation he had acquired. Having assured the court he would either hold out for four months or conduct his troops to Egra; he received orders to effect a retreat. The attempt seemed not only hazardous but almost impracticable; he had eight-and-thirty leagues to march in sight of a superior force, and through a country laid waste by the repeated incursions of the troops. But, undismayed by the obstacles

cles he had to encounter, he kept his design a profound secret; ordered the necessary preparations to be made under a different pretext; deceived prince Lobkowitz, the inhabitants of the town, the Austrian spies, and even his own. In the night of the fifteenth of December, he left Prague with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand two hundred and fifty horse, thirty pieces of cannon, provisions for twelve days, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of six thousand men, (chiefly sick and wounded) whom he left in garrison. Though he purposely chose broken and unfrequented roads, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships experienced by the soldiers baffle all description. A great number perished in the snow, with which the ground was covered, and many hundreds, overcome by weariness or numbed with cold, were left to the mercy of the Croats, Pandours, and other irregulars of the Austrian army, the most ferocious troops in Europe. Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, displayed surprising activity and resolution. He suffered himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such able and judicious dispositions, that his pursuers could make no impression on the body of his troops; but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. He arrived at Egra, on the twenty-ninth of December, whence he proceeded to Alsace, without further molestation.

After the escape of Belleisle, prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and summoned the garrison to surrender. M. de Chevert, who was entrusted with the command of the troops, threatened to set fire to the city and bury himself in the ruins, unless the Austrians would allow them to march out with the honours of war, and to suffer him to join the main army, with the whole garrison: the conditions he proposed were granted by the Austrian general, and he proceeded in safety to Egra.

It was not in Germany alone that the affairs of Maria Theresa began to take a favourable turn; in Italy the campaign had been equally vigorous, the designs of her enemies were frustrated. The king of Sardinia had, at first, placed himself on the list of her competitors; he had formed pretensions to the Milanese, his right to which country he had explained in a manifesto, while he assembled an army with a view to enforce them; and he had acceded to the treaty of alliance between France and the elector of Bavaria, with a view to profit by the spoils of the persecuted queen of Hungary. But as soon as the Spaniards, professing the same designs with himself, had sent troops into the disputed territory, he acknowledged his mistaken policy, and plainly perceived, that by persevering in the system he had adopted, his labours would only tend to the aggrandizement of another power. After due reflection, he concluded it was better that the duchy of Milan should remain in possession of the house of Austria, than be transferred to the house of Bourbon, whom he considered as a more formidable and

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more dangerous neighbour. Impelled by these motives, he renounced his alliance with France, and concluded a treaty with the queen of Hungary. The Spanish army, meanwhile, assembled at Rimini, under the duke of Montemar, and, being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to fifty-thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese, when the king of Sardinia, declaring against them, joined the Austrian army, commanded by count Traun, marched into the duchy of Parma, and, understanding that the duke of Modena had secretly espoused the cause of the Spaniards, he dispossessed that prince of his dominions. The duke de Montemar, finding his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was pursued by the king of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

His Sardinian majesty here received intelligence that Don Philip, third son to the king of Spain, had made an irruption into Savoy, with another army of Spaniards, and had already reduced Chamberri, the capital. He, therefore, began without delay, his march for Piedmont; while Don Philip abandoned Savoy, at his approach, and, retreating into Dauphiné, took refuge under the cannon of fort Barreaux. The king pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the tenth of December, when the marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising general, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. His first exploit was an attack on the castle of Aspremont, in the vicinity of the Sardinian camp, which he conducted with such vigour, that the garrison, in four-and-forty hours, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The loss of this important fort compelled the king to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters.

In the mean time, the duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the duke of Modena bore the title of generalissimo, resigned his command to count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany, but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun, the Austrian general. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the territories of Parma and Modena. The pope remained passive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained their neutrality; and the king of the Two Sicilies was over-awed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

A. D. 1743.] Amidst the disasters of war, cardinal Fleury expired, on the twenty-ninth of January, at the village of Issy, leaving the affairs of France in a situation that affected the glory of his administration, though not the tranquillity of his mind. Lewis the Fifteenth immediately adopted the resolution of keeping the reins of government in his own hands. He found himself in the same situation with his predecessor during
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the war of the Succession; and had to support France and Spain against the same enemies—Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy⁴⁹.

Hitherto the French and English had acted merely as auxiliaries in the war, but the pretext of fighting the cause of their allies was soon thrown aside, and they appeared as principals in the field of battle. At this period the queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were expelled from Bohemia; and part of the Upper Palatinate; and their forces, under marshal Broglio, were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria, and, in April, obtained a victory over a body of the emperor's troops at Braunau; at the same time three bodies of Croats, penetrating through the passes of the Tiroleze, ravaged the open country to the very gates of Munich. The emperor pressed Broglio to hazard an engagement, but the marshal, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France, refused to run this risk. His Imperial majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh, and Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards joined by Broglio, whose troops had, in this retreat, been greatly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had now a free communication with Munich, which, for the third time, fell into the hands of the queen of Hungary, whose generals likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg; while prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. But Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron.

The emperor, being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary. His general Seckendorf had an interview with count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowenstorf, where a convention was signed, importing, that the emperor should remain neuter during the remainder of the present war, and that his troops should be quartered in Franconia: that the queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: that Braunau and Scharding should be delivered up to the Austrians: that the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian general should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores, which should be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in this capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war, and both places were speedily reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the emperor's private treasures, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the house of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of

⁴⁹ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 312.

that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition.

Lewis, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of the emperor, ordered his minister at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well-pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war. He said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the emperor had concluded with the queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the queen of Hungary replied in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies: that the elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that, in the former case, no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed that the sole aim of the French king was to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The elector of Mentz, who had favoured the emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed at the late election. The emperor complained, in a circular letter, of this transaction as a stroke levelled at his Imperial dignity; and it occasioned a warm dispute among the members of the Germanic body. Several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success, of the house of Austria; and others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor. The kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian majesty protested against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lunenburgh, claimed by the king of England: he had an interview with general Seckendorf at Anspach, and was believed to have privately visited the emperor at Franckfort.

The king of England meanwhile had sent a powerful army into Germany, under the command of the earl of Stair; in order to prevent the junction of these forces with prince Charles of Lorraine, marechal Noailles was sent to the banks of the Mayne, with sixty thousand men, while Coigny was detached into Alsace, with a numerous body of troops, to defend that province, and oppose prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. Noailles, having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine, in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of the river, above Franckfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of D'Armstadt; from this situation he moved towards Aschaffenburgh, with a view to secure the navigation
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of the Upper Mayne; but he was anticipated by Noailles, who lay on the opposite side, and had taken possession of the posts above so as to intercept all supplies.

The French now occupied an advantageous post on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked; and, by their judicious manœuvres, they contrived to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the confederates. The king of England joined his army on the ninth of June, which then amounted to about forty thousand men. Having received intelligence that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau, he resolved to march thither, as well to effect a junction with those troops, as to procure provisions for his army, of which they were in great want. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth of June. The moment the confederates had evacuated Aschaffenburg, it was seized by the French; and Noailles, intent on intercepting the enemy in their march, crossed the river, with thirty thousand men, and established himself in an advantageous situation, near the village of Dettingen.

By the masterly movements of Noailles, and partly by his own indiscretion, the king of England was now reduced to a situation the most critical and dangerous. The French were in possession of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat; his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march; and, in the front, a considerable body of French were drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on the left, and a morass in the center. Thus circumstanced, the confederates must either have engaged with a certainty of defeat, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the duke of Grammont, lieutenant-general in the French army, and colonel of the guards, suffered his ardour to overcome his prudence, and wantonly resigned the advantages which the enemy could not have forced from him. Instead of remaining on the other side of a ravine through which the confederates must necessarily pass, and thereby expose themselves to inevitable destruction, he no sooner perceived their first battalions come out of a defile, and enter a small plain at the opposite extremity of the ravine, than, in direct violation of the orders he had received from his uncle, marshal Noailles, he rushed forward to meet them with the troops that were immediately around him, and by that means fell into the very snare which had been laid for the enemy. As the allies entered the plain they drew up in order of battle; while the French attacked them in confusion, and with an inferior force.

The cavalry of the king's household, and the carabineers, by the impetuosity of their attack, broke, at the first charge, two complete lines of infantry; but those lines immediately formed again, and surrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards displayed great gallantry in advancing against the enemy with a small body of

infantry; the guards were defeated; one-and-twenty of their officers were killed on the spot, and as many more dangerously wounded.

The duke of Chartres, the prince of Clermont, the count D'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre exerted themselves, in an extraordinary manner, to restore order to the troops. The count of Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother, the duke of Ayen, was dismounted. The marquis de Puysegur, son to the marshal of that name, having in vain attempted to rally his own regiment, killed several of his men who, instead of obeying his commands, exhorted their comrades to fly. The princes of the blood, and the dukes of Biron, Luxembourg, Richelieu, and Pequigni-Chevreuse, collected a body of fugitives, and bravely, though vainly, endeavoured to restore the fortune of the day, by rushing into the thickest of the enemy.

In another part of the field the household troops and the carabineers still maintained their ground; but no regularity was observed, no system pursued in any of the attacks; the army engaged, as it were, by detachments, and though their efforts, if united, might have made some impression on the enemy, when thus divided they became impotent and vain. Fifty mousquetaires, led away by their courage, attacked the regiment of horse, commanded by lord Stair, and, rushing into the midst of them, were surrounded, and either killed or taken. In this confusion, seven-and-twenty officers of the household cavalry were slain, and sixty-and-six of them dangerously wounded. After the combat had been maintained for three hours in this irregular way, the French were obliged to quit the field, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost about five thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken. Had the allies profited by their victory, and pursued the French before they had recovered from their confusion, the latter would probably have sustained a total overthrow. Lord Stair, indeed, proposed that a detachment of horse should be sent on this service, but his advice was over-ruled.

The French, in this action, lost a great number of persons of distinction, and excellent officers, who seeing their regiments turn their backs to the enemy, formed themselves into a line, and preferred an honourable death to life preserved by an ignominious flight. The duke of Chartres had a narrow escape, his horse being killed under him. The prince of Dombes; the counts of Eu, Harcourt, and Beuvron, and the duke of Boufflers, were wounded. The count de la Motte-Houdancourt, chevalier-d'honneur to the queen, was dismounted, and, after being trampled on by the enemy's cavalry, was carried off the field for dead. The marquis of Gontaut had his arm broken: the duke of Rochecouart, first gentleman of the bedchamber, after receiving two wounds, still continued to fight, and met the death he courted. The marquises of Sabran and Fleuri, and the counts of Estrades and Roostaing were among the slain.

A singular instance of fortitude, in a child of ten years and an half, is recorded by Voltaire: the young count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiancourt, had his leg broken.

broken by a cannon-ball ; the pain he experienced from the wound did not extort from him a single murmur or complaint ; when the fractured limb was cut off, he even looked on while the operation was performing, and displayed a degree of coolness and resolution which few *men*, in a similar situation, could have possessed : he met death with equal fortitude⁵⁰.

The loss of the allies, in the battle of Dettingen, exceeded two thousand men. Among the killed were generals Clayton and Monroy. The duke of Cumberland, who exhibited great proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg : the earl of Albemarle, general Huske, and several other officers of distinction were wounded. The king of England exposed his person to a severe fire both of cannon and musquetry : he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged his troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement he was going to meet. The earl of Stair sent a trumpet to mareschal Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle ; and these the mareschal treated with the utmost care and tenderness.—Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

The two armies remained on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when mareschal Noailles, receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim. On the twenty-seventh of the following month, the allies crossed the river at Mentz, and the king of England fixed his head-quarters at the episcopal palace of Worms. Here their forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spires, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the entrenchments which the French had raised on the Queich ; they then retired to Mentz, and remained inactive during the remainder of the season.

After the battle of Dettingen, colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars in the service of the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September, prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine ; but mareschal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding the banks on the opposite side, that he was compelled to abandon his design, and, marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria.

⁵⁰ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 336.

During these hostile operations in the field, the enemies of France had been equally active in the cabinet. In September, a treaty had been concluded at Worms, between his Britannic majesty ; the king of Sardinia ; and the queen of Hungary. Maria Theresa engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy : the king of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry, and five thousand horse, in consideration of being appointed generalissimo of the combined army, and of receiving an annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds from Great Britain. As a farther gratification, the queen of Hungary ceded to him the city of Piacenza, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese ; and all her rights and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which, they hoped, would resign it, on re-payment of the money which the Genoese had advanced for its purchase. This expence, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, the king of England promised to defray, and, moreover, to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian majesty. This alliance, strengthened by the accession of the Dutch, threatened France with a combination as formidable as that which she had to encounter in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

In Italy, the campaign proved unfavourable to Spain, the only remaining ally of the French. Early in the year count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men, passed the Panaro, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the Imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by counts Traun and Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal ; and the action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken ; the loss of the confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both sides ; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Panaro ; retreated suddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rimini, in the ecclesiastical state, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained in the duchy of Modena till the autumn, when he resigned his command to prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano ; but he afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. At the end of August they decamped from Chamberri, and passing through Dauphiné towards Briançon, were joined by the prince of Conti, at the head of twenty thousand French. Thus reinforced, Don Philip attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné ; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter quarters in Dauphiné and Provence ; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

The winter was passed in negotiations; the French, anxious to recover the allies they had lost, exerted their utmost efforts to prevail on the king of Prussia to renounce the treaty he had concluded with the queen of Hungary; and that monarch, jealous of the success of Maria-Theresa, and fearful of losing his newly gained-territories in Silesia, gave Lewis to understand that he would not remain inactive during another campaign. The king of Naples was likewise prevailed on to embrace the first opportunity of departing from the neutrality which the threats of the English had forced him to observe; and for this purpose he increased his troops to six-and-twenty thousand men, twelve thousand of which were destined to form a line on the frontiers of Calabria, to enforce the precautions which had been adopted for preventing the diffusion of a dreadful pestilence which had spread its destructive ravages over the city of Messina, and had been conveyed to Reggio, by the avarice of a Jew-broker, who had bought some goods, at a low rate, at the place infected: the rest of the troops were stationed on the frontiers of Abruzzo, to be in readiness to act in concert with the Spanish army.

A. D. 1744.] During these negotiations, the most formidable preparations were made in all parts of the kingdom, for putting the national forces in a situation not only to resist the attacks of the enemy, but to wage an offensive war. An English fleet, under the command of admiral Matthews, had, for two years, maintained the empire of the Mediterranean, and insulted the coasts of Sicily and Provence. It now blocked up the port of Toulon, in which lay a squadron of Spanish ships, that had been employed in transporting troops into Italy. Lewis directed a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships to be equipped; and gave orders to M. de Court, who commanded them, to join the Spaniards, and protect them from all insult or attack. They accordingly stood out to sea, and, on the eleventh of February, were attacked by the enemy, who was greatly superior in force. After a doubtful conflict, in which part of the English only were engaged, night put an end to the action, and the combined fleets retired to the Spanish ports. It is no less singular than true that the commanders on both sides were accused, by their respective nations, of neglect in the discharge of their duty; Matthews, by the sentence of a court martial, was incapacitated from serving in future in the English navy; and de Court, by the mandate of his sovereign, was sent in exile to his country residence at Gournay.

Lewis, now resolved on pursuing with vigour the war against England, determined to execute a plan which had been approved by the members of his council to whom it had been originally submitted by cardinal Tencin. This was to make a descent upon the English coast, and to endeavour to place on the throne of his ancestors Charles Edward, eldest son to the chevalier St. George, and grandson to that unfortunate monarch, James the Second. The scheme was supported from the idea that the discontents which prevailed in England, on the subject of the war, rendered the present
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sent period peculiarly favourable for such an attempt; and the French, mistaking a struggle for power for a wish to subvert the constitution, already concluded, that the friends of the oppressed would not fail to declare in favour of the pretender. They were right however, in their conclusion, that an invasion of England would draw off a number of troops from the continent, and thereby afford a fairer prospect of success to their arms in Germany and the Netherlands. The disposition of Charles, (to whom his father, being himself advanced in years, had delegated his pretensions) was represented as peculiarly calculated for such an enterprize: he certainly possessed many excellent qualities; together with an active spirit: in adversity patient and firm; and mild and moderate in prosperity; he was moreover endowed with the most determined courage, as evinced in a declaration of his, quoted by cardinal Tencin before the council, "*I must either lose my head, or place a crown upon it.*"

Count Saxe was appointed to command a body of fifteen thousand troops, destined for this expedition. They began their march to Picardy, in the ports of which province it was intended they should be embarked: the count of Maurepas, meanwhile, had equipped, with incredible diligence, six-and-twenty sail of the line at Brest and Rochefort, under pretence of protecting from insult the fort of Toulon. Prince Charles left Rome on the ninth of January, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended only by one servant, and furnished with passports by cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, whence he proceeded to Savona: he there embarked for Antibes, and pursuing his journey to Paris had a private conference with Lewis, after which he continued his route, incognito, to the coast of Picardy. The British ministry, being apprized of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared in the different ports; and they instructed their resident at Paris to remonstrate on the subject: but Lewis refused to enter into any explanations; and, no longer appearing as an auxiliary in the contest, he published soon after, on the fifteenth of March, a formal declaration of war against England, in which he taxed the British monarch with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piratical depredations on the subjects of France, and even blocked up the harbour of Toulon.

The fleet, meanwhile, had proceeded to sea, and twelve thousand troops were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille, who had the command of it, sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after he had detached M. de Barreil, with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While he anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth of February, the British fleet, under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland, from the Downs; and, though the wind was against him, profiting by the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, alarmed at the approach of a force greatly superior to his own, called a council

cil of war, in which it was resolved not to risk an engagement, but to weigh anchor at sun-set, and make the best of their way to port. This resolution was favoured by a very brisk gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible celerity. But the same storm which, probably, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the project of the invasion of England. A great number of their transports were driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest so damaged as not to admit of a speedy repair. The English had now the command of the sea, and their coast was so well protected from insult that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the Pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity.

During these transactions, the emperor, deprived of his dominions, and almost destitute of the means of subsistence, had solicited the mediation of the king of England for compromising the differences between him and the court of Vienna. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the British monarch on the subject; and a negotiation was begun at Hanau. The emperor made every concession that could be required of him: he offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. The proposal appeared so reasonable to the English plenipotentiary, that he actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his Imperial majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself on the protection of the maritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the house of Austria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, and recognized as emperor by the queen of Hungary; and of his being accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. But as these preliminaries, though settled by the plenipotentiaries, were not signed, the queen of Hungary rejected them, and determined to rely on the courage of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, for obtaining more advantageous terms. The negotiation therefore was dropped.

The inflexibility of the house of Austria, and its chief ally, proved serviceable to the emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince excited the compassion of different potentates, who resented the haughtiness which the chief of the empire had experienced from the court of Vienna, and were alarmed at the encreasing power of the house of Austria. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Franckfort, concluded, in May, between the emperor; the king of Prussia; the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and the elector palatine. The contracting parties engaged to preserve the constitutions of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the em-

peror, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist each other in case of attack: and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted, by the king of England and her Hungarian majesty, for the operations of the campaign.

In the meantime Lewis, on the twenty-sixth of April, declared war against the queen of Hungary, on pretence of her obstinate perseverance in refusing all terms of accommodation, and her determination to carry the war into the French territories. In her counter-declaration she taxed the king with having infringed the most solemn engagement with respect to the Pragmatic Sanction; with having stimulated different pretenders to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having played the part of an incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire, and laid waste her hereditary dominions.

The king, at the instigation of his mistress, the duchess of Chateauroux⁵², determined to command his troops in person; he accordingly left his capital, on the third of May, accompanied by his confidential ministers, and a brilliant court; and on the twelfth he arrived at Lille, after visiting the most important towns on the frontiers, and providing for their security. In the plains adjacent to the city he reviewed his troops, and introduced various new regulations into the army for enforcing a due strictness of military discipline. His aids-de-camp were, Meuze, Richelieu, Luxembourg, Boufflers, D'Aumont, D'Ayen, Soubise, and Pecquigny; his generals were the marshals Noailles and Saxe; the former of whom had the command of the main army of eighty thousand men, while the latter directed the operations of a separate corps of half that number. The states-general, alarmed at his preparations, had, at a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entreated his majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent the count of Wassenaar to wait upon Lewis, to enforce their former re-

⁵² This lady accompanied the king, though, as lady of the palace to the queen, she ought to have remained at Versailles with her mistress. She did not lodge under the same roof with Lewis, but orders had been previously issued to the municipal bodies in all the towns through which they passed on their road to Flanders, to take care and provide her with a house adjoining to that designed for his majesty, and to open a private communication between the two.

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presentations, and renew their entreaties; but no regard was paid to their request. Lewis told the count he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had served no other purpose than that of rendering his enemies more untractable.

The first operations of the army were directed against Courtrai, which surrendered on the eighteenth of May; and its reduction was followed by that of Menin, the garrison of which capitulated on the fifth of the following month, when the fortifications, erected by Vauban, were demolished by orders from the king. Ypres made rather more resistance; the attacks were directed by the prince of Clermont, abbot of Saint Germain des Prés, who had obtained from the pope a permission to exchange the crozier for the sword; the marquis de Beauveau, camp-mareschal, a young officer of great merit, was killed before the place; but the efforts of the enemy proved fruitless, and the capitulation was signed on the twenty-fifth of June. Fort Knocque surrendered to the duke of Boufflers on the twenty-ninth; and, on the eleventh of July, the prince of Clermont fixed the colours of France on the walls of Furnes.

The allied army made no attempt to impede the progress of the French, and to the dissensions which prevailed among their generals, their inactivity, during the present campaign, must be chiefly ascribed. It is difficult to say how far Lewis might have pushed his conquests, had not his measures been unexpectedly defeated by the skill and activity of prince Charles of Lorraine, who, passing the Rhine, took possession of the lines of Lauterburg, Weissembourg, and the Lauter. The king was the more astonished at the receipt of this intelligence, as mareschal Coigny, with an army of fifty thousand men, was posted on the banks of the river, and covered the provinces which lay on this side of it; while mareschal Belleisle, who had been restored to favour, commanded a considerable body of troops on the Moselle, for the protection of Lorraine and the adjacent country; and the duke D'Harcourt, with another army, had taken a situation that enabled him to act as circumstances might require: count Seckendorf, too, was posted beyond the Rhine, with the Bavarians, the troops of the Palatinate, and the Hessians. To the misconduct of this last general was the successful irruption of prince Charles imputed by the French; they reproached him with refusing to remain under the cannon of Philipsburgh, whereby he would have kept in awe the corps under general Neudast, which had taken post in his front; with having retired and repassed the Rhine; with having pledged himself to mareschal Coigny to take upon himself the defence of the river towards Germersheim and Rhinzabern, notwithstanding which he suffered prince Charles to make good his passage into that very quarter; and, lastly, with having neglected, when reinforced, subsequent to this disaster, to profit by the importance of the moment, the advantage of his situation, and the ardour of his troops.

As the Austrian army, to the number of eighty thousand men, threatened the reduction of Alsace, and extended their incursions to the frontiers of Lorraine, Lewis deemed

it expedient to send off a detachment of thirty thousand men, from his army in Flanders, to reinforce that under marshal Coigny; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy. The duke of Harcourt, with his corps, had received orders to guard the passes of Phalzburg, and Metz was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the troops. The king augmented, during this march, the pay and subsistence of the soldiers, and, by this instance of attention to their comfort, redoubled their zeal for his service, and their affection for his person. All the provinces bordering on Germany, who had been alarmed at the passage of the Rhine, and particularly at the disasters of the preceding campaigns in the empire, were highly rejoiced at the presence of their sovereign, and deemed themselves secure from insult or outrage.

But the joy evinced, on this occasion, was speedily damped by a severe distemper with which Lewis was attacked at Metz. His constitution had been impaired by a too free indulgence in amorous gratifications and the pleasures of the table; and the fatigues of the campaign, joined to the excessive heat of the sun, to which he too frequently exposed himself, brought on a fever of the putrid kind, which first appeared on the eighth of August, and made so rapid a progress that by the fourteenth his life was despaired of. His danger diffused consternation throughout the kingdom, and the violent symptoms of sorrow evinced in every part of it almost exceed belief. The churches were thrown open, and were incessantly crowded, even in the dead of night, with supplicating subjects, entreating the Deity to look down with mercy on their beloved sovereign. The prayers of the priests for his recovery were incessantly interrupted by their tears, and cries and sobs formed the only responses of the people⁵².

The queen, with her children, and the princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay the last duties to the dying monarch, who, apprized of his danger by the Christian resolution of the duke of Chartres, and urged to penitence by the pious exhortations of the bishop of Soissons, dismissed his favourite mistress, the duchess of Château-roux, and prepared for death. But the skill of the faculty, seconded by the efforts of nature, triumphed over the disease, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection. The courier, who bore the welcome intelligence to the capital, was almost stifled with the caresses of the people, who carried him in triumph through the streets, while his horse shared the kindness shewn to his master. Well might the king exclaim, when apprized of these affecting circumstances, "What a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! What have I done to deserve it?" It is greatly to be lamented that this sentiment did not make a deeper impression on his mind, and stimulate him to a rigid discharge of those duties which the affection of his subjects imposed on him.

⁵² Siècle de Louis XV. tom. I. p. 349:

Amidst the transports of grief evinced on the illness of the king, the flattering epithet of *The Well-Beloved* was bestowed on him by the unanimous voice of his subjects. The distinction was rendered more honourable by the manner in which it was conferred; it proceeded not from any concerted plan, but sprang from a pure impulse of the heart; it was not the tribute of adulation, but the gift of affection.—This was the brightest period of the reign of Lewis.

The king, on the bed of sickness, was not inattentive to the welfare of the state. His object in quitting the Netherlands was to give battle to prince Charles of Lorraine; and as soon as he found himself unable to proceed he entrusted the command of his army to marechal Noailles. When he was informed of the junction of that general with marechal Coigny, he said to the count D'Argenson, “*Write to marechal de Noailles, and tell him from me, that, while they carried Lewis the Thirteenth to the grave, the prince of Condé gained a victory*”³³.

The exertions of Noailles could not prevent prince Charles of Lorraine from repassing the Rhine in sight of a superior force, without the smallest loss. But the schemes of the Austrian general were frustrated by the king of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a powerful army. He there declared, in a public manifesto, that his sole object in taking up arms was to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its chief. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in case they should remain tranquil, but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his progress. In a rescript, addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the emperor, and to restore his hereditary dominions. He said he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, with a view to prevent the oppression of the head of the empire; that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into the war, but that his design was to act as auxiliary to the emperor, and establish the tranquillity of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia, and undertook the siege of Prague, the governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war, on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Budweis, and Teyn, and, in a short time, subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to impede his progress. He was soon, however, obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine having eluded the vigilance of the French generals, directed his march to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and, entering Bohemia, effected a junction with the troops under Bathiani, at Merolitz. The king of Poland, at this juncture, declared in favour of Maria-Theresa. A convention, for the mutual guarantee of their dominions, had been signed between these two powers in December; and now prince

³³ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 350.

Charles was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxons, under the conduct of the duke of Saxe-Weistenfels. The combined army was superior to that of the king of Prussia whom they determined to bring to action; but he retired before them, and, having evacuated Prague and all other places which he had reduced in Bohemia, retreated, with precipitation, into Silesia. Having there put his troops into winter-quarters, he returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

During these transactions, count Seckendorf, marching into Bavaria, with a numerous army, effected the expulsion of the Austrians from that electorate, and the emperor recovered possession of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second day of October. In August, the French army passed the Rhine at fort Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, defended by general Damnitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. Lewis, though still in a weak state, arrived at the camp on the eleventh of October; and the operations of the siege were conducted with vigour and effect. The Austrian governor made incredible efforts to prevent the reduction of the place, which he maintained, until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been opened five-and-forty days, during which time the French had lost fifteen thousand men.

With this conquest the king closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the army in Flanders, count Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the confederates, for which reason he threw up strong intrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until reinforced by the count of Clermont, who commanded a separate body of troops, on the side of Nieuport. The allies, to the number of seventy thousand men, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin; but the French being so advantageously posted that they could not attack them with any prospect of success, they marched forwards within sight of Tournay, and, on the eighth of August, encamped in the plains of Lifle, in the hope of inducing count Saxe to quit a situation in which he was secure from danger or insult. But the count was too able a general to be led into such a snare; and his measures were so skilful, that he effectually prevented the confederates from atchieving any enterprise of importance: after having remained for some time in sight of Lille, and laid the open country under contribution, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, whence they soon marched into winter quarters. Count Saxe, at length, quitted his lines, and, by way of retaliation, sent out detachments to ravage the Low Countries, as far as the gates of Ghent and Bruges.

In Italy the operations of war were carried on with equal vigour. The king of Naples, having assembled an army, joined count Gages, and published a manifesto, in
vindication

vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained, that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna; that his frontiers had been threatened with the calamities of war; and that the queen of Hungary made no secret of her intentions to invade his dominions. This charge, indeed, was not without foundation; the emissaries of the house of Austria certainly endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invasion. This general was encamped at Monte Rotondo, in the vicinity of Rome, when the confederates, in the month of June, advanced to Villettri. While the two armies remained in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces under count Soro, and general Sorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquila, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and again submit to the house of Austria. This step, however, produced little or no effect, and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the duke of Vieuville, with a superior force.

In August, count Brown, at the head of a body of Austrians, surprized Velettri during the night; and the king of the Two Sicilies, and the duke of Modena, were in the utmost danger of being taken. They with great difficulty effected their escape by a postern, and repaired to the quarters of count Gages, who, on this occasion, performed the part of a great general. He rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panic and confusion which had begun to prevail in his camp; and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thousand Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken, with some standards and colours. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the prisoners. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and general Novati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit was attended with no important consequences. The Austrians suffered so much from the heat of the climate and the difficulty of subsistence, in a country already exhausted, that prince Lobkowitz deemed it prudent to retreat. On the eleventh day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tyber at Ponte-Molle, formerly known by the name of the Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down after making good his passage, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with count Soro who commanded it, at Noeera; and his army suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he continued his retreat with equal skill and celerity, traversed the mountains of Gubio, and, by the way of Viterbo, reached the Bolognese. The pope was altogether passive. At the beginning of the campaign, he had caressed Lobkowitz, and he now received the king of the Two Sicilies with marks of the warmest affection.

The

The brother of that prince, Don Philip, was equally successful in Savoy and Piedmont. Early in the season he was joined, at Antibes, by the French army, under the conduct of the prince of Conti. Towards the latter end of March, the combined forces passed the Var, reduced the castle of Apremont, and entered the city of Nice without opposition. In April, they attacked the king of Sardinia, who, with twenty thousand men, was strongly entrenched among the mountains at Villa-Franca. The action was obstinate and bloody; but their numbers and perseverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his post, and embark on board of the British squadron, which transported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese; but the English admiral, who hovered, with a strong squadron, on that coast, sent a message to the republic, declaring, that should the combined army be suffered to pass through their dominions, the king of Great Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality. The senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the princes to desist from their design; and they accordingly resolved to pursue another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Château-Dauphiné, defended by the king of Sardinia in person. After a desperate attack, in which they lost four thousand men, the place was taken; the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majesty was in no condition to hazard a battle, and therefore posted himself at Saluzzo, in order to cover his capital.

In the beginning of September, the combined army invested the strong and important town of Coni. Baron Leutrum, the governor, made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as greatly enhanced the difficulty of the siege, and augmented the loss of the assailants. The king of Sardinia, reinforced by ten thousand Austrians, under general Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued, on the thirtieth of September. The action was maintained with great vigour and courage on both sides, till night, when the king, finding it impracticable to force the enemy's entrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Murasso: he afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement of troops and a supply of provisions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell, at this period, not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers. Nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when a fresh reinforcement entered the place. This incident was no sooner known than the princes abandoned their enterprize, and, leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated, with great precipitation, to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian majesty, who now again found himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné; but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, on the inhabitants of which he levied the heaviest contributions.

A. D. 1745.] The new year was ushered in by an event which changed the face of affairs in the empire, and set all the princes of Germany in commotion. Charles the Seventh, sinking beneath the united pressure of calamity and disease, expired at Munich, the capital of his hereditary dominions, on the twentieth of January, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The grand-duke of Tuscany, consort to Maria-Theresa, was immediately declared a candidate for the Imperial throne, while his pretensions were warmly opposed by Lewis and his allies. The court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathian, who routed the French and Palatine troops, under M. de Segur, at Pfaffenhoven, took possession of Rain, surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians, in the vicinity of Ingoldstadt, and expelled from the electorate the forces of Bavaria. The young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augs-
burgh, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency he suffered the dictates of reason to prevail over the suggestions of ambition, and wisely yielded to the solicitations of the empress, his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologne, and of his general, count Seckendorf, who exhorted him to accede to a reconciliation with the court of Vienna. A negotiation was, accordingly, opened at Fuesen, where, on the twenty-second of April, the treaty was concluded. The queen of Hungary consented to recognize the Imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress-dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition which she had taken; while, on his part, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. He farther acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia, in the person of the queen, and engaged to give his own vote for the grand-duke, at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral troops; and that Braunau and Scharding, with all the country between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the possession of the queen of Hungary, though without prejudice to the civil government or the elector's revenue. In the mean time, the elector dismissed all the auxiliaries in his pay, who were permitted to retire without molestation.

A war, the avowed object of which was to place and preserve Charles the Seventh on the Imperial throne, ought certainly to have terminated with the life of that prince, and particularly after his son had formally renounced the dignity enjoyed by his father. But the French ministry, intent on having an emperor of their own choice, had cast their eyes on the king of Poland; and, by a strange dereliction of the principles by which they had professed to be actuated, offered the Imperial sceptre to a monarch enriched by the spoils of the father-in-law of Lewis the Fifteenth;—a monarch whom they had long considered as an usurper; who had forsaken their cause during the present war;

and who had recently contracted an alliance with the enemies of France. They endeavoured to allure Augustus, not only by the splendour of the proffered dignity, but by the right which, they pretended, it would give him to secure to his family a part of the inheritance of the house of Austria. The object of these proposals was, by detaching him from his new alliance, to ensure a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and to compel the queen of Hungary to conclude a peace. The Saxon minister perceived the snare, and prevented his master from falling into it: he convinced him of the difficulty of preserving the crown of Poland in conjunction with the Imperial diadem, as that republic would be jealous of a chief whose power was too extensive, and as most of the grandees were inclined to favour the house of Austria; so that he would risk the loss of a throne in possession, by the attempt to acquire another which he was by no means certain of obtaining. He also cited the example of the elector of Bavaria, to prove, that the burden of such a dignity must be too heavy for any prince to support who was not extremely powerful in himself; and that his elevation, not being founded on his own native strength, must inevitably become a source of disgust, calamity, and humiliation.

The king of Poland had but little ambition, and, having coolly weighed these considerations in his mind, he prudently rejected the proposals of France. Far from advancing pretensions to the empire, he cemented his connection with the queen of Hungary, and determined to give his vote to her consort at the ensuing election.

The court of Vienna had, by this time, secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. But this did not deter Lewis from attempting to influence the election, by means of a powerful army which he assembled for that purpose in the vicinity of Franckfort: his efforts, however, proved fruitless; the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. The grand duke then repaired to Franckfort, where, on the second of September, he was declared, by a majority of votes, king of the Romans and emperor of Germany, by the title of Francis the First.

The king of Prussia, in the mean time, had made considerable progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign opened in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month, the Prussian general Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by general Helfrich: the town of Ratibor was taken by assault, and the king entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy thousand men. Prince Charles of Lorraine, being joined by the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, and twenty thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut; and was attacked by his Prussian majesty in the plains of Strigan, near Friedbergh. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, prince Charles was obliged to retire, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and a
great

great number of colours, standards, and cannon. But this victory, obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for though the victor transferred the seat of war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by the contributions he raised in that country, the Austrians resolved to hazard another engagement; their aim was to surprize him in his camp at Sohr which they attacked on the thirtieth of September at day-break; but they met with such a warm reception, that notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable loss, and retreated to Jaromire, leaving five thousand men killed on the spot, and two thousand prisoners. The loss of this battle was chiefly owing to the rapacity of the Austrian irregulars, who having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great avidity, and thereby offered an opportunity to the king to rally his troops and restore the battle; they nevertheless retired with their plunder, carrying off with them his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his private secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

The king of Prussia now returned to Berlin, and evinced an earnest desire for peace. In August he had signed a convention with the king of England, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as ceded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the grand-duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the king of Poland and the queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburg with three different armies; and that, for this purpose, his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or apparently so, at this information, he solicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their offices with the court of Petersburg. Yet, far from waiting the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gorlitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. He then entered Leipzick, and laid Saxony under contribution. The king of Poland, unable to resist the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirne, on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian majesty became master of Dresden without farther opposition. The king of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was compelled to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of the king of England. By this convention the Prussian monarch was allowed to retain all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and the king of Poland engaged to pay him a million of German crowns at the ensuing fair of Leipzick. The king of Prussia and the elector Palatine consented to acknowledge the grand duke as emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian majesty certain privileges, *de non evocando*, which had been granted to the late emperor, with regard to some territories possessed by the king of Prussia, though not be-

belonging to the electorate of Brandenburg. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony, and the peace of Germany was restored.

The feeble efforts made by the French in Germany were owing to their formidable exertions in Flanders, which Lewis had resolved to render the theatre of war, in order to complete the conquests he had begun in the preceding campaign. The secretary at war had taken every precaution to render the attempts of his majesty successful, and, notwithstanding the great losses which the French had sustained in various quarters, they now sent out as fine an army as ever appeared in the field. It was composed of one hundred and six battalions, one hundred and seventy-two squadrons, and seventeen free companies. In order to complete the destined number, the militia had been drafted, and seven regiments formed of their best men, which were distinguished by the appellation of *Royal Grenadiers*. The valour displayed by these troops, and the services they performed, fully justified the idea of a similar establishment.

Tournai, one of the barrier towns, a place of great strength, in the fortifications of which Vauban had displayed his usual skill, being invested by the French, the allies resolved to march to its relief, and, on the fifth of May, they advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of that town. On the sixth the king left Paris with the dauphin, who had been recently married to the infant of Spain.

The enemy's force was inferior in number to that of the French: it was composed of twenty battalions, and six-and-twenty squadrons of English, under the duke of Cumberland, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians; twenty-six battalions, and forty squadrons of Dutch, under the young prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians, under count Kœnigseck. The whole army, of which the duke of Cumberland was commander in chief, amounted to about five-and-fifty thousand men.

The French were commanded by marshal Saxe, an officer whose talents had been sufficiently developed in the preceding campaigns to justify the confidence that was now reposed in him. He was perfectly versed in the theory of war, and enjoyed all the advantages resulting from great practical experience; the vigilance and secrecy indispensably requisite in the operations of war, he eminently possessed; he had prudence to restrain, and courage to stimulate, the ardour of his troops, as occasion required; and his plans were not more distinguished by wisdom of conception than by rapidity of execution. At this time, however, the marshal was afflicted with a disorder that had reduced him to a very weak state; but being asked by Voltaire, previous to his departure from Paris, how, in such a situation, he could venture to join the army, he replied, "*I must not think of my life, but of my journey.*"



J. Jones fecit.

Marshall Saxe C.

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The king, on his arrival at Douai, on the seventh of May, received intelligence from mareschal Saxe, that the enemy were approaching, and the next day he repaired to Pontachin, near the Scheldt, at a short distance from the trenches opened before Tournay. At day-break on the eleventh, accompanied by his son, he passed the Scheldt, at the bridge of Calonne, and took his post at the entrance of the field, on which it was evident the battle would be fought.

About five in the morning the two armies met. The right wing of the French extended towards the village of Antoin; the left towards the wood of Barri; and the center was stationed at the village of Fontenoi. Mareschal Saxe had thrown up redoubts between Antoin and Fontenoi, and others at either extremity of the wood of Barri. The field of battle was not more than five hundred toises in length, from the spot where the king was posted near the village of Fontenoi to the wood of Barri; and not more than nine hundred in breadth.

The enemy advanced in three divisions: the count de Kœnigsec commanded the right wing; the prince of Waldeck the left; and the duke of Cumberland the center. About six o'clock, the allies fired a gun, as the signal of action. A cannonade then took place on both sides, which occasioned considerable slaughter. Mareschal de Noailles, at this juncture, was near the village of Fontenoi, giving mareschal Saxe an account of a work he had constructed in the night, for the purpose of joining the village to the first of the three redoubts between Fontenoi and Antoin.

The English made three different attacks on the village of Fontenoi; and the Dutch twice presented themselves before Antoin, but one of the squadrons of the latter being nearly destroyed by the French artillery, fifteen men only escaping, they kept aloof during the remainder of the day. The duke of Cumberland then adopted a resolution which was well calculated to ensure success to his enterprize. He ordered general Ingoldsbey to enter the wood of Barri, and carry by assault the redoubt opposite Fontenoi; but Ingoldsbey, perceiving a small party of French lying on the ground, which he mistook for a considerable corps, returned to the duke of Cumberland, and told him it would be impossible to execute his orders without cannon. The duke was greatly incensed at the conduct of this officer, as the opportunity was suffered to escape, and all his measures were by that means frustrated. He immediately determined to march between the redoubt and the village. The ground was uneven; he had a deep ravine to pass; and the whole fire of Fontenoi and the redoubt to sustain. The attempt was bold: but he was reduced to the alternative either of making it, or of not bringing the French to action. The last, probably, would have been the most prudent; and general Kœnigsec is said to have advised it.

The English and Hanoverians advanced: the guns were drawn by the men, whole ranks of whom were mown down by the formidable fire from the batteries; but these were immediately replaced, and they soon brought their guns to bear against the French. In front of the enemy were posted four battalions of French guards, with two of Swiss guards to their left, and the regiments of Courten and Aubeterre to their right: and farther on was the king's regiment drawn up in a hollow way near Fontenoi. The ground ascended gradually from the spot occupied by these troops to that on which the English were formed in three lines; so that they could not distinguish the number of the enemy. This circumstance induced the grenadiers of the French guards to make an attempt to seize their cannon; but they were instantaneously repulsed, with the loss of sixty men.

The English, meanwhile, continued to advance, and the line of infantry in their front prepared to attack them. As they approached each other the officers of the French and English guards interchanged salutes, by pulling off their hats; while lord Charles Hay quitted the ranks on one side, and count D'Auteroche on the other: the former called out—"Gentlemen of the French guards, fire!" "No, my lord,"—replied the latter—"we never fire first, do you fire⁵⁴."

The attack of the French infantry was sustained with such vigour by the enemy, that, at the first charge, the slaughter was dreadful. Nineteen officers of the French guards, and two hundred and eighty-five privates, were wounded, and three officers, and ninety-five privates killed: eleven Swiss officers and one hundred and forty-five privates were wounded, and sixty-four of the latter killed: the colonel of the regiment of Courten, the lieutenant-colonel, four other officers, and seventy-five soldiers, were killed, and fourteen officers and two hundred men dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus destroyed, the remainder, unsupported by cavalry, dispersed. The duke of Grammont, who commanded them, was among the slain.

The English still advanced slowly, and with as much regularity as if they had been performing their exercise. Their three lines were now consolidated into one body, presenting to the enemy a firm column, almost impenetrable from its bulk, and still more so from its courage. Meanwhile, marshal Saxe, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes in a litter, repaired from place to place, where the danger was most urgent, and where his presence, of course, was most necessary. He beheld, on all sides, prodigies of valour performed, but which only tended to augment the general loss; for if the troops yielded for an instant to the efforts of this formidable mass, they immediately returned to the charge, and braved the death that awaited them. It would be an

⁵⁴ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 375.

endless task to recount the various acts of heroism atchieved on this memorable day, in which the French displayed the most enthusiastic courage. General Luttau, anxious to repair the disorder which prevailed in the center of the army, left the village of Fontenoi, where he had just been dangerously wounded, and rejecting the solicitations of his aid-de-camp, who earnestly entreated him to have his wound dressed, he exclaimed—*“The king’s service is dearer to me than life.”* Nor could he be prevailed on to quit the field until he had received two mortal wounds: as the men were carrying him off, he met some soldiers of the guard, whom, with great presence of mind, he ordered to join their comrades at the bridge of Calonne.

The importance of securing this bridge now encreased every moment, since thoughts were already entertained of advising the king to retreat, and that was the road he must pursue. Lewis, posted on a small eminence, had been attentive to the business of the field, and had occasionally issued orders, in consequence of the remarks his situation enabled him to make, which were sanctioned by the approbation of marshal Saxe, to whose directions he paid implicit obedience, except in one instance. Having quitted, at the instigation of the marshal, the spot where he had hitherto remained, because it was too much exposed to the enemy’s fire, he repaired to Antoin, where he received a message from Saxe, conveyed by the marquis de Meuze, entreating him to repass the bridge, and assuring him that he would do every thing in his power to restore the battle. *“I am sure he will do what’s right,”*—said the monarch—*“but I shall remain where I am.”* It was with great difficulty the youthful ardour of the dauphin could be restrained: drawing his sword, he ran to put himself at the head of the household troops, exclaiming—*“Let us march, Frenchmen; where, then, is the honour of the nation?”* He was stopped, however, by his attendants, who observed to him that his life was too precious to be exposed to needless danger. *“Ah!”*—said the prince—*“in the day of battle, it is not my life that should be spared, but that of the general.”*

The carnage continued; single regiments charged the English column, one after the other, and were, of course, sacrificed to their own imprudent courage. One, in particular, attracted, from its intrepidity, the notice of marshal Saxe, who, observing whole ranks of it fall, while the rest remained firm, eagerly enquired what regiment it was. Being told it was the regiment *Des Vaisseaux*, commanded by the count de Guerchi, the only officer who escaped without a wound, he exclaimed—*“How can such troops fail to conquer?”*

The enemy already thinking the victory gained, uttered shouts of joy, which were heard at Tournai, where the soldiers, who, from the ramparts, were spectators of the combat, prepared to complete the defeat of the besiegers, by a vigorous sally, but the troops that were left to guard the trenches discharged their duty with so much skill and ability, that the garrison was repulsed.]

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At this critical conjuncture, it was resolved to make a last effort, and, at the same time, attack the English in front and on either flank. The troops displayed as much ardour as if they had not yet engaged; and never did two rival armies, stimulated by a mutual thirst for revenge, encounter each other with greater fury. It was on this occasion that the king's household troops, who, with the carabincers, had been placed in the corps-de-reserve, agreeably to the system of the chevalier Follard, which recommended that the best troops should always charge last, distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner. The example of these fresh troops, whose ardour had increased during their inactivity, inspired those who had been already repulsed with additional courage and confidence. All the regiments destined for this grand attack conducted themselves with equal spirit and intrepidity; but the column still remained impenetrable, and, by a steady and well-directed fire, repelled the French on all sides. A dreadful slaughter ensued; the regiments of *The King*, *The Crown*, and *Aubeterre*, were seen to entrench themselves behind vast heaps of dead bodies; while the allies continued to improve the advantage they had already obtained. Various detachments, listening only to the dictates of courage, rushed headlong against the firm phalanx of the enemy; but courage alone was inadequate to resist the persevering efforts of discipline and order.

The battle was now thought to be lost; the troops in Fontenoi, and at the redoubt in the wood of Barri, had expended all their ammunition; most of the artillery-men were killed; marechal Saxe had given orders to evacuate the post of Antoin, and seemed solely intent on preventing a total defeat. Consternation began to prevail among the troops, and a great number of horse were pushed to the very spot where the king was placed with the dauphin. A tumultuous council of war was now holden; and marechal Saxe joined the solicitations of the other general officers to the king, urging his majesty to retreat with the dauphin: but at this instant, the duke of Richelieu, who had just been reconnoitring the column of the allies near Fontenoi, rode up full gallop, and urged the necessity of pointing four pieces of cannon against the front of the column, while a fresh attack should be made with all the troops that could be collected. The idea was immediately adopted by the king, and sanctioned with the approbation of the commander in chief. The cannon were brought to bear; the attack was made with impetuosity; and, in a few minutes, the scale of victory was turned in favour of the French. An opening was made in the column by the cannon, and the cavalry, rushing in, occasioned a temporary disorder; but the ranks were soon closed again, though the allies, having lost a great number of officers and men, found it necessary to retire, and they accordingly effected their retreat with the same good order which they had preserved during the whole day.

In this well-disputed battle, the allies lost nine thousand men, of which two thousand five hundred were made prisoners. Among the slain were the English generals Campbell and Ponsonby. The French had three thousand four hundred and eighty killed, and
three

three thousand two hundred and eighty-two wounded: of the officers fifty-three only expired on the field, and three hundred and twenty-three were wounded in a dangerous manner⁵⁵. Although the attack, on the part of the allies, was generally deemed rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that, had they been properly sustained by the Dutch, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all probability, would have been compelled to raise the siege of Tournay.

The enemy left their sick and wounded in the field, and the attention bestowed on them by the victors did honour to the humanity of the French; they then retired to Aeth, and took possession of an advantageous post at Lessines. The French pressed with vigour the siege of Tournay; and the garrison, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered, on honourable terms, on the first day of June. The city of Ghent was surprized by the count of Lowendhal: Bruges opened its gates to the marquis de Souvré: and the king became master of Oudenarde, five days after the trenches were opened. Dendermonde, Nieupoort, and Aeth, were reduced with equal facility; while the enemy lay entrenched behind the canal of Antwerp: and Lewis, having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

In Italy the issue of the campaign proved equally favourable to France. The Austrians, employed in opposing the king of Prussia in Germany, had not been able to send any considerable force into that country, where there was nothing to impede the progress of the combined army of French and Spaniards. The infant Don Philip and marshal Maillebois had made themselves masters of the vale of Oniglia, and entered the territories of the Genoese, who, offended at the treaty of Worms, had contracted an engagement with the allies, and agreed to furnish a body of ten thousand men, with a considerable train of artillery. The consequence of this combination was an uninterrupted course of success. The marquis of Mirepoix obtained a victory over the Piedmontese at Montefemo, and gained possession of their camp: marshal Maillebois defeated them at Bassignano on the Tanaro, and count de Lautrec in the vale of Pragelas. They were driven from Novi, though reinforced by the Austrians; and the castle of Seravaglia, the strong citadel of Tortona, with the cities of Piacenza, Parma, and Pavia, were taken in their sight. The town and castle of Casal experienced a similar fate, and the garrison of Asti were made prisoners of war by the gallant Chevert. On the nineteenth of December, Don Philip made his public entry into Milan, and exacted an oath of fidelity from the senate and inhabitants. All Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria, in Italy, were

⁵⁵ *Siècle de Louis XV. tom. i. p. 386.*

wholly subdued; and the king of Sardinia despoiled of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and faithful to his engagements, and rejected all the proposals that were made for inducing him to yield to a separate treaty of accommodation.

But while the efforts of the house of Bourbon, on the continent of Europe, were crowned with success, their commerce, in various parts of the globe, fell a prey to the superior fleets of their enemies. Their vessels, laden with the produce of their possessions in the East and West Indies, were taken by the English, and their convoys destroyed. But the most important loss they sustained was the reduction of Louisburgh, on the island of Cape Breton, in North America, a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a considerable expence. A body of six thousand men, under the conduct of Pepperel, an American trader, a man whose influence in that country was extensive, was destined for this expedition, and an English fleet of ten sail was appointed to second his operations. The French, on the approach of the enemy, imprudently abandoned their grand battery, which lay detached from the town, and the immediate seizure of it by the English greatly facilitated the success of their enterprise. While the troops carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea, so as effectually to prevent the introduction of succours. The *Vigilant*, a French ship of the line, commanded by M. de la Maison-fort, laden with guns and ammunition for the garrison, fell, together with several small vessels, into the hands of the enemy. The governor, therefore, despairing of relief, and the town having sustained considerable damage from the formidable attacks of the besiegers, capitulated on the seventeenth day of June, when the city of Louisburgh and the isle of Cape Breton were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged not to bear arms, for twelve months, against Great Britain or her allies, and, being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were conveyed to Rochefort. To encrease this loss, two East India-men, and one ship from Peru, richly laden, sailed into the harbour, a few days after the surrender of the isle, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

In order to favour the future progress of his arms on the continent, Lewis had resolved to renew the project of sending the young Pretender to England: and Charles, traversing the seas in a French frigate, landed, with a few adherents, on the Scottish coast. But the object of the court of France was merely to alarm the English, and to render prince Charles the instrument of their own designs, without making any effort in his favour. With this view an army was assembled at Calais, under the duke of Richelieu; a fleet was ordered to cruise in the channel, as if destined to escort the transports apparently collected for the purpose of conveying the troops to England; and the following manifesto, proceeding, as it is said, from the pen of Voltaire, was prepared for distribution:

“ The most serene prince Charles-Edward, having landed in Great Britain, without
“ any other resource than his courage; and all his actions having secured the admiration
“ of

“ of Europe, and the hearts of all true Englishmen, the king of France has adopted
 “ the general sentiment. He has thought it his duty to assist, at the same time, a prince
 “ worthy to occupy the throne of his ancestors, and a generous nation, the soundest part
 “ of which has at length recalled prince Charles Stuart to his country. He only sends
 “ the duke of Richelieu at the head of his troops because the best-intentioned English
 “ have asked for such a support, and he sends but the precise number of troops that has
 “ been required of him, being ready to recall them whenever the nation shall desire
 “ their absence. The sole object of his majesty in affording such just assistance to his
 “ kinsman, to the son of so many kings, to a prince so worthy to reign, is to restore peace
 “ to England and to Europe; being fully convinced that the most serene prince Edward
 “ places his confidence in the good will of the English nation; that he considers their
 “ liberties, the support of their laws, and the promotion of their happiness, as the end
 “ of all his undertakings; and that, in short, the greatest kings of England have been
 “ those who, nursed in the lap of adversity, have merited the love of the nation.

“ Such are the sentiments which have influenced the king to afford assistance to the
 “ prince who is come to throw himself into the arms of the English; the son of him
 “ who was born the lawful heir of the three kingdoms; the warrior who, notwith-
 “ standing his valour, trusts solely to the people and their laws for the confirmation of
 “ his most sacred rights; who can never have any other interests than their interests;
 “ and whose virtues have moved the minds of those who were most prejudiced against
 “ his cause.

“ He hopes that such an occasion will tend to unite two nations who ought to en-
 “ tertain a reciprocal esteem for each other, who are naturally connected by the mutual
 “ exigencies of their commerce, and who ought to unite, in this instance, to promote
 “ the interests of a prince who merits the good wishes of all nations.

“ The duke of Richelieu, who commands the troops of his majesty the king of
 “ France, addresses this declaration to all faithful subjects in the three kingdoms of
 “ Great Britain, and assures them of the constant protection of the king his master. He
 “ comes to join the heir of their ancient monarchs, and shed, like him, his blood in
 “ their service.”

The attempt of Charles terminated, as the court of France, probably, expected it would. After being solemnly proclaimed in the capital of Scotland, and gaining some advantage, in the moment of enthusiasm, over the royal forces, he entered England; but the recall of the troops from Flanders compelled him hastily to return; and his defeat, at the memorable battle of Culloden-Moor, destroyed all his hopes. He wandered about, a wretched fugitive, in the Highlands of Scotland, for five months, during which he experienced incredible hardships, which he bore with astonishing fortitude. A price

was, in vain, fixed upon his head; the fidelity of his adherents was proof against a bribe, and he at length escaped in a small vessel to France; but the blood of his friends was shed upon a scaffold, and his party for ever extinguished.

A. D. 1746.] During these transactions, preparations were made for pursuing the war with vigour in the Netherlands. Mareschal Saxe, who had returned from Paris to Flanders, unexpectedly formed the siege of Bruxelles in the depth of winter. The capital of Brabant was invested, on the twenty-ninth of January, and, notwithstanding a vigorous defence, the garrison, to the number of nine thousand, were reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-first of the following month: this served but as a prelude to fresh conquests.

The Dutch, alarmed at the near approach of the French to their frontiers, repented their deviation from the principles of neutrality they had originally adopted, and, mistrusting the professions of moderation recently made by the French monarch, began to entertain apprehensions that they should be the victims of a war, from which, at all events, they could not expect to derive much advantage. They had, in vain, imparted to the English ministry some pacific proposals which Lewis, at the close of the ensuing campaign, had been induced to make them; king George was too much incensed at the late impotent attempt to effect his deposition, to listen to any terms of accommodation. The queen of Hungary having placed her consort on the Imperial throne, and concluded a treaty with her most formidable opponent, could not think of submitting to a dismemberment of her Italian territories; and, knowing that Italy had ever been the rock on which the glory of the French had split, she hoped in the ensuing campaign amply to repair the disasters of the last. The Dutch, reduced to the necessity of providing for their own security, uneasy at the reduction of Bruxelles, and foreseeing the consequences of this successful attempt, had recourse to their usual supplications. They sent the count of Waffenaar to Versailles, in the capacity of minister plenipotentiary; and he had an audience of the king, on the twenty-seventh of February, when he received many general professions of amity and protection, but could not obtain any alteration in the plan of the ensuing campaign. Another minister was sent on the same errand in the month of April, but he could obtain no greater satisfaction.

The king again resolved to take the field in person, and he accordingly joined his army in Flanders towards the conclusion of the month of April. The dauphin expressed an earnest desire to attend his father, but the difficulty experienced in restraining his zeal at the battle of Fontenoy, was used as a pretext for rejecting a request which it was not decent to comply with; as the king was determined that his mistress should share with him the glory of the campaign. The affections of the monarch had recently been bestowed on the beautiful Madame D'Etioles, a young person of mean extraction, whom he raised to the *post* of his favourite mistress, and to the rank of marchioness of Pompadour. She

She soon acquired a perfect ascendancy over the mind of Lewis, and, in a short time, became almost the only channel through which honours and preferment were suffered to flow.

On the fourth of May, the king made his entry into Bruxelles, and was received by the magistrates, at the gates of the city, while the count de Lowendhal, who had been appointed governor, presented him with the keys of the place. His army now amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were entrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Marechal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which surrendered in a few days. He then appeared before Mons, the capital of Austrian Hainault, with an immense train of artillery, and every other requisite for prosecuting the siege with vigour. The town, though so strongly fortified, was unable to resist the attacks of the besiegers, who in a short time reduced it to ruins, together with its fortifications; and, in little more than a month after the attack commenced, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Saint Guillaïn and Charlevoix were soon after reduced; so that by the beginning of August Lewis was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had, by this time, assumed the command of the confederate army at Terbeyde, which, having received a strong reinforcement of Hessians and Austrians, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men. The generals, justly supposing that Namur would be the next object of attack, marched towards that city, and took post in an advantageous situation, within sight of the French army, which lay encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained for some days, when a detachment under count Lowendhal was sent to take possession of Huy, where they found a large magazine belonging to the enemy, whose communication with Maestricht was, by this means, cut off. Marechal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that all their convoys were intercepted, and, being utterly deprived of subsistence, prince Charles was obliged to retire to the opposite banks of the Maese, and abandon Namur to the efforts of the French, by whom it was immediately invested. The trenches were opened on the tenth of September, and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution; but the discharge from the mortars and guns was so violent that, in a very short time, the place was reduced to a situation that rendered it no longer tenable. On the nineteenth of September the city capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel, where, at the expiration of eleven days, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The allied army, meanwhile, having received an additional reinforcement of English and Bavarians, prince Charles resolved to risk an engagement; and with that view passed the

the Maese; but he found marechal Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he deemed it prudent to recover with speed his former situation at Maestricht. Count Saxe, having received an accession of force, by the arrival of some troops under the count de Clermont, determined to pursue the enemy, and bring them to action. He accordingly passed the Jaar, towards the end of September, while the allies took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and prepared to give him a warm reception. On the eleventh of October, the French advanced against the enemy in ten columns, and about noon the battle began by a dreadful cannonading. At two o'clock they attacked the left wing of the allies, under prince Waldeck, who, after an obstinate defence, was overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, was dearly purchased by the French, whose loss was greater than that of the enemy. The marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the celebrated author of *Telemachus*, was killed in the action. The prince of Monaco; the young count of Segur; the count de Barleroy; and the marquises of Laval and Vaubecour, were dangerously wounded. This effusion of blood was attended with no solid advantage. The campaign was now closed: the allies, passing the Maese, took up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg, while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

In Italy, the arms of the house of Bourbon were unsuccessful, and the disasters of the present campaign greatly overbalanced the advantages obtained in the last. The house of Austria, no longer in fear for the safety of her German dominions, was enabled to augment her efforts in that country; and the king of Sardinia, having received a subsidy from England, resolved to redouble the vigour and activity of his exertions. Marechal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with thirty thousand men: Don Philip and count de Gages commanded a still greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The king of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the prince of Lichtenstein, was infinitely more numerous; so that the French and Spaniards were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February, baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and reduced the strong fortress of Asti. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the vicinity of Genoa. On the other side Don Philip and count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians, with the utmost precipitation, to Piacenza, where they were joined in June by the forces under Maillebois.

Before this junction was effected, the Spanish general Pignatelli had passed the river Po in the night, with a strong detachment, and forced the quarters of seven thousand Austrians,

Austrians, posted at Codogno. Don Philip, now finding himself at the head of fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the Austrian camp at San Lazaro, before they should be reinforced by the king of Sardinia. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of June, in the evening, he marched, with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigour till morning. They then quitted their entrenchments, and charged the combined army in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance, their ranks were broken, and they were compelled to retire with precipitation to Piacenza, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery.

The Austrians were afterwards joined by the Piedmontese, when the king of Sardinia assumed the chief command, and prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and stationed his troops in the open country of the Milanese. The king of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined, that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the combined forces on one side, while the marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Piacenza. Don Philip forthwith quitted all the posts he had occupied between the Lambro and the Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view he threw bridges of boats over the river, and his troops began to pass on the ninth of August in the evening. At Rotto Freddo they were attacked by a detachment of Austrians, under general Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was then renewed with additional fury, and continued till four in the afternoon, when the combined forces were compelled to yield to superior numbers, and retired to Tortona with the loss of eight thousand men. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men, left dead on the field, including that gallant veteran general Berenclau. The victors immediately summoned Piacenza to surrender, and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, including three thousand sick, were made prisoners of war. Don Philip continued his retreat, and, of all his forces, brought only sixteen thousand effective men⁵⁶ into the territories of Genoa.

The Piedmontese and Austrians, rejoining in the vicinity of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance; while the combined forces took shelter under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation, for, on the twenty second of August, they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the marquis de las Minas to resume the

⁵⁶ *Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 22.*

command of the forces. In the mean time the victorious army appeared before Genoa on the fourth of December; and the senate of that city, thinking it incapable of resisting their attacks, submitted to a degrading capitulation, by which the gates were delivered to the Austrians, together with all the arms, artillery, and ammunition; and they agreed immediately to pay a contribution, equal to four hundred thousand French livres, until it should be known what tax the victors should think fit to impose on the city.

The marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the king of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but that monarch being seized with the small pox, the conduct of this expedition was entrusted to count Brown, an Austrian general, of Irish extraction, who had exhibited repeated proofs of great courage and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by the English admiral Medley, who commanded a British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of mareschal Belleisle, who thought proper, however to abandon his posts, at the approach of the enemy; and Brown, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution; baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions invested Antibes, which was, at the same time, bombarded, on the side towards the sea, by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September; but Belleisle having assembled an army superior to the enemy, and the Genoese having expelled the Austrians from their city, count Brown abandoned the enterprize, and re-passed the Var, though not without some loss from the attacks of the French.

The court of Vienna had exacted such heavy contributions—amounting to no less than a million sterling—from the Genoese, and its directions were so vigorously enforced, that the people were driven to despair; and resolved to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. They accordingly laid their plan with great secrecy, and, as soon as every preparation was made, seized several important posts in the city; surprized some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others and cut them in pieces; and, in short, expelled the whole garrison, after putting great numbers of them to the sword. The marquis de Botta displayed great caution and spirit in this trying emergency; but being overpowered by numbers, and fearful of an attack from the peasants who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Bochetta, on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he should receive reinforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not prevent him from reducing Savona, a sea-port town belonging to the republic; he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the other hand, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, levying troops, and in taking every necessary measure for a vigorous defence, in case of a second attack.





Jones Fecit

The DAUPHIN,
(Father to Louis the Sixteenth)

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In the East-Indies, the honour of the French flag was asserted by La Bourdonnaie, who dispossessed the English of their settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel, and bade defiance to a superior fleet under commodore Peyton. A descent of the English on the coast of Brittany, with a view to the reduction of port L'Orient, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of the French, and the troops destined for that expedition were compelled to re-embark, after a vain and impotent attempt upon the town.

A. D. 1747.] The winter was passed in rejoicings on the marriage of the dauphin, who, having lost his first wife, had been induced, from motives of policy, to give his hand to Maria-Theresa of Saxony, daughter to Augustus, king of Poland⁵⁷; and, on the return of spring, count Saxe, who had been created marshal-general of the camps and armies of France, again took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men; while a separate body, composed of nineteen battalions, and thirty squadrons, was entrusted to the conduct of the count de Clermont. On the sixteenth of April count Lowendhal was detached with seven-and-twenty thousand men to make an irruption into Dutch Flanders; at the same time, the abbé de la Ville, the French minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states, intimating that his master had been led to the adoption of this measure by the necessity of war, but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic; that the towns and territories of which he might find himself obliged to take possession, should only be detained as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer afford succour and assistance to the enemies of France.

While the States deliberated upon this declaration, count Lowendhal entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which, after a short resistance, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Sas-van-Ghent was next reduced, while the marquis de Contades, with another detachment, took the forts of Perle and Leiskenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg, though vigorously defended by two English battalions, experienced a similar fate; and count Lowendhal undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by la Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to its relief. The count then took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for the purpose of making a descent on the island of Zealand.

The rapid success of the French arms, which seemed to bear down all before them, and to threaten the total reduction of the country, diffused a general consternation though-

⁵⁷ Vie du Dauphin, Pere de Louis XVI. p. 41.

out Holland. The Dutch saw the enemy at their doors, and were indebted for their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of a commodore, whose seasonable exertions defeated the intention of Lowendhal. The common people in Zealand being reduced to despair at the prospect of those calamities which they perceived no means of averting, began to clamour against the government, which they accused of having neglected to adopt proper measures for their security. The friends of the prince of Orange eagerly embraced this opportunity to promote his interests: they encouraged the discontent of the people; they exaggerated the dangers of the state; and they reminded them of the year sixteen hundred and seventy-two, when Lewis the Fourteenth was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the choice of a stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had given freedom and independence to the United Provinces; his virtue and ability they extolled; and expatiated, with energy, on his generosity, his justice, and the love which he bore to his country. In several towns, the people, inflamed by such representations, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder. The prince himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the provinces; and, on the twenty-eighth day of April, he was nominated captain-general and admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam, and the whole province of Holland; and, on the second day of May, that office, which had been abolished on the accession of William to the throne of England, was renewed, and the prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the states-general, invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general and admiral of the United Provinces. The salutary effects of this resolution immediately appeared; all commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited; the peasants were armed and exercised; a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army; a council of war was established for enquiring into the conduct of the governors who had surrendered the frontier towns; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French both by sea and land.

The negotiations for peace, which, during the winter, had been opened at Breda, were now suspended. Van Hoey, the Dutch ambassador, indeed, still continued in France, though every opportunity was taken to insult him, and to render his situation disgusting and insupportable. One night when he supped with the marquis de Fontaine, a large Dutch cheese was placed on the table with the desert; when the marquis said,—“*Ambassador, that is some of the fruit of your country.*” Van Hoey immediately rose from his seat, and taking a handful of ducats from his pocket, threw them on the table, saying—“*That too is some of the fruit of my country.*” He then left the room, and, soon after, withdrew from Paris.

About the end of May, the king joined the army, and, immediately after his arrival, marshal Saxe resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain, and the confederates, aware of his design, determined to place themselves between the town and the French army. On the first of July, they took possession

possession of their ground, and were drawn up, in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. Mareschal Saxe had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening.

On the morning of the second the French infantry marched down the hill in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with great perseverance. The assailants suffered considerably in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates; and they experienced so warm a reception from the British troops, that they were thrown into the utmost disorder: but they were no sooner broken or dispersed than the arrival of fresh brigades enabled them to rally and renew the fight. The confederates were, at length, driven out of the village; yet, being sustained by three regiments, they returned and repulsed the French with great slaughter. Still, however, count Saxe continued to pour in fresh battalions, and the French recovered and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and regained. The action was chiefly confined to this part, where the field exhibited a dreadful scene of carnage. At noon the English general, the duke of Cumberland, ordered his whole left wing to advance against the French, whose infantry gave way: prince Waldeck led up the center of the allies; mareschal Bathiani made a motion with their right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day was suddenly turned in favour of the French.

Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the center of the allies, gave way, and, flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry then charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was, by this means, divided about the center. The duke of Cumberland, in attempting to restore order to his troops, was in danger of being taken, and the defeat would, probably, have been total and complete, had not Sir John Ligonier adopted the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Imperial horse, he charged the whole line of French cavalry, with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all who opposed him, and made such a powerful diversion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to retreat in tolerable order to Maestricht. Ligonier was himself taken prisoner, after his horse had been killed, but the regiments he commanded retired without molestation.

About twelve thousand men perished on both sides, the loss being nearly equal. Among the killed, in the French army, were the count of Bavaria, natural brother to the unfortunate emperor, Charles the Seventh; the marquis de Froulai, camp-mareschal;

colonel Dillon, of the Irish brigades; brigadier D'Erlach; and the marquises of Autichamp and Aubeterre. The marquises of Bonac and Segur were dangerously wounded. After the battle Lewis said to Sir John Ligonier, whom he treated with the greatest respect, making him dine at his own table, "*Would it not be better to think seriously of peace than to occasion the death of so many brave men*"⁵⁸?

Lewis remained, with his army, in the vicinity of Tongres, while the enemy passed the Maese, and encamped in the duchy of Limburgh, so as to cover Maestricht. Marechal Saxe, after various marches and countermarches calculated to amuse and deceive the allies, at length detached count Lowendahl, with six-and-thirty thousand men, to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest place in Dutch Brabant; the chef-d'œuvre of Coehorn, the celebrated rival of Vauban; and surnamed *The Maid*, from the circumstance of its never having been subdued. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, and was amply provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The trenches were opened at the beginning of July. The prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, and he entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army.

The besiegers carried on their operations with great spirit, and the garrison conducted their defence with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege; count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The loss on both sides was very great: from the sixteenth of July to the fifteenth of September, the town, and the camp of the besiegers, produced an unvaried scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shaken; the town was reduced to ashes; the trenches were filled with dead bodies: but still the greater damage was sustained by the besiegers, who were slain in heaps, while the garrison suffered much less, and was occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. In short, it was generally believed that count Lowendahl would be obliged to desist from the enterprize; and by this belief the governor of the place, baron Cronstran, seems to have been lulled into a blind security. Some inconsiderable breaches being, at length, made in a ravelin and two bastions, Lowendahl resolved to storm them, though Cronstran conceived them to be impracticable, and, therefore, made no preparation for resisting the attack. At four o'clock, on the morning of the seventeenth of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, the French threw themselves into the fossé, mounted the breaches, forced open a

⁵⁸ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 101.



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MARECHAL LOWENDIAL,

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sally-port, and entered the place almost without resistance. In short, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstran was in bed, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had secured the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of Scottish troops, in the pay of the states-general, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until the arrival of fresh reinforcements compelled the enemy to retire in their turn: yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the spot. They then carried off the old governor, and abandoned the town; while the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the neighbouring forts immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. Lewis was no sooner informed of Lowendhal's success, than he promoted him to the rank of marshal of France, appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and returned in triumph to Versailles. Both armies, soon after, retired into winter quarters.

During these operations in the Netherlands, marshal Belleisle, having collected a powerful army in Provence, passed the Var, without opposition, in the month of April, and took possession of Nice. He experienced little or no resistance in the reduction of Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventimiglia; while general Brown, with eight and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. Lewis had supplied the city with every requisite for sustaining a siege, and had sent the duke de Boufflers as ambassador to the republic, who likewise acted as commander in chief of the forces employed in its defence. The Austrian general assembled his troops in the Milanese, and, having forced the strong passage of the Bochetta, advanced into the territories of Genoa, and ravaged the Riviera without mercy. He invested the city with an army of forty thousand men, and summoned the inhabitants to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republic had fifty-four thousand soldiers, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provisions: that they would sacrifice their lives to the preservation of their liberty, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed by the kings of England and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces.

In May, Genoa being completely invested, a vigorous sally was made by the duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but, the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylum-
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berg carried on his operations with such skill and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and would, in all probability, have reduced the city, had he not been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the king of Sardinia and count Brown, who represented the necessity of abandoning his enterprize, and drawing off his army, in order to protect Piedmont and Limburg from the efforts of mareschal de Belleisle. He accordingly raised the siege, about the middle of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the duchy of Parma, and the adjacent country, where they committed dreadful depredations in revenge for the loss they had sustained.

While mareschal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth of July, he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important fort the king of Sardinia had entrusted to the care of the count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along all the passes of the Alps. On the eighth of the month, the chevalier de Belleisle attacked the Piedmontese entrenchments, with astonishing intrepidity; but the columns, into which he had formed his troops, were thrice successively repulsed with great loss. Impatient of this obstinate resistance, and determined not to survive the failure of an enterprize in which he had inconsiderately engaged, this impetuous general seized a pair of colours, and, advancing at the head of his men, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's works. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musket-balls, and the thrust of a bayonet, in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they immediately gave way, and retreated with precipitation, towards Sestrieres, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The mareschal was no sooner apprised of this disaster than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles, while the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion; but the excessive rains that fell at this period prevented the accomplishment of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions to drive the French from Ventimiglia, but, Belleisle marching back, that project was also frustrated; and nothing farther was attempted, on either side, during the campaign.

Lewis was not more fortunate in his naval operations than in his designs upon Italy. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament under the command of the duke D'Anville, for the recovery of cape Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, disease, and the death of the commander. Undiscouraged by these disasters, he determined to renew his efforts against the British colonies in
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North-America, and their settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the commodore de la Jonquiere; and the other, destined for India, by M. de St. George. On the third of May these squadrons, consisting of six sail of the line, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by the East India company, having under their convoy thirty merchantmen, fell in, off the coast of Galicia, with an English fleet of superior force, under admirals Anson and Warren. The men of war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle, while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, pursued their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was drawn up in line of battle; but admiral Warren perceiving that the French began to sheer off, as soon as their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, in order to prevent the French from effecting their escape during the night. The proposal was embraced, and in a short time, the action began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The French sustained the combat with equal conduct and courage, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The English admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken, but the rest were fortunately saved by the approach of night. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in the action: the English lost about five hundred.

About the middle of June, forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo, fell into the hands of the enemy; and in the month of October Lewis sustained a loss of still greater magnitude. A French fleet of merchantmen sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, and some frigates, commanded by M. de Lendeur. On the fourteenth of October, they fell in with an English fleet of fourteen sail of the line, under admiral Hawke, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his ships of the line and the frigates to proceed with the trading vessels, while he formed the line of battle and boldly waited the attack of the enemy. At half past eleven in the fore noon both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when the whole squadron, except the *Intrepide* and *Tonnant*, had stricken to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French officers sustained the unequal conflict with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were no longer in a condition to resist. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred; while that of the enemy did not exceed two hundred, including one of their captains.

A.D. 1748.] Lewis, finding his navy destroyed, his subjects oppressed with taxes, and the commerce of his kingdom in danger of annihilation, evinced the greatest anxiety for bringing the war to a speedy termination. The conferences opened at Breda had been transferred to Aix-la-Chapelle, and the plenipotentiaries of the different powers now seemed to display a disposition favourable to the conclusion of a peace. Mareschal Saxe,
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at the conclusion of the *last* campaign had been heard to declare, that, "*peace was in Maestricht*," the *present*, therefore, was opened by preparations for the reduction of that important place.

Before the siege could be undertaken, it was necessary to open and secure all the passes, to force a whole army to retire, and to render it incapable of acting: it was necessary, that the general should at once deceive the enemy, and conceal his design from his own troops. A manœuvre thus difficult required all the skill and exertions of marechal Saxe. He first made the enemy believe that he meant to besiege Breda. He went in person to conduct a large convoy to Bergen-op-Zoom, at the head of five-and-twenty thousand men, and seemed to turn his back upon Maestricht. Another division, meanwhile, marched towards Tongres, on the road to Liege; a third was posted at Tongres; and a fourth threatened Luxembourg: but no sooner was the signal given, than they were all put in motion at the same time, and directed their march on either side of the Maese, towards Maestricht; and on the thirteenth of April that city was invested.

The allied army, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men, was, at this time, encamped in the vicinity of Ruremonde. The garrison of Maestricht consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor, baron d'Aylva, who displayed equal capacity and resolution in defence of the place. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and carried on their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered way, in which they effected a lodgment, after an obstinate conflict, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops; but, the next day, they were entirely dislodged by the gallant exertions of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, by the arrival of intelligence that preliminaries of peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of the French arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to marechal Saxe, on condition that it should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of the place, on the third of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time, a body of seven-and-thirty thousand Russians, which Great-Britain and Holland had taken into pay, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by the emperor; they then proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt. Lewis the Fifteenth declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of all the towns in Dutch Brabant. This dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, at the beginning of August, signed a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should re-

turn to their own country; and that the French monarch should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they remained until the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time, seven-and-thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty.

The cessation of arms was published in Paris and London, and in the other capitals of the contracting powers; orders were sent to the respective admirals, in the different parts of the world, to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. The campaign in Italy was marked by no event of importance. The French and Spanish troops, which had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the duke de Boufflers; while mareschal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under general Leutrum. At the same time, general Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and re-commence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

In the East-Indies the siege of Pondicherry had been undertaken by the English; but the vigorous defence of the governor, Du Pleix, compelled them to desist from their enterprize, and to retire, after having lost a thousand men in the fruitless attempt.

Meanwhile the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle continued to discuss the various articles of the treaty; and the marquis de Saint Severin, one of the French plenipotentiaries, had begun, by declaring, that he came to fulfil the words of his master, *who wished to make peace, not like a tradesman, but like a king*⁶⁰. At length, the definitive treaty was signed on the sixteenth of October. The contracting parties agreed, that all prisoners on either side should be mutually released, without ransom, and all conquests restored: that the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, should be ceded, as a settlement, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but, in the event of his accession to the throne of Spain, or that of the Two Sicilies, or of his death without leaving male issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria: that the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all

⁶⁰ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 143.

the other conquests which his Britannic majesty should have atchieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed : that Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continue in the state specified in former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them ; and they likewise engaged to secure to the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia the possession of her hereditary dominions, agreeably to the Pragmatic Sanction.

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which incurred the disapprobation both of the French and English people : there were certainly some parts of it highly objectionable, but the censure bestowed on it was too indiscriminate and general. No trivial objections should ever be suffered to operate as an impediment to the conclusion of a treaty, calculated to restore peace and happiness to millions. The subjects of Lewis considered that his conquests in the Netherlands entitled him to more advantageous conditions, but they did not reflect that his fleets had been defeated in every quarter, and that the injuries sustained by the commercial part of the kingdom rendered it extremely difficult to procure the necessary sums for carrying on the war : another material point, too, escaped their attention ; though Lewis might perhaps have a right to expect better terms, yet it was by no means certain that the allies would have been disposed to grant them ; and the inconveniencies that must have resulted from a continuation of the war were sufficiently formidable to justify his conduct in concluding a peace. Still, it must be allowed, that, his consent to two articles of the treaty rather betrayed weakness than moderation. He certainly ought to have asserted the dignity of an independant nation, by insisting on the advantages to be derived from re-establishing the harbour of Dunkirk ; and both the dictates of justice, and the sentiments of honour, should have deterred him from acceding to an article which insisted on the expulsion of the Pretender from the dominions of France. It was base, perfidious, and cowardly, to abandon that prince, after having invited him to repair to Paris ; after having deceived him by fallacious hopes ; and after having rendered him, at the peril of his life, instrumental to the designs of the French court. The Pretender, refusing to believe that the French monarch could behave in a manner so unworthy his rank and station, had turned a deaf ear to all the intimations he received of the intentions of the ministry to carry him off by force ; and the government at length was obliged to issue an order to the duke de Biron to arrest him. He was accordingly seized at the opera, and conducted to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained three days, when he was conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom. The Parisians expressed great indignation at the injustice shewn to this unfortunate prince, and they vented their rage, as usual, in satirical verses, distributed throughout the capital : one of them, addressed to Lewis, ran thus—" He, in prison, is, " a king :—say, what are you upon a throne ?"

A. D. 1748 to 1753.] The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored tranquillity to Europe ; and, during an interval of seven years, the reign of commerce and the arts produced
plenty.

plenty and happiness to all the different people which inhabit that quarter of the globe. But the tranquillity which France might, in common with other nations, have enjoyed, was partially disturbed by violent disputes between her clergy and parliaments.

Machault, comptroller-general of the finances, amidst other fiscal regulations for liquidating the debts incurred during the war, or, at least, for discharging the interests due thereon, made a demand on the general assembly of the clergy of an annual contribution of fifteen hundred thousand livres, for the term of seven years : and, on the seventeenth of August 1750, a royal declaration was issued, for the purpose of instituting an enquiry, with a view to ascertain the real wealth of the clergy. The assembly remonstrated ; the king disregarded their representations ; but a change in the ministry taking place, the enquiry was dropped ; and the measure, salutary and unobjectionable as it was, was wholly given up.

Hitherto the bull *UNIGENITUS*, the reception of which had been enforced by Lewis the Fourteenth, had created no public disturbance ; but an attempt of the clergy, at this period, whether proceeding from a design to avert the attention of the court from the subject of taxation, or from causes purely spiritual, proved the means of renewing the former opposition to that bull. They resolved to demand confessional notes of dying persons, signed by priests who adhered to the bull, without which no viaticum, or extreme unction, could be obtained. The relations of persons who had, in their last moments, been refused the sacrament, on account of a non-compliance with these regulations, having appealed to the parliament of Paris, that court issued an order for apprehending the priests, and sent a deputation of their members to the archbishop of Paris, to request that he would prevent the repetition of similar abuses. The prelate, M. de Beaumont, a man of irreproachable character, but extremely bigotted, who had lately been promoted to the see of Paris, replied, that having found the custom of exacting confessional notes established in his diocese, he could not think of departing from it.

This was the commencement of the war that was kindled between the secular jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical discipline. The king, having adopted the policy of the regent, by alternately favouring and repressing either party, thought himself able to hold the balance between them ; but he soon perceived his error, and, at length, found himself compelled to make his authority yield to circumstances, and insensibly led to the adoption of violent measures, which produced the greatest confusion both in church and state.

In this dispute, as in most others in which religion and policy are interwoven, both parties were, occasionally, wrong : the clergy, in refusing to administer the sacrament to those who, at a period when all earthly consolation is vain, had been accustomed to consider it as a necessary passport to the regions of happiness and peace ; and the parlia-

ment, in refusing, when restrained from acts of violence, by the interposition of royal authority, to discharge those functions for which they had been instituted, and thereby making the people suffer from disputes in which they had no concern.

On the eighteenth of April, 1752, the parliament published an arrêt forbidding all persons to commit any act that might promote a schism in the church, or to refuse to administer the sacrament under pretence that the party requiring it had not a confessional note. The Janfenists evinced the most immoderate joy on the publication of this arrêt, to check which the king deemed it necessary to issue an arrêt of the council, forbidding the parliament to take cognizance of any disputes on the point in question, until they had been first submitted to the consideration of his majesty; and, at the same time, enjoining, in compliance with former laws, submission and respect to the bull *Unigenitus*. This proceeding, though meant only to correct the violence of the magistrates, operated as an encouragement to the ecclesiastical zealots, who persisted in their refusal to administer the sacrament; and their fanatical rage diffused itself over the provinces: the archbishops of Sens and Tours; the bishops of Amiens, Orleans, Langres, and Troyes, signalized their zeal within the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris; while the other parliaments had almost equal occasion to exert their severity against the pious delinquents. The press groaned beneath the heavy productions of either party, and even the pulpit was disgraced by personal insults and invective.

The king, inclined to moderate measures, and anxious to conciliate matters, established, by the advice of his chancellor Lamoignon, on the thirtieth of May, 1752, a commission, composed of eight members, four of whom were ecclesiastics, and four magistrates. But this expedient proved equally displeasing to both parties. The clergy presented a remonstrance to the king, on the eleventh of June, subscribed by five archbishops, sixteen bishops, and the two general agents of the order, in which they observed that the office of the bishops was the more important, inasmuch as it was their duty to give an account to God of the conduct of kings themselves: "For you know"—said they to Lewis—"that although your dignity raises you above the rest of mankind, you bow down your head before the prelates, you receive the sacraments from them, and you are, by your religion, subjected to them: you follow their judgment, and they yield not to your will. If bishops obey your laws, in matters of police, and temporal affairs, knowing that you have received your power from above, with what affection should you acknowledge *their* sway, who are established for the distribution of the sacraments!"

The magistrates, on their side, represented, that the laws and forms, of which they were the sworn depositories and guardians, constituted the only pledge for the preservation of a just government, and the only security for the property, lives, and liberties of the subjects: that, in the present circumstances, it was of greater importance, than at any

any other period, to convince those who wished to profit by the holiness of their office in order to exempt themselves from obedience to any rules whatever, that they are subjected to the ordinances of the realm, and to the punishments denounced against those who disobey them: that it was only by making the arm of justice fall heavy upon such persons that a schism could be prevented, for which the archbishop of Paris and a number of prelates had dared openly to declare themselves; and an event averted the most fatal to religion, the state, and the monarchy. Thus one party continued to refuse the sacrament in obedience to the dictates of their conscience, and the other to prosecute them in compliance with their oaths.

In December, 1752, the archbishop of Paris ordered the sacrament to be refused to two nuns of the religious house of Saint Agatha, who, having formerly heard their confessor say that the bull *Unigenitus* was a work of the Devil, were fearful of risking their salvation by receiving it on their death-bed; they were also fearful of incurring the same penalty by dying without having received the extreme unction. The parliament sent their secretary to request the archbishop not to refuse the poor nuns the consolation they required; and the prelate having replied, as usual, that he was only responsible to God for his conduct in that respect; his temporalities were seized; and the peers and princes of the blood were invited to take their seats in the parliament.

A. D. 1753 to 1756.] The disputes now wore a serious aspect, and the government began to dread a renewal of the times of the *Fronde* and the *League*. The king forbade the princes and peers to give their votes on a matter the cognizance whereof he had transferred to the privy council. The archbishop of Paris had even credit to obtain an arrêt of the council for dissolving the community of Saint Agatha, where the nuns entertained so bad an opinion of the bull *Unigenitus*.

But neither the exertions of power nor the voice of reason could quench the flame which fanaticism had lighted up, and obstinacy had cherished. Acts of violence still continued to be committed in different parts of the kingdom: the vicar of Rosainvilliers, in the diocese of Amiens, observed, one day, from the pulpit, that such of the congregation as were Jansenists might leave the church, and *he would be the first to dip his hands in their blood*⁶¹. He even pointed out some of his parishioners whom he suspected of favouring the principles he reprobated, and thereby exposed them to the resentment of the opposite party, who pelted them with stones, though it is highly probable that neither one nor the other had the smallest knowledge of the subject of dispute.

The parliament of Paris, within whose jurisdiction Amiens is situated, banished the factious priest, and their sentence was confirmed by the king, because it did not relate to an

⁶¹ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 212.

object purely spiritual, but to an act of sedition, which tended to disturb the public tranquillity. In pursuit of the system he had adopted, Lewis forbade the use of particular names, which served to cherish the spirit of party, such as *Innovators*, *Jansenists*, &c.; and insults of all kinds; he reprimanded some, he exhorted others: by letters-patent, of the twenty-second of February 1753, he prohibited the parliament from taking cognizance of ecclesiastical proceedings, and ordered them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. At the same time he recommended the greatest circumspection to the bishops; regarding the bull as a law of the church, but wishing to prevent it from becoming an object of discussion.

But the king's precautions were ineffectual to calm the rage which had by this time inflamed the minds of both parties. The parliament pretended that it was impossible to separate spiritual from civil matters; since ecclesiastical quarrels of necessity produced political disputes; instead, therefore, of acquiescing, the parliament of Paris presented a new remonstrance, and came to a resolution that they could not obey the injunction of their sovereign without violating their duty and their oaths. They drew up a remonstrance (which, however, the king would not suffer them to present) in which they said "If those persons who abuse your majesty's confidence, pretend to reduce us to the cruel alternative of failing in our duty, or incurring your displeasure, we declare that our zeal is boundless, and that we possess sufficient courage to become the victims of our *fidelity*"—they cited the bishop of Orleans to appear before their tribunal, for having refused to administer the sacrament; they caused all writings, except the king's declarations, in which their jurisdiction was contested, to be burnt by the executioner; they sent, in direct disobedience to the king's orders, some of their members to register their sentences at the Sorbonne; by military aid, they enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick; and, at length, on the fifth of May, they came to a formal resolution, to attend to no other business, but that, in which they were expressly forbidden to interfere.

The indignation of Lewis was, very naturally, excited by obstinacy thus inveterate, and by opposition thus pointed: and as they still persisted in their refusal to register his letters-patent, and to administer justice to his subjects, he determined to make the refractory magistrates feel the effects of his resentment. The chambers of Inquests and Requests, chiefly composed of young men, ardent and impetuous, were banished to different parts of the kingdom, and four of the members who were supposed to have stimulated their brethren to the violent conduct they had pursued, were imprisoned; the abbé Chauvelin was sent to Saint Michael; M. Beze-de-Lys to Pierre-Encise; the president de Bezigny to the castle of Ham; and the president du Mazy to the island of Saint Margaret.

The grand chamber was spared; but the members, actuated by the *esprit-du-corps*, determined to imitate the example of their brethren; and accordingly persisted in refusing

to discharge their duty to the people, and in prosecuting the clergy. The king, in consequence, banished them to Pontoise, whither they had been sent during the regency.

The parliament of Normandy pursued the same line of conduct; they cited the bishop of Evreux to appear before them, and ceased to administer justice. The king sent an officer of his guards to erase their registers; and in the end they proved more docile than the parliament of Paris.

Lewis, to prevent the absence of the parliament from impeding the administration of justice in the capital, established, in November 1753, a *royal chamber*, for the prosecution of suits, civil and criminal; but the counsellors, animated by the same zeal as the parliament, refused to plead before these new judges; and the people, left to themselves, threatened to fall into anarchy and confusion. The king's patience being at length exhausted, and being equally tired with the inflexibility of either party, he ordered his ministers to open a negotiation with the parliament of Paris, whose members, in August 1754, re-entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the multitude. At the same time Lewis imposed silence on both parties, and empowered the secular judges to proceed against all persons who should presume to interrupt the public tranquillity.

The schism, however, still broke out, from time to time, both at Paris and in the provinces; and, notwithstanding the measures which the king had taken for preventing the refusal of the sacrament, several prelates persisted in their obstinacy, and heavy fines were accordingly imposed upon them. The king, who had banished the secular judges for disobeying his orders, resolved to inflict the same punishment on such ecclesiastics as were guilty of the same offence. The archbishop of Paris was, therefore, banished to Conflans; and the bishops of Orleans and Troyes to their country seats.

The parliament, being at liberty to act, attacked the members of the Sorbonne, who, though they had formerly regarded the bull with horror, now considered it as a rule of faith. They threatened to stop their lessons; and the parliament, who had themselves refused to discharge functions of greater importance, ordered them to continue them. So long as the magistrates supported the liberties of the Gallican church, the king approved their proceedings, but when transported by their zeal beyond the bounds of justice and prudence, he gave them a seasonable check; and while he confirmed those arrêts which were calculated to promote the public good, he annulled such as seemed proper only to gratify private resentment.

It is evident that these troubles proceeded from a glaring defect in the system of government: had the jurisdiction of the different courts been defined with precision, and a line been drawn to ascertain the limits of the spiritual and civil powers, neither the efforts of fanaticism, nor the encroachments of the magistracy, could have interrupted.

rupted, for so great a length of time, the public peace. The actions and decisions of all parties must have been subjected to the *law*; and no occasion for the interference of royal prerogative could have occurred. It must be confessed, however, that the king, in this difficult emergency, displayed great impartiality and moderation: a greater exertion of firmness, indeed, might have had a better effect, by stifling the dispute at its birth: and where power is absolute, it surely can never be more worthily employed, than for preserving the peace and happiness of a nation.

But the attention of Lewis was diverted from these internal commotions to objects of greater importance; and the situation of affairs on the continents of Asia and America, was such as threatened again to involve the European powers in all the horrors and calamities of war. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, a man of an active and enterprising spirit, conceived the design of advancing the interest of the French East-India company, by the acquisition of large territorial possessions in the South of Asia. This daring project was encouraged by the weakness of the native princes, in whose service the troops which had been assembled for the protection of Pondicherry, during the late war, were now employed. The superiority of their arms and discipline ensured an easy triumph to whatever party they espoused, and the *Subah*, or viceroy of Decan, whose authority they had contributed to extend over the immense tract of country that stretches from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the most liberal concessions.

The progress of the French had awakened the jealousy of the servants of the English East-India company. The attempt of Dupleix to impose a *nabob*, or governor, on Arcot, a province in which Pondicherry is situated, roused the English to arms. As the allies of the princes of India, the rival nations opposed each other with equal courage and skill, and several battles were fought with various success, until the appearance of Mr. Clive turned the tide of war in favour of his countrymen. This extraordinary person had entered as a writer in the service of the English East-India company; but he soon exchanged the pen for the sword, and, by a rapid succession of splendid victories, acquired the character of a great general: with a small but well-chosen band he occupied Arcot, the capital of the disputed province, repelled a numerous army of French and Indians, who threatened to overwhelm him, and triumphed, in a decisive battle, over the host by which he had been lately besieged. In the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, the French and their allies were finally defeated; the pretensions of Chunda-Saib, the assassin whose cause Dupleix had espoused, were extinguished in his blood; and his rival, Mohammed Ali, was established by the English on the throne of Arcot.

Dupleix

Dupleix was soon after recalled; but while a cessation of arms, agreed upon by the hostile powers, gave reason to hope that the flames of war would not be suffered to extend to Europe, the conduct of the French governors in North America destroyed the pleasing prospect, and afforded to England a plausible ground for the commencement of hostilities. By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia, a country adjacent to Canada, had been ceded to England, with all its ancient limits; but unfortunately those limits, through the neglect of ministers, had never been specified nor ascertained either by that or any subsequent treaty. Availing themselves of this circumstance, the French governors formed a plan for uniting, by a chain of forts, their two extensive colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and for confining the English to that tract of country that lies between the sea and the Apalachian mountains, which run from one end of North America to another. Had this plan been carried into effect, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade; and the British settlers, incessantly exposed to the incursions of the ferocious savages, must have soon been annihilated. The project was pursued with equal zeal and capacity; forts were erected along the great lakes which communicate with the river Saint Laurence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi; and the chain was almost completed, when England, alarmed at these rapid encroachments, after repeated and ineffectual expostulations, determined to unsheath the sword.

In 1755, an English squadron was sent to the banks of Newfoundland to attack the fleet of France, when unprepared for resistance; and though the greater part escaped by favour of a fog, two ships of the line, *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys*, were taken. The British cruizers swept the sea with such success, that above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France were carried into the ports of Great Britain; and near ten thousand seamen became prisoners to that crown.

Lewis, astonished and confounded at this unexpected stroke, filled every court in Europe with complaints, and endeavoured, by the formation of new alliances, to put himself in a situation to oppose with success the exertions of his formidable enemies.

The empress-queen of Hungary, mortified at her inability, towards the close of the late war, to make peace with the king of Prussia, without making a sacrifice of Silesia, still harboured the liveliest resentment against that monarch, and determined, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur, to have recourse to arms for the recovery of that territory which she had been compelled to cede. Influenced by these motives, she had long ceased to consider France as her rival; and a flexible policy had even induced her to court the alliance of that power. Blondel was then the French chargé d'affaires at the court of Vienna. The queen, at first, made some vague remarks, in a conversation with him, on the difference between the present situation of the houses of Bourbon and Austria, and that which, two centuries before, had armed them against each other. She added, that the equilibrium was now so perfectly established between them, that it

was the interest of neither to overturn it; and that their union would ensure the tranquillity of Europe, or that if any inferior powers should attempt to disturb it, the two chief courts would have both the right and the ability to reduce them to submission.

Blondel, flattered with the idea of being employed in a negotiation of this importance, hastened to communicate the intelligence to the marquis de Puisieux, minister for foreign affairs, who did not think it expedient to impart it to the king, and forbade Blondel to pursue the matter any farther. The queen of Hungary finding the French court averse from her designs, suspended her project, but did not abandon it; and when the marquis d'Hautefort was sent as ambassador to Vienna, she explained herself more fully to him than she had done to Blondel, in the hope that a man of rank would have greater weight with the ministry than a simple agent. Independent of the political reasons which might equally affect the two courts, she did not scruple to mention her resentment against the king of Prussia. "I have sacrificed"—said she—"my dearest interests to the tranquillity of Europe, by ceding Silesia; but if ever a war should break out between me and him, I will either recover all my rights, or perish, with my family, in the attempt⁶¹."

The count de Kaunitz, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Versailles, had received instructions conformable to the views of his sovereign. He, at first, attempted to convince the ministers of the wisdom of his plan, and, particularly, madame de Pompadour, whose support, from the credit she enjoyed, he deemed it most essential to secure. Nor was this lady insensible to the idea of playing a nobler part than any she had hitherto performed, in the theatre of politics. At her entrance on this new career, she found herself a person of consequence in the state, and imagined that she possessed the talents requisite for supporting such a character with propriety. She adopted the project of Kaunitz, and flattered herself that she should be able to conciliate the approbation of the ministry; but she found them all so hostile to the new system, that she durst not venture to present the king with a plan which would be opposed by the whole council; and she contented herself with telling the Austrian ambassador, that the alliance with the king of Prussia had been too recently concluded to think of violating it, and that he must, therefore, wait for a more favourable opportunity. The term of his embassy being expired, Kaunitz returned to Vienna, and was succeeded by count Staremberg, whose instructions were precisely the same.

Affairs were in this situation when intelligence was received of the capture of the two ships of the line by the English. Mareschal Mirepoix was then the French ambassador at London, a man of courage and honour, but of slender abilities. He demand-

⁶¹ Mémoires Secrets sur les Regnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. par *Duclos*, tom ii. p. 400.

ed satisfaction of the English minister for the insult offered to the French flag; and he received for answer, that the act of hostility which had taken place had doubtless been produced by the conduct of the French governors in North America, but that the English ministry did not doubt that, as soon as the necessary enquiries could be made, the matter might be satisfactorily settled without breaking that peace which their sovereign was so anxious to preserve. The ambassador was satisfied with this answer, and he accordingly assured the French ministry that they might rely on the pacific dispositions of the court of England.

It is almost impossible, according to the system of policy established in Europe, that two great states should engage in a war without inducing other powers to follow their example. It was, moreover, easy to foresee, that the English, in order to promote a division of the French forces, would find means to excite a continental war. The treaty of alliance with Prussia still subsisted, and baron de Kniphausen, the Prussian minister at Paris, immediately offered the assistance of his master. He pretended that the English had already secured the queen of Hungary, but that the French might easily disconcert their plans; and that if Lewis would attack the Netherlands, the king of Prussia would enter Bohemia, at the head of a hundred thousand men. On the other hand, Staremberg embraced the opportunity to offer an alliance with his sovereign; and this offer effectually removed the suspicions which the Prussian minister had endeavoured to excite, with regard to the intentions of the court of Vienna, and seemed to ensure the continuation of peace on the continent.

The French council, the principal members whereof were actuated by motives of private interest, was divided in opinion on this occasion. D'Argenson, secretary at war, was extremely anxious to commence hostilities on the continent, and to accept the proposal of the king of Prussia. Machault, the marine minister, insisted on the necessity of confining their exertions to the sea, and maintained the insufficiency of the revenue to support the immense expence that would be incurred by a war carried on both by sea and land: he observed, that the English were then their only enemies, but that if they yielded to the solicitations of the Prussian monarch, the queen of Hungary would not fail to declare in favour of England; that if, on the other hand, they were to contract an alliance with that princess, the king of Prussia would consider such conduct as an infraction of the treaty subsisting between him and France; that the only plan to be pursued, was to maintain their union with Prussia, and to open a negotiation with the queen of Hungary, that would prevent, or, at least, retard her junction with England, and give them time to direct all their efforts against their real enemy. To this the count D'Argenson objected, that all the precautions that could be taken would prove insufficient to prevent a continental war; and that it would be wise, therefore, to begin it to advantage, and, by adopting the king of Prussia's plan, to disconcert the tardy measures of the Austrians, and to disable the queen from affording assistance to the English.

Whatever might be the political reasons of the count D'Argenson, it was certainly his personal interest to promote a continental war, which, by employing all those who frequented or followed the court, would make his department prevail over that of Machault, his rival in influence and credit.

Puisieux, Saint Severin, and marechal de Noailles, supported the opinion of the marine minister, while Rouillé and the count de Bernis seconded the motion of the secretary at war. Bernis had not yet been admitted to a seat in the council, but every thing was communicated to him by madame de Pompadour, and by the ministers, who witnessed the favour he enjoyed with the marchioness. He had lately arrived from Venice, where he had resided as ambassador from France, and they plainly perceived that he would not return, and that he would soon play a distinguished part at court. He was the person who, inclining to accept the offers of the king of Prussia, proposed, that, in case they were rejected, a person of note should, at least, be sent to Berlin, who, by rendering himself agreeable to that monarch, might penetrate into his designs. He made the choice of the council fall upon the duke de Nivernois, a nobleman who possessed all the endowments requisite for fulfilling, with ability, the trust reposed in him; but his departure was delayed till the month of December, (1755); a circumstance that prevented the success of his negotiation: besides, the most eminent talents would have been of little use in treating with a prince, who, though he could distinguish merit, could distinguish still better his own interests; and the duke de Nivernois only arrived at Berlin to be a witness to the conclusion of a treaty between England and Prussia, signed in January, 1756.

The council had determined, when they adopted the opinion of Machault, to thank the king of Prussia for his offers in a friendly manner, without either accepting *them* or those made by the queen of Hungary. That prince, being convinced that a continental war must be the consequence of a rupture between France and England, was apprehensive that he should suffer by it. He was aware of the steps taken by the empress-queen to connect herself with France, and to change the ancient system of European policy; and he knew that if she succeeded in her attempt, she would inevitably turn her arms against him, and attempt the recovery of Silesia. Had the queen of Hungary only observed a neutrality, while France and England were engaged in war, she would still have been in a situation to attack, to advantage, a prince whose domination in Silesia was scarcely established, who was on bad terms with the king of England, and in whose favour France would make no diversion.

He could not, therefore, be blamed for having provided for his own safety by an alliance with the king of England. He signed the treaty at the very time that the French council was employed in discussing the propriety of accepting or refusing his offers. It was no difficult matter for him to gain intelligence of their debates; the mistresses, the friends,

friends, and dependants of the ministers were intrusted with all the secrets of the state; and the splendid suppers at Compiègne, where the court then resided, were the committees, in which political matters, discussed à la Française, in the midst of pretty women, intrigues of gallantry, and sallies of wit, were prepared for the consideration of the council ⁶².

While the king of Prussia was engaged in settling his treaty with England, his minister, Kniphausen, in order to avert suspicion, and to justify his master, after its conclusion, affected to talk in public of the proposals which he had secretly made to the French court. But this indiscretion was too pointed not to betray its object; and, from that moment the count of Bernis ceased to entertain a doubt of the intelligence that subsisted between England and Prussia, though he, in vain, endeavoured to convince the other ministers of the justice of his opinion. They were not yet fully persuaded that the English were seriously bent upon war, and they depended on the effects of a negotiation, which, under such circumstances, scarcely ever proves successful.

But the king's speech, on the opening of the English parliament, convinced the ministry of their error, and was considered by them both as a declaration of war, and as a manifesto. The count de Bernis, whose suspicions were justified by the event, obtained, from that period, greater credit with the council; who adopted his proposal to make a formal application to the king of England for restoring the vessels which had been taken; to require a speedy and decisive answer; and, in case of a refusal, immediately to break off all negotiation, and to attack Minorca.

Staremberg, meanwhile, neglecting no opportunity to engage the French to conclude an alliance with the empress, had frequently apprized the council of the treaty negotiating between England and Prussia: and the truth of his information on that head induced the ministry to lend a more favourable ear to the proposals of the court of Vienna. The empress had designed to apply to the prince of Conti, who, daily transacting business with the king in person, appeared to enjoy an influence independent of madame de Pompadour: he was, moreover, on good terms with madame de Coislin, who was endeavouring to supplant the favourite, but who, by yielding with too great facility, marred the conquest she was so anxious to achieve.

Madame de Pompadour had not yet acquired that influence in affairs of state which she afterwards enjoyed. Chance and circumstances raised her to the situation without any fixed design or regular plan. Count de Kaunitz, informed of the manners of the French court, which eyes alone, without penetration, were sufficient to discover, was of opinion

⁶² Duclos, tom. ii. p. 409.

that an application to madame de Pompadour would be the most effectual mode of obtaining the king's consent to the project of his sovereign ; and, by engaging the favourite in political matters, he rendered her what he wished her to be, the mistress of France.

The empress felt a violent repugnance to the idea of engaging in a correspondence which equally shocked her dignity, her morality, and her Austrian pride ; but count Kaunitz contrived to dispel those prejudices by the grand principle of interest, which has so powerful an effect on the minds of princes, as well as upon those of private persons. He obtained a flattering note from Maria Theresa to madame de Pompadour, which count Staremberg hastened to deliver to the favourite.

Madame de Pompadour was so highly pleased at receiving a personal application from the empress, that she considered her, if not as her equal, at least as a friend, whose designs she determined to promote let the consequence be what it would. She was too well aware of the opposition she should experience from the ministers to have recourse to them. The count de Bernis, who was indebted to her for the origin of his fortune, and whose elevation this affair might tend to complete, appeared to her the only man who could serve her as a counsellor and a guide ; but she experienced from him greater opposition than from all the others. The count's political reasons were enforced by motives of friendship. He observed to her, that the treaty in question was not one of those which related only to matters of trifling import, but one which had for its object nothing less than the total subversion of a system which had subsisted from the time of Philip the Second, and which constituted the basis of all political proceedings ; he represented the danger of opposing the public opinion, even when founded on prejudice ; he remarked, that an alliance between the two first powers in Europe would be considered as an attempt to reduce the other states to subjection ; and that, from that instant, the king would become an object of suspicion to the Germanic body, which had hitherto regarded him as the protector of its liberties. " With what propriety"—said the count—" could he afterwards stand forward as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia ? The sole object of the empress is to acquire the ability to attack, in safety, the king of Prussia, to engage us in her quarrel, and to make us support the expences of the war, which are always defrayed by France on one side, and by England on the other. The king would find himself involved in a continental war, which he wishes to avoid. If it should prove unsuccessful, how much will you have to reproach yourself with, as a native of France, and what reproaches will you experience from the king ?" The count concluded his advice by exhorting her to continue her efforts to please and amuse her royal lover, to betray no ill-humour towards him, and particularly to avoid all interference in affairs which, by rendering her odious to the nation, might tend to promote her ruin.

Madame de Pompadour did not seem displeased at the count's advice, though she was not convinced by his arguments. She persisted in her resolution to break the matter to

to the king, and, if she met with resistance, immediately to drop it; but Lewis eagerly adopted her ideas on the subject. He was impressed with sentiments of esteem for the queen of Hungary, against whom he had waged a war unfounded in justice; whereas he did not entertain the most favourable opinion of the king of Prussia, whom he considered as a self-sufficient heretic, and a free-thinker. He was offended at some strokes of pleasantry which had been circulated at Berlin, at his expence: he was disgusted with the principles of *irreligion* which the Prussian monarch too openly professed, and he was probably jealous of the glory which a petty sovereign had acquired. Lewis had long been anxious to form an alliance with some Catholic power that might enable him to counterbalance the influence of the Protestant party, which had already secured a superiority in Europe; and he was of opinion that the re-union of the 'houses of Austria and Bourbon would oppose a formidable barrier to the efforts of all the other powers, prove an effectual preventative against war, and deprive England of her natural ally. Before, however, he would come to a decision, he proposed to madame de Pompadour to make the count de Bernis enter into a full discussion of the business with Staremberg: that lady knowing the opinion of the former, and unwilling to expose him to the risk of opposing a system so conformable to the king's inclinations, and her own, represented, that the count de Bernis not being a minister, would be less proper for such a conference than any other member of the council; but the king persisting in his resolution, she was obliged to comply, taking care however to apprize the count that she had not proposed the conference, but that the king had himself conceived the idea, and insisted on enforcing it.

The next day, (which was the twenty-second of September 1755,) madame de Pompadour, and the counts of Bernis and Staremberg, met at Babiole, a small country seat, in the neighbourhood of Belle-Vue. The Imperial minister displayed the utmost candour and frankness during this conference, the empress justly conceiving that it would be inconsistent with the dignity of the two greatest potentates in Europe to have recourse to those pitiful arts and subterfuges, which, by the diplomatic corps, are too frequently considered as marks of political wisdom. All the views, the pretensions, and proposals of the court of Vienna were fully explained; but the new system which they tended to enforce appeared of such high importance to the state, that the count of Bernis desired to have the concurrence of the council, and, in the whole course of this business, he took the precaution to procure the king's signature to all the orders he received.

The plan proposed by the empress presented a prospect so flattering, that Lewis was confident it would meet with the approbation of the council. There were, however, some personal interests to reconcile that threatened to give rise to unpleasant discussions. It was evident, that Puisieux and Saint Severin could not but be displeased with a plan which was a *rectification* of their treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and that the count D'Argenson

genfon would be little difpofed to favour any fcheme that originated with madame de Pompadour. To obviate the inconveniencies that would refult from this circumftance, the king determined to fubmit the bufinefs, not to the council, but to a felect committee; compofed of Machault, Rouillé, Séchelles, and the count Saint-Florentin. By this means, too, he would be enabled to admit the count de Bernis to the conference, who had not yet a feat in the council. The firft committee was holden on the twentieth of October (1755) and the plan then difcuffed feemed calculated to remove all poffible grounds of difpute between France and the houfe of Austria. It was propofed that the infant fhould quit Italy for the Netherlands, and that the empress fhould for ever abandon her alliance with England, while the ports to be ceded to France in the neighbourhood of Holland would operate as a check upon that republick, fo as to prevent it from declaring againft the French, in favour of the Englifh. Mons was to be given up to Lewis, and the fortifications of Luxemburg were to be demolifhed: the crown of Poland was to be rendered hereditary, and Pomerania to be added to the territories of Sweden. An arrangement of the political fyftem to be obferved by the Northern and Southern ftates of Europe formed a part of the general plan, the execution of which, it was conceived, the weight and influence of the contracting powers could not fail to enfure.

The advantages offered to France were fo ftriking that nothing but a pertinacious adherence to ancient principles could have occafioned the fmalleft hesitation in accepting them. Is it wife—faid fome of the minifters—to renounce a fyftem which has been eftablifhed nearly two centuries; purfued by Henry the Fourth, by Richelieu, Mazarin, D’Avaux, and Servien; and become an axiom of national policy? Befides, how can it be expected that two courts which have fo long been enemies, and always rivals, will become constant in their friendship? Can France rely upon the fidelity of the court of Vienna, after having augmented her power? France is about to alienate the affections of all the princes of the empire, by fubjecting them to the houfe of Austria; while ſhe will lofe the Proteftant party, and refign it to ftrengthen the hands of the Englifh. After having maintained the liberty of Poland, that kingdom will be expofed to the danger of being difmembered or fubjugated by Ruffia, or by the court of Vienna, which may wifh to place a crown upon the head of one of the archdukes. From that instant, we fhall lofe the confidence and friendship of the Porte, ever jealous of the freedom of the Poles⁶³.

To thefe objections it was answered that, at the period of the formation of the ancient fyftem, the houfe of Austria was in poffeffion of the Imperial crown, of the kingdoms of Spain and Naples, of a part of the dominions of the king of Sardinia, and

⁶³ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 418. 419.

of Servia, as a barrier against the Turks ; whereas at present her territories were confined to the empire : that, by the system proposed, the court of Vienna would acquire no superiority over the house of Bourbon, since the latter would gain the Netherlands, and, by the possession of the maritime towns in Flanders, would become more formidable, particularly in her contests with England : that the two contracting powers bound themselves by the ties of honour and the obligation of an oath ; and that their alliance was farther cemented by the indissoluble bonds of interest, and the security of reciprocal advantages : that, as the treaty of Westphalia remained in full force, the Protestants would have no grounds for mistrust : that the guarantee of Sweden afforded an additional security ; that Denmark offered to become a party in the alliance : that the liberties of the Poles constituted an essential part of the treaty : and that Russia, when become an ally of France, would be less inclined to make any attempt upon Poland. The alliance with Russia, it was observed, not obliging the French to furnish any succours against the Turks, ensured the neutrality of the Porte in the contest between France and England. Besides, it was impossible that a war by sea should long subsist without producing a continental war ; and the English would infallibly arm the empress against the French : that the only alternative, therefore, that was left them, was the choice of enemies ; whether they would prefer the king of Prussia as an ally to the empress, who offered such important advantages.

The different alliances which the new system required were so complicated, that the defection of a single party might overturn the whole fabric ; but in all confederacies the same inconvenience must be incurred, and in this the contracting powers were certainly bound by the strongest of all human ties, that of mutual interest. The empress renounced her connection with England ; the success of the war appeared infallible, and its failure, indeed, must be chiefly ascribed to the ignorance and misconduct of the generals.

Although every objection seemed to be removed, still the committee were at a loss how to decide, and they contented themselves with telling the Imperial minister, that, before they could come to a decision, they wished to observe the conduct of England and Prussia. The empress, displeased at the irresolution they displayed, desired them to propose a plan of their own, since they did not chuse to accede to that which she had laid before them. The count de Bernis then proposed a treaty of union between the two courts, including a guarantee of their respective dominions in Europe, and also of the territories of Prussia, excepting only those of England, with regard to which power the empress should bind herself to observe the strictest neutrality. This project met the unanimous approbation of the committee.

The court of Vienna, as might easily have been foreseen, objected strongly to that part of the treaty which tended to guarantee the dominions of Prussia ; and the king

himself, fearful that an alliance which he was extremely anxious to conclude would, by this means, be prevented, expressed great displeasure on the subject. But, at length, the empress complied, from the conviction, that the treaty of union would, at least, protect her against any hostilities, on the part of the French, and that the conduct of the king of Prussia would soon occasion a war.

The treaty was on the point of being signed, when news arrived of the conclusion of a treaty between England and Prussia, on the sixteenth of January, 1756. The court of Vienna immediately declared that, under those circumstances, the French ministry could not, without giving her just cause for suspecting the sincerity of their friendship, persist in their determination to guarantee the territories of the Prussian monarch.

That prince, to the complaint made by the duke de Nivernois, the French ambassador, on the conclusion of his alliance with England, replied that it would by no means affect the treaty that subsisted between him and the French, which he was even ready to renew, and that he should not be offended with France for concluding, on her side, a treaty with the court of Vienna. The duke de Nivernois was recalled, and the marquis de Vallory was sent to replace him, with no other instructions than to watch the conduct of a prince, who ought already to have been considered as an enemy, but against whom war had not been yet declared. In another quarter the duke de Duras, on the first news of the hostilities committed by the English, had, without any instructions from his sovereign, endeavoured to engage the court of Madrid, where he resided as ambassador, to declare against England. His proposal, however, was very ill-received, and the fear that he might be guilty of more imprudence induced the ministry to recall him. He was succeeded by the count d'Aubeterre, who was himself succeeded, at the Imperial court, by the marquis de Stainville, afterwards duke of Choiseul.

No sooner had the king of Prussia ratified the treaty of London, than the empress required the French to sign a treaty of neutrality for the protection of the Netherlands, and defensive, in case of hostility on the part of the Prussian monarch. The count de Bernis, whom the king entrusted with the care of drawing it up, unwilling to take any thing upon himself, in an affair of such importance, desired that the whole council might be assembled on the occasion.

The king, who was mortified at the conduct of the king of Prussia, and madame de Pompadour, who was flattered and stimulated by the empress, were both anxious that the treaty should be an offensive one⁶³; and the count de Bernis was almost the only person who resisted the idea. He was aware that, in the event of a war, the whole burden

⁶³ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 424.

would fall upon the French, who had no generals in whom the troops could confide, and whose finances were extremely deranged. He represented that it would never be too late for the adoption of offensive measures, and that it would be highly dangerous to engage farther with the court of Vienna than the empress herself had required. In short, his arguments were, at once, so rational and convincing, that he succeeded in suspending the resentment of the king, in tempering the zeal of madame de Pompadour for the service of the empress, and in restraining the ardour for war displayed by all military men. The treaty therefore was concluded at Versailles, in May, 1756, agreeably to his suggestions, and to the first propositions of the empress.

The count de Bernis proposed that this treaty should not be rendered public, from a conviction that the king of Prussia being prepared for war, and persuaded that a defensive treaty would soon become an offensive one, would avail himself of his situation to attack the queen of Hungary. He farther required, as an indispensable preliminary, that the king of Poland should be supplied with such succours as would enable him to defend himself from the attacks of the Prussian monarch. But the whole council unanimously exclaimed, that such an affectation of secrecy was beneath the dignity of their sovereign; that the king of Prussia, thrown into consternation by the adoption of decisive measures, would not dare to take up arms; and that the precautions for the defence of Saxony would occasion a needless expence. Count D'Argenson was the only member of the council who approved the advice to put Saxony in a posture of defence, because a secretary of war is ever anxious to promote any plan which requires the employment of troops; but he strongly resisted the idea of secrecy, because the more public the matter was, the greater would be the probability of a war⁶⁴.

The moment the treaty was published it became a subject of general applause, and the satisfaction of the French increased in proportion to the discontent betrayed by the English on the subject. They flattered themselves with the idea that the union of the two chief powers would keep all Europe in awe: it was even proposed, in the French academy, to render the treaty between the two courts the subject of a prize poem; but the proposal was over-ruled by the prudent remonstrance of the minister.

During the negotiations with the empress, hostilities had been carried on in America, where France maintained by land that superiority which she had lost upon the ocean. The English were allured into an ambuscade, and their commander in chief, general Braddock, perished in the vain attempt to rescue his troops from the danger of a defeat. The efforts of the marquisses of Vaudreuil and Montcalm, in Canada, were equally suc-

⁶⁴ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 425.

cessful, and the first operations of the war reflected additional lustre on the French arms in that quarter of the globe.

The advantage possessed by an absolute monarch at the commencement of a war, in his ability secretly to combine and expeditiously to enforce the most decisive measures, was fully displayed on the present occasion: while the fleets of England were detained in port, unequipped and unmanned, a formidable French squadron was prepared for the reduction of the island of Minorca. This armament, which left France in April, 1756, consisted of twelve ships of the line, and several frigates, under the marquis de la Galissonnière; with fifteen thousand land forces, commanded by the mareschal duke of Richelieu. They reached Minorca with a prosperous wind; the troops were disembarked, and immediately invested the castle of Saint Philip, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon.

The English detached Byng, with a British squadron equal to that of France, to the relief of the island; but his fleet was dispersed in an indecisive action with La Galissonnière, who returned to block up the port of Mahon, while the English admiral repaired to Gibraltar, and, on his recall to England, was sentenced, for his misconduct, to suffer death. The siege of fort Saint Philip was continued with unremitting vigour; on the twenty-eighth of June, the outworks were stormed by the French, who displayed the most astonishing intrepidity during the attack; the next day the garrison, destitute of hope, surrendered, after a siege of nine weeks, and the island of Minorca submitted to the dominion of France.

The count de Bernis, with his usual prudence and sagacity, wished to avail himself of the favourable moment of victory to promote an accommodation. He proposed to renew the requisitions which had formerly been made to England to restore all the vessels which had been taken from France, and farther to require that in return for the restitution of Minorca, they should allow the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk to be completely re-established; but this proposal was unanimously rejected by the council. It was the opinion of Bernis, that the French should not act *offensively* against the king of Prussia, except in the case of aggression on his part; but that monarch plainly perceived, that the court of Vienna had only courted the alliance of France with a view to remove all impediments to her designs upon Silesia; and he was also well acquainted with the inimical disposition of the empress of Russia towards him, and of her inclination to serve the queen of Hungary. Convinced that an union would be formed between those potentates, and that the elector of Saxony would embrace that opportunity to gratify the resentment which he bore him for his conduct in the last war, Frederic resolved to begin the attack. He had one hundred and fifty thousand men in his service, completely armed and well disciplined; while the elector had dissipated in festivals and other pleasurable gratifications that money which he ought to have devoted to the purpose of repairing his losses,

losses, and putting his territories in a posture of defence. While affairs were in this situation, the king of Prussia notified to the queen of Hungary his alarm at the formidable preparations for war carrying on in all parts of the empire, and required that she would openly declare she had no intention of attacking him, at least during that and the following year. The queen replied, that it would be highly irregular to make a declaration that must tend to convert a substantial peace into a truce.

On the receipt of this answer, Frederick determined to have recourse to decisive measures. Sixty thousand Prussians, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, made an irruption into Saxony, and took possession of Leipzig; and the king advanced in person to Dresden. At his approach Augustus abandoned his capital, and repaired, with seventeen thousand men, to the strong camp of Pyrna, on the banks of the Elbe, where he was immediately invested.

On the first news of this invasion, the king of Prussia was formally declared by the Aulic council (on the twentieth of September, 1756) to be a rebel, a disturber of the publick tranquillity, and an enemy to the empire. But, regardless of censures unsupported by arms, the victor pursued his successful progress; advancing towards Bohemia, he defeated the Austrians, under count Brown, at Lokowitz, on the eleventh of October; and then returned to attack the camp of Pyrna. Augustus, with his son, retired to the castle of Konigstein, while his army, forsaken by their sovereign, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and were, excepting the officers, incorporated with the Prussian forces.

Augustus made proposals for peace, which were rejected by the conqueror, who treated him with the most pointed insult, and the most sovereign contempt; the only favour he would grant him was a passport, by means of which, being despoiled of his hereditary dominions, he took refuge in Poland. His consort, on the contrary, displayed that firmness which became her dignified station; she persisted in her refusal to depart from Dresden, but the insults and severities to which she was exposed, though they could not break her spirit, impaired her health, and, in a short time, brought her to the grave.

Hitherto the court of France had suspended the execution of the treaty of Versailles; but the hostile conduct of the king of Prussia removing all pretext for delay, orders were given to put in motion the troops stipulated by the treaty, consisting of eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry. The count de Bernis insisted on the necessity of confining themselves strictly to the letter of the convention, but he was strenuously and successfully opposed by the count D'Argenson, who would willingly have employed all the troops in the kingdom, in order to give additional influence and importance to the department over which he presided. Supported by the
entreaties

entreaties of the dauphiness, who called for vengeance on the enemies of her father, he endeavoured to persuade the king that four-and-twenty thousand men would be wholly insufficient for the object he had in view; that they would require to be continually recruited; and that, without rendering any effectual service to the empress, France would be drained of her men and money by the protraction of the war; whereas, by employing a considerable force, in the first instance, the progress of the king of Prussia would be impeded, and that monarch would be reduced to the necessity of accepting such conditions as it might be the interest of the allied courts to exact from him. Two campaigns, it was maintained, would be sufficient for the re-establishment of peace on the continent, and for securing to France and the queen of Hungary those advantages which the treaty between them was intended to produce.

The king was seduced by a proposal so conformable to his own disposition, with regard to the empress and the king of Prussia. He submitted the matter, however, to the council, where Machault strongly combated the opinion of D'Argenson. The former, when comptroller-general of the finances, had refused to grant the necessary supplies for the service of the navy to the count of Maurepas, and he was fearful that his conduct in that respect would be now cited against himself. He expatiated on the danger that would result from a neglect to employ the principal force of the kingdom against the English, who were the real enemies of France, and he urged the impossibility of supporting the navy upon a respectable footing, without an immediate supply of sixty millions.

The count D'Argenson, seconded by Sechelles, who had now the direction of the finances, immediately offered sixty-five millions for the navy. This offer did not remove the jealousy of Machault; but it destroyed his objections, and, by that means, gave additional weight to the plan of his rival. The council, however, came to no decision on the subject, and it was referred back to the committee, where the count de Bernis resisted D'Argenson's scheme, the evil consequences of which he foresaw; but the king's inclination to serve the empress, and the attachment of madame de Pompadour to the same cause; the incessant solicitations of the prince de Soubise, the count, afterwards marechal, D'Etr  e, the duke de Richelieu, and of many persons of inferior note, convinced Bernis that if he did not give his consent to a *limited* augmentation of the succours, they would be carried far beyond what the state of the finances could justify or afford. After a vain endeavour to shew what little confidence the nation reposed in the general, he at length consented that the succours should be augmented to five-and-forty thousand men, provided they were foreign troops, since they would not be attended with more than half the expence that an army of French would occasion. The empress would have been perfectly satisfied with this augmentation, but the count D'Argenson was not contented, because, by the employment of foreigners, he would be deprived of the opportunity of providing for

and dependants. Such were the motives, and such the intrigues, which led the French to sacrifice the forces and finances of the kingdom to the gratification of private interests.

The council of Vienna was not deceived, like the French, in its plan, which was to render the latter the principal actors in the war, under the title of allies. It must be acknowledged, that, from the time of Philip the Second, no court had ever pursued its object with greater sagacity and perseverance; whenever it appeared to turn aside from its plan, it was only for the purpose of attaining it by a different road. The same spirit was perceptible, the same regular system, which, while it seemed to give way to circumstances, embraced them with eagerness, and turned them to its own advantage⁶⁵.

While the ministry were making preparations for war, the count de Bernis (for Rouillé only enjoyed the *title* of minister) opened negociations with all the powers of Europe. Russia acceded to the treaty of Versailles, notwithstanding the efforts of Bescuchef, who was devoted to the court of England, where he had been brought up as page to George the Second. Sweden took up arms in the same cause. The foundation of an offensive treaty with Denmark was laid. Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, evinced a disposition favourable to France. The diet of the empire prevented the king of Prussia from representing the war as a war of religion; and Holland confirmed her neutrality. These negociations were conducted with such promptitude and skill that they were all completed by the month of April, 1757, and the ill success of the war did not induce any of the contracting powers to abandon their alliance, until the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia.

Count D'Etrées was dispatched to Vienna in order to concert the plan of military operations for the ensuing campaign, in which arrangement no difficulty occurred. The French required that the empress should, for ever, renounce all alliance with England, and the repugnance she displayed to comply with the requisition only rendered the former more resolute in urging it. She, at length, consented, on condition that France should, for ever, detach herself from Prussia, to which Lewis acceded. It was then proposed, by the count de Bernis, that the electorate of Hanover should remain neuter, to which it was not doubted but that the English monarch would most willingly accede, particularly, as he might justly apprehend, that the late successes of the French in America, would induce the English to prefer the defence of their colonies, to that of his electorate: but the French government rejected the idea, from the conviction that the reduction of the electorate of Hanover, which, they conceived, would be the work of a single campaign, would dispose the king of England to lend a favourable ear to proposals for a general peace.

⁶⁵ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 436.

A. D. 1756, 1757.] During these hostile preparations, the kingdom was still convulsed by domestic broils. The parliament having refused to register some fiscal edicts, calculated to defray the expences of the war, the king, on the second of August, 1756, held a bed of justice, at Versailles, which the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, and the parliament of Paris were summoned to attend. He there enforced the registration of the edicts; but the parliament, on their return to the capital, entered a formal protest against this proceeding. They pretended not only that they had been refused the necessary liberty of examining the edicts, but that the edicts required modifications that would neither affect the interests of the king nor those of the state, which were the same, and which they were bound to maintain; and they observed, that their duty was not to *please*, but to *serve*⁶⁵.

These civil disputes were intermingled with religious altercations. One of the members of the parliament having been seized with an illness, at his country seat, in the diocese of Meaux, desired to receive the sacrament: but the rector of the parish refused to administer it, because the magistrate, he said, was an enemy to the church. The judge having died without receiving the consolation he requested, a prosecution was, very properly, instituted against the priest, who fled.

In September, the archbishop of Aix was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand livres, for having written a paper in favour of the bull *Unigenitus*; and the bishop of Troyes, for raising some disturbances, on the same account, in his diocese, was confined, by a royal mandate, in a convent in Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, on the other hand, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all persons who should read the arrêts and remonstrances of the parliament on the subject of the bull, and of the confessional notes.

Lewis the Fifteenth, embarrassed by these animosities, carried his circumspection so far as to ask the advice of pope Benedict the Fourteenth, a man equally moderate with himself, and generally beloved, as well for the mildness and gaiety of his disposition, as for the propriety of his conduct; for he never interfered in political disputes, but with a view of promoting peace—a conduct which should invariably be observed by ecclesiastics of every description. His secretary, cardinal Passionei, was exempt from many of the prejudices of his order, and disliked the Jesuits who had framed the bull *Unigenitus*: nor could he conceal his sentiments on the mistaken conduct of the court of Rome, in the indiscriminate condemnation of maxims, many of which were highly commendable, and tended to promote the cause of virtue. Of this description was the following—*The dread of an unjust excommunication must not deter a man from the discharge of his duty.*

But strange as the bull appeared, in more points than one, neither cardinal Passionei, nor the pope, could repeal a constitution which was regarded as a law of the church.

⁶⁵ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 220.

Benedict sent the king a circular letter to be distributed to all the French bishops, in which he mentioned the bull as an universal law which could not be resisted, without risking the loss of eternal salvation; but, at the same time, he ordered the priests to administer the sacraments to persons suspected of Jansenism, taking only the precaution to apprise such persons that they would inevitably be damned.

The pope's brief, addressed to the bishops, was immediately printed; and it no sooner appeared, than the parliament, by an arrêt, published on the ninth of December, 1756, had the temerity to pronounce its condemnation and suppression. The king conceived the greater offence at this conduct, as he had himself sent to the prelates the brief which the parliament condemned; in which no question was involved that could either affect the liberties of the church, or the rights of the monarchy, which the magistrates professed themselves so strenuous to defend.

The king's resentment being farther increased, by the title assumed by some of the provincial parliaments, of *classes of THE parliament of the kingdom*, which seemed to indicate an assumption of authority similar to that of the states-general, resolved to effect a reform of the parliament of Paris, in a bed of justice. On his arrival in the capital, where his intentions were known, a gloomy silence prevailed: the people only regarded the parliament as enemies to taxes, without considering whether those taxes were necessary, or even reflecting, that the price of their labour, and of the articles in which they deal, increases with the augmentation of imposts, and that the burden must finally fall upon the rich.

On the thirteenth of December, the king went to the parliament, where he ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, and several officers attached to the corps; he commanded the bull *Unigenitus* to be respected; prohibited the secular judges from enforcing the administration of the sacraments, confining their jurisdiction to the cognizance of crimes and offences committed in the course of such administration; enjoined the strict observance of moderation and discretion to be prescribed by the prelates to the inferior clergy; and insisted that all past disputes should be consigned to oblivion. He decreed that no judge should have a *deliberative voice* before the age of twenty-five; and that no person should vote at a general assembly of the united chambers, who had not discharged the functions of a magistrate for ten years. The edict concluded by an express prohibition to interrupt, on any pretext whatever, the ordinary course of justice.

The next day fifteen judges of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office; one hundred and eighty members ⁶⁶ of the different courts of parliament follow-

⁶⁶ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 225.

ed their example; and the people, fearful that imposts would in future be levied without opposition, displayed their discontent in loud and impatient murmurs. But these popular commotions were soon lost in the general consternation occasioned by an event the most dreadful and unexpected.

Robert Francis Damiens, a native of Arras, who had long lived in the capacity of a domestic in different families in the metropolis, having his mind, which was naturally full and unsettled, inflamed by the disputes between the king and his parliament, on the subject of religion, embraced the desperate resolution of attempting the life of his sovereign. On the fifth of January, in the dusk of the evening, as the king was preparing to enter his coach, to go from Versailles to Trianon, he was suddenly, though slightly, wounded between the ribs, with a knife, in the presence of his son, and the midst of his guards, and the principal officers of the crown. The assassin had mingled with the crowd of courtiers, but was instantly betrayed by his distracted countenance. He declared that it never was his intention to kill the king; but that he only meant to wound him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to restore the tranquillity of his dominions, by re-establishing the parliament, and banishing the archbishop of Paris, whom he had been taught to consider as the source of the present commotions. In these frantic and incoherent declarations he persisted amidst the most exquisite tortures, and it evidently appearing that the deranged state of his mind had been the sole cause of his making the fatal attempt, he was consigned to the hands of the executioner, and expiated his offence by a most cruel death.

As soon as the king was recovered, he applied himself afresh to the extinction of the fatal disputes between the parliament and clergy. The archbishop of Paris was again banished for having violated the laws, in the election of the superior of a convent: by an alternate display of firmness and moderation, Lewis succeeded in restoring a temporary calm; the members of the parliament of Paris, who had given in their resignation, resumed their functions, and that court at length returned to the discharge of their duties.

The danger to which the king had been exposed would, doubtless, have produced a perfect union of parties, if Maupeou, the first president of the parliament, and the principal ministers, D'Argenson and Machault, had been sincerely desirous of promoting it: but these three men had adopted the maxim of Tiberius—*Divide et impera*. On the second of February the two latter were, in consequence of some court intrigues, dismissed from their posts, at a time when their country stood in the greatest need of their talents and experience. The loss which the government sustained by their dismissal was very ill supplied by their successors: Machault was succeeded by Moras, and D'Argenson by his nephew, the marquis de Paulmy.

All the arrangements being made, the plans settled, and the operations fixed, an army marched into Germany, in the spring of 1757, under the orders of marechal D'Etrées, (marechal Saxe being dead) who had under him the prince of Soubise. The marechal, advancing towards the electorate of Hanover, traversed Westphalia, took possession of Embden, subjugated Hesse, and crossed the Weser, without fighting. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded the English army, strengthened by the troops of Brunswick and Hesse, continued to retreat before the marechal, and at length pitched his camp in an advantageous situation, near the village of Hastenbach. D'Etrées would, probably, not have attacked him, had not the complaints of the court, the sarcastic remarks of the Parisians, and the intelligence he received that his enemies were labouring to procure his recall, urged him to the adoption of decisive measures.

The cabal of the prince of Soubise, aided by the intrigues of his sister, the countess of Marfan, incessantly exclaimed against the tardiness of marechal D'Etrées, and called for a more active and enterprising general. Madame de Pompadour was extremely offended at the conduct of D'Etrées in expressing his displeasure with the prince of Soubise for having the presumption to date his letters, *From the army of Soubise*: the marechal, too, had farther displeased her by refusing to concert his operations with Duvernay, the commissary-general, a man fertile in resources, and supposed to understand the art of war better than most of the French generals. Duvernay was piqued at the marks of contempt bestowed on him by the marechal; and he communicated his ideas on the subject to his friends who enjoyed great influence at court. He himself was holden in high estimation by the king; and was favoured with the protection of Madame de Pompadour, to whom he had rendered services at a time when she stood most in need of them.

Marechal Richelieu embraced this opportunity to offer his services, and he had recourse to the credit of Duvernay to get them accepted. Duvernay explained his plan to the king, in the presence of madame de Pompadour, and the marquis de Paulmy; he proposed to march against the king of Prussia by the Elbe and the Oder: the French and Imperialists were to attack Magdebourg; and the Swedes and Russians to make an attempt upon Stetin. Provisions were collected on the Maese, the Rhine, and the Weser, and every precaution was taken to avert the disasters that too frequently result from waging war in a distant country.

As this plan, which seemed well-combined, offered the fairest prospect of success, it met with the approbation of the king. The concurrence of Duvernay was necessary to carry it into execution, and, as he and marechal D'Etrées could not agree, it became indispensably requisite to appoint another general. As soon as this necessity was acknowledged by Lewis, Duvernay proposed the marechal duke de Richelieu, and expatiated, with energy, on the confidence with which the conqueror of Minorca would inspire the troops, who were discouraged by the temporising conduct of D'Etrées. In order

der to conciliate the approbation of madame de Pompadour, who was anxious to promote the prince de Soubise, he proposed that the prince should be entrusted with a separate army of five-and-thirty thousand men, at the head of which he might acquire great reputation, by compelling the king of Prussia to evacuate Saxony. Marechal D'Etrées, though possessed of great personal courage, appeared timid and restless, the moment he was entrusted with the chief command: less eager after conquest than anxious to secure a retreat, in case of misfortune, he was fearful of venturing too far. His progress was also impeded by another motive: the marquis of Puiseux, his father-in-law, and Saint Severin, his oracles in politics, had inspired him with a rooted prejudice to the new system; and nothing can be more imprudent than to employ a man in the prosecution of a scheme which he does not approve; for though a sense of duty may, in some instances, overcome all personal considerations, yet it displays but little knowledge of the human heart to suppose that men will act, with zeal and alacrity, in opposition to their inclinations. It may be a question, in the solution of which the moralist and politician will, probably, disagree, how far an officer is justified in accepting a command when he feels an invincible repugnance to the *principles* on which the war is founded:—but both moralist and politician will, it is apprehended, agree in the opinion that a king or a minister who employs an officer thus circumstanced, will find some difficulty in justifying his conduct to the nation. Lewis, almost determined to adopt the plan of Duvernay, submitted it to the consideration of the dauphin, with orders to communicate his sentiments on the subject in writing. The prince, who possessed a solid understanding, improved by study and observation, displayed great judgment and acuteness in his remarks, in consequence of which the king assembled his council, and ordered the members to prepare without delay for putting the project in execution.

Marechal de Richelieu, who had promised madame de Pompadour every thing she required for the prince of Soubise, was immediately nominated to succeed marechal D'Etrées, and received orders to take the command of the army. Whatever precautions had been taken to conceal this transaction from marechal de Belleisle, the secret committee, the motions of Richelieu, the exclamations of madame de Marfan, and various other circumstances had excited suspicions in his mind sufficiently strong to induce him to write to his friend, marechal D'Etrées, and admonish him, that if he wished to have the honour of the campaign, he must be quick in his motions, or else another would deprive him of the glory. It was this seasonable admonition, that induced D'Etrées, on the twenty-sixth of July, to risk the battle of Hastenbach, where he obtained a complete victory, for which he was principally indebted to Chevert, the marquis de Bréhan, and some other officers of distinction. The consequence of this victory was such, that the enemy's army, driven from a fortified camp, which they had occupied for a whole campaign, retreated twenty leagues from the field of battle. Hamelen, destitute of provisions and ammunition, surrendered on the first summons: Minden asked to capitulate:

late; and Hanover sent her magistrates to regulate the contributions to be levied on her citizens.

Mareschal de Richelieu arrived at the army soon after the battle, of which he would have reaped all the honour, had he not waited at Strasburgh for the duchess of Lauragais, one of his mistresses, who was on her return from an excursion of pleasure. The conduct of the marquis of Bréhan, colonel of the regiment of Picardy, who, by his example, had greatly contributed to the victory of Hastenbach, deserves to be recorded. The court, who had hitherto suffered his services to pass unnoticed and unrewarded, conferred on him, immediately after the battle, a pension of two thousand livres: Bréhan, when he received the intelligence, replied, that pecuniary rewards had never been the object of his wishes or pursuits; and that he earnestly requested the king to divide the pension between some officers in the regiment who had greater occasion for it. When desired to mention the names of those who had distinguished themselves, he answered—"None of us have distinguished ourselves; we have all fought bravely, and are ready to begin again. I am therefore obliged to draw out the list, according to seniority. As for myself, having been refused what I have hitherto asked, I cannot flatter myself that my feeble efforts on the twenty-sixth will enable me to obtain it. In future, I shall make my whole fortune consist in the esteem and friendship of the soldiers, which no one can deprive me of."

The new commander in chief was not so indifferent to money. As his avarice was generally known, and as it was wished to destroy that spirit of rapine which prevailed among the troops, and converted an army of soldiers into a band of plunderers, the general should have been careful not to set a bad example. Count de Bernis had been charged to propose to Richelieu, previous to his departure, to fix his own salary, at as high a rate as he chose; but the mareschal rejected all limitation of his profits, and, veiling his avarice beneath a semblance of dignity, pretended that he ought not to renounce any of the rights and emoluments of a commander, and that it should never be said he had connived at a violation of the prerogatives attached to his post. It was with this disposition that he joined the army, and never did general adhere, with greater perseverance, to any system he had adopted. As he had suffered the honour of the victory to escape him, he resolved to make himself amends by reaping the fruits of it. He collected, by different means, immense sums in Westphalia and the electorate. The soldiers, stimulated by example, and emboldened by impunity, pillaged every place they approached, and distinguished their general by the *honourable* appellation of *Father Plunder*⁶⁷. Far from blushing at this shameful conduct, or even endeavouring to conceal it, he displayed, on his return to Paris, the greatest pomp, and most ostentatious magnificence: as if he had

⁶⁷ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 450.

conceived himself to be one of those proud victors who derived consequence from exposing to public view the spoils of the conquered. He erected, on the Boulevards of Paris, a superb structure, called, by the people, the *Pavillon d'Hanovre*, which still exhibits a monument of his pride and rapacity.

Richelieu, profiting by the victory gained by his predecessor, pressed forwards, and sent the duke de Chevreuse to take possession of the capital of the electorate. The cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttele submitted to the French. The duke of Cumberland, still retreating before the victor, made several proposals to Richelieu which the latter rejected, observing that he had not been sent to negotiate, but to fight. His answer was approved by the king, but no sooner was that approbation made known to Richelieu than he changed his conduct. The duke of Cumberland, pushed from post to post, at length, took refuge under the cannon of Stade; where, finding himself surrounded on all sides, without a possibility of escaping, he opened a negotiation with the marshal, by means of count Lynard, the Danish ambassador, who was in the interest of England. This negotiator offered the mediation of his master, the king of Denmark; bestowed the highest commendations on Richelieu; and expatiated on the glory he would acquire from terminating the war, without an effusion of blood. He recalled to the mind of the marshal, the brilliant titles of pacificator, preserver of Genoa, and conqueror of Minorca: and the king of Prussia confirmed these eulogies in a letter to Richelieu.

The marshal then wrote to count de Bernis, and informed him that it was his intention to shut up the Hanoverian army, in Bremen, Verden, and Stade, adding, that he had already communicated his design to the president Ogier, the French resident at the court of Denmark; who, supposing that Richelieu had received his instructions from the court, had acted in consequence with the king of Denmark.

Some few days after he had written to Bernis, and without waiting for an answer, marshal de Richelieu concluded (on the eighth of September, 1757), the famous convention of Closter-Seven, by which the French were left masters of the electorate of Hanover, the landgraviate of Bremen, and the principality of Verden: while the troops of Brunswick, Hesse, Saxe-Gotha, and all the other allies of Hanover (amounting, in the whole, to five-and-forty thousand men), agreed to retire into their respective countries, there to observe the most perfect neutrality during the war: the Hanoverians were to take up their stations, on the opposite banks of the Elbe.

It must be observed that neither the duke of Cumberland nor marshal de Richelieu was authorised by his sovereign; so that circumstances soon reduced this convention to its just value, by rendering it illusory. This was the most capital fault that

that was committed during the war, and was the cause of all the subsequent disasters. The courts of Vienna and Sweden openly censured the conduct of Richelieu; and the court of France ought to have followed their example, and have sent a real general to supersede him in his command. The count de Bernis clearly perceived that he had fallen into a snare; but he was of opinion, that, at the end of the campaign, there was no other remedy than that of ratifying what the general had done, since, by disavowing him, the enemy might be furnished with a pretence for violating the convention, on the first favourable opportunity. The necessary powers therefore were immediately sent to him for raising it, accompanied by a strong recommendation to take every possible precaution for enforcing the full execution of a treaty, which ought to have been a military capitulation, but which he had been weak enough to render a political convention, that the English might either ratify or not as they thought proper.

When Richelieu was reproached with the fatal effects of this unfortunate convention, he pretended that the ministry, by making him wait too long for the ratification, had deprived him of the fruits of it. It is true, indeed, that the *Parallel of the conduct of the kings of France and England*, which was published by the French ministry some months after the transaction, imputes little or no blame on the subject to the mareschal: but it was then their interest to establish the authenticity of a convention, with the violation of which they wished to reproach the English. That publication, too, was drawn up by Buffy, the creature, and, formerly, the secretary of Richelieu.

While the French were losing, in Germany, the fruits of their success, the English were endeavouring to repair their losses. A formidable fleet, commanded by admiral Hawke, having on board twenty thousand men, under general Mordaunt, appeared off the coast of Aunis on the twenty-first of September, and, on the twenty-third, cast anchor at the isle of Aix, at the mouth of the Charente. Vice-admiral du Barail, a very old officer, who could no longer serve his country otherwise than by his advice, had long solicited the ministry to put that island in a state of defence, and had presented plans for that purpose which would have been attended with very little expence; but all his remonstrances were disregarded, and all his plans rejected.

The English proposed to destroy the magazines at Rochefort, to make themselves masters of Rochelle, and to spread desolation over the whole coast. They might have succeeded in a part of their designs, but the firm countenance displayed by the few troops that were collected on the shore, kept them in awe: they did not dare venture on a descent, and, after throwing a few bombs, they set sail for England on the first of October.

The English were not more successful in Canada. The marquis de Vaudreuil demolished their forts on the banks of the great river, and burned several buildings and
magazines

magazines in which they had collected arms and ammunition for fifteen thousand men. He ordered the marquis de Montcalm to lay siege to Fort Saint George, provided with every necessary, and defended by three thousand men, part of which were in the fort, and part in a fortified camp adjoining. Montcalm reduced it, after the trenches had been opened only five days, and immediately levelled it with the ground. Admiral Holborn attempted the siege of Louisbourg, but his fleet was dispersed in a storm, and one of his ships of the line struck upon the rocks and was lost. That part of the fleet which had suffered most took refuge in the colonies, and the rest returned to England.

Hitherto the French had committed errors, and had derived no advantage from their successes, but still they had not experienced any misfortunes. Their affairs however soon wore a different aspect. The king of Prussia, leaving a body of troops for the protection of Saxony, advanced, in the month of April, towards Bohemia. On the fifth of May, he came in presence of the Austrian army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, brother-in law to the empress-queen, who had under him, field-mareschal count Brown. The next day he attacked, at the head of one hundred thousand men, prince Charles, who had but half that number. Victory declared for the Prussians, but they could not prevent the remains of the Austrian army, consisting of from thirty-five to forty thousand men, from taking refuge in Prague, which was tolerably well stocked with provisions. This numerous garrison did not deter the king of Prussia from forming the siege of the place, for the defence whereof, count Brown, though mortally wounded in the late action, gave his orders with the utmost coolness and presence of mind. Frederick pushed the siege with vigour; and threw such a prodigious quantity of bombs and red-hot balls, into the place, that the town was half consumed by fire. The siege had continued six weeks, when mareschal count Daun, having assembled an army, advanced to the relief of Prague. When he came within sight of the Prussian camp, he made a retrograde march, in order to give an opportunity to some other troops to join him, and to avoid being attacked by the whole of the Prussian army at once. Frederick mistook this manœuvre for a mark of timidity, and, leaving the conduct of the siege to mareschal Keith, marched, with the prince de Bevern, to attack count Daun. The count, having taken possession of an advantageous post at Cofternitz, waited, with firmness, the approach of the Prussians. They attacked him, four different times, with great impetuosity, and were as often repulsed with loss. At the fifth attack, Daun, perceiving that their vigour diminished, and that they lost ground, resolved to attack them in his turn; and he charged them with such fury, that he pierced their ranks, and threw the whole army into confusion. The king of Prussia, unable to rally his troops, retired with precipitation.

The moment prince Charles received intelligence of this victory, he sallied from the town, attacked mareschal Keith in his lines (on the twentieth of June), forced his entrenchments, killed more than two thousand of his men, and put the rest to flight. Six days

days after, Count Brown died, at Prague, of the wounds he had received in the action of the sixth of May, with the consolation of having seen his defeat revenged. The king of Prussia, unable to keep the field, distributed his army in Silesia and Saxony, and evacuated Bohemia. This check was followed by several others. The Russians entered Ducal Prussia; and general Haddick, at the head of a body of Austrians, entered Brandenburg, and extended his incursions as far as Berlin, where he levied contributions on the inhabitants. The terror was so great at his approach, that the royal family, fearful of being carried off by the enemy, fled to Spandau; and not thinking themselves in safety even there, took refuge in Magdebourg.

The states of the empire, which, being at first thrown into consternation by the rapid conquests of the Prussian monarch, had not dared to declare themselves, now hastened to furnish their contingency; and the combined army, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, effected a junction, in Saxony, with the troops under the prince de Soubise. The Swedes, meanwhile, entered Prussian Pomerania, where they reduced several places.

Every thing seemed to announce the ruin of the king of Prussia. The different armies that pressed upon him, without risking any thing that could furnish him with an opportunity for displaying his military talents, might have reduced him to the necessity of suing for peace on such terms as the victors should chuse to prescribe. It was in the midst of this distress, that he contributed, by his flattery, to seduce mareschal de Richelieu, by leading him to conclude the convention of Closter-Seven. No prince knew mankind better than Frederick, nor did any one possess the art of corrupting them, in a more eminent degree, or that of profiting by their corruption. Candour, however, must superinduce the acknowledgment, that distress, however poignant, never deprived him of his courage, nor of that presence of mind which is requisite to employ it to advantage. In the midst of his misfortunes he preserved that tone of pleasantry which bespeaks a mind in full possession of its faculties. "*If*"—said he—"I should be deprived of all my possessions, I flatter myself, at least, that there is no sovereign but would be glad to have me for his general"⁶⁸.

Frederick, having been apprized, that the king of England, astonished at the success of the French arms, displayed an inclination for peace, wrote a spirited letter to that monarch, which he circulated on the continent, and in which he reminded him, in a tone of superiority, of their mutual engagements. Though the king of Prussia entertained no very great hopes of triumphing over such a formidable combination of enemies, he nevertheless spared no pains to establish his superiority. He endeavoured to

⁶⁸ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 462.

persuade the Protestants, that their religion was deeply concerned in the war; and, notwithstanding the indifference, or rather contempt, he displayed for the different sects, he declared himself the protector of the Protestant Faith. It is certain, the Protestants could not consider the elector of Saxony as their protector, since Augustus, and afterwards his son, had abjured their religion, in order to obtain the precarious title of king of Poland.

The Protestants in the Imperial army marched, with regret, against the king of Prussia, who, being still in possession of Saxony, had revived the spirits of his troops, and kept himself in a posture of defence, waiting for an opportunity of attacking his enemies, which soon presented itself.

The plan of the campaign, presented to the prince de Soubise, was to harass the Prussians, without risking a general action, and he was by no means inclined to exceed his orders. He had not ceased, since the beginning of the campaign, to ask for a reinforcement with which marechal de Richelieu had promised to supply him, but which he did not seem disposed to send. Richelieu, notwithstanding the displeasure of madame de Pompadour, to which he exposed himself by such conduct, took all possible measures to frustrate the efforts of the prince de Soubise. After concluding the imprudent convention of Closter-Seven, he neglected every precaution that was necessary to ensure its execution. Instead of keeping a strong force in readiness to act, in case it were violated, he left Villemur with six battalions and the same number of squadrons, to keep in awe five-and-forty thousand men, who, there was every reason to believe, would embrace the first opportunity that should occur for breaking the treaty. Under pretence of repairing in person to the assistance of Soubise, he made a march of fourteen days to Halberstadt, and remained there six weeks. Nothing can more strongly prove that there was as much incapacity as artifice in his conduct, than the circumstance of his passing so much time, in a state of inactivity, within six leagues of Magdebourg, where he knew there were only two thousand recruits. He, at length, determined to send thirty battalions to the prince de Soubise, retained fifty, with a body of cavalry, and distributed the rest in quarters on the banks of the Rhine, under pretence that a scarcity of provisions prevailed in the camp, which was literally the case, since he had either sold or dissipated what was destined for the support of the troops.

Since the prince de Soubise had effected a junction with the forces of the empire, he found himself, as a simple auxiliary, subordinate to the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, general of the Imperial army. He was on the point of being carried off by a Prussian detachment, which arrived only a quarter of an hour too late; and a small degree of penetration would have sufficed to convince him that he was betrayed by the count of Gotha, and by Hildburghausen, who was strongly disposed to favour the king of Prussia⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 466.

Frederick, attentive to all that passed, conceived that there was little to fear from the army of the empire, composed of discordant parts, ill-organized, and still worse affected to the common cause. Encouraged by the result of his observations, he continued to advance, taking care, however, always to chuse his posts with judgment. On the other hand, Paris and the court exclaimed against the timid conduct of the prince de Soubise; and his sister, the countess of Marfan, had great difficulty in defending him.

The character of the French general was no better calculated to inspire Frederick with awe than the troops with confidence. After having repeatedly vanquished the Austrians, the Prussian monarch would have been extremely flattered in obtaining some advantage over the French, but he was resolved not to run any risk which prudence did not warrant. He knew what influence the success or disasters of a first campaign had, in France, on the subsequent operations of a war. It was with this disposition, after having laid his plan with the utmost sagacity, and displayed the greatest skill in the choice of his post, that he pitched his camp in front of the Imperial army.

Whether from imprudence, presumption, or some more culpable motive, the prince of Hildburghausen resolved on attacking the king of Prussia, who had drawn up his forces, near Rosbach, between two hills, on which he had erected various batteries. Several councils of war were assembled, and the prince de Soubise, faithful to his instructions, evinced the greatest repugnance to risk a battle. Revel, younger brother to the duke de Broglie, led away by the valour natural to his family, warmly supported the opinion of Hildburghausen. The prince de Soubise, however, still resisted, nor did he yield until he received a note from the marquis de Stainville—afterwards duke de Choiseul—the French ambassador at Vienna, advising and exhorting him to engage.

The prince de Soubise was thus persuaded to risk the battle of Rosbach, which was fought in the month of November, 1757. The superiority of the Prussian discipline prevailed over the unconnected efforts of the allies. The troops of the Circle fled at the first onset: the French cavalry were routed in an instant by the Prussian artillery: a general panic pervaded the troops: the French infantry retired in disorder before six battalions of Prussians: the rout soon became universal; and it seemed as if the troops had presented themselves to the enemy not with a view to fight, but with a previous determination to run away. Two regiments of Swiss were all that remained on the field of battle; and the prince de Soubise, rushing through the thickest of the fight, placed himself at their head, and made them retreat in good order⁷⁰.

The news of this defeat threw the Parisians into the greatest consternation, and their only consolation consisted in the hope that the prince de Soubise, to whom they unjust-

⁷⁰ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 167.

ly ascribed this disaster, would be speedily recalled. While the king of Prussia was triumphant at Rosbach, he lost Silesia. General Nadaſti had taken Schweidnitz; and prince Charles, seconded by that officer, attacked, on the twenty-second of November, the prince de Bevern, forced his entrenchments in the vicinity of Breslau, and, after taking a great number of prisoners, made himself master of that city.

The king of Prussia began his march, with incredible diligence, towards Silesia, effected a junction with Bevern, attacked prince Charles near Lissa, on the fifth of December, and obtained a most complete victory. Though the action lasted but a short time, near forty thousand men were taken or dispersed, and Frederick recovered Breslau. From that moment the king of Prussia assumed the tone of a conqueror, and began to announce his projects of revenge against those states of the empire who had furnished their contingency. He particularly intended to lay waste the ecclesiastical electorates, which he called *taking a round in the street of the priests*. Count D'Argenson apprized, in his retirement, of all public occurrences, by his nephew, Paulmy, embraced the opportunity to circulate, in Paris, a memorial against the treaty of Versailles. The small number of persons who had not approved of the treaty exclaimed, with great violence, against those who had regarded it as a chef-d'œuvre of policy; while these last forgot or disavowed the praises they had bestowed on it; and the majority of the public, who always judge from events, considered it as the cause of all subsequent disasters.

On the first news of the defeat of Rosbach, count de Bernis, who had not been the warmest advocate for the treaty, although he had signed it, being of opinion that nothing could succeed with a council disunited, and generals destitute of abilities, openly declared to the king that he must not expect to continue the war with greater success than he had experienced at the commencement of it: that neither France nor the empire had generals fit to oppose the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: that it was necessary, therefore, to accelerate the conclusion of a peace, and to reserve, for a more favourable conjuncture, the effects of a treaty of friendship which might still subsist.

Madame de Pompadour, regarding the treaty as her work, and the empress as her friend, was extremely enraged at the proposal of the count de Bernis. She expatiated on the disgrace and danger of abandoning the empress, who had just recovered the greater part of Silesia; for the battle of Lissa had not then taken place: she added, that that princess might be induced, in a moment of dissatisfaction, to treat with the king of Prussia, and unite with the English. The king, more mortified than discouraged by the defeat of Rosbach, was by no means inclined to peace, and had written a letter of consolation to the prince de Soubise: he was moreover sensible of the difficulty of persuading the empress to listen to terms of accommodation, and even of making her such a proposal.

During

During the debates on this subject, intelligence arrived at Paris of the defeat of the Austrians at Lissa. Count de Bernis availed himself of this circumstance to represent to the king that, during the consternation which prevailed at the court of Vienna, it would not be impossible to prevail on the empress to conclude a peace. The Hanoverians, the Hessians, and their allies, emboldened by the disgrace of the French, and the success of the king of Prussia, broke the convention of Closter-Seven, (under pretence that Lewis had delayed to ratify it until he had received the news of the defeat at Rossbach) and supplied the count de Bernis with fresh arguments in favour of peace; and the council, having adopted the same opinion, the king at length permitted a negotiation with the empress to be opened.

Mareschal de Richelieu, perceiving the consequences of his convention, began to be apprehensive of effects still more fatal, and passed from one extreme to another;—from confidence to fear. He caused a proposal to be made, by his friend Dumesnil, to prince Ferdinand, for the establishment of a neutrality, during the winter, between the French and Prussians. The empress expressed the utmost indignation at this proceeding, and immediately wrote to Lewis, who forbade the mareschal to proceed any farther in the business: but the simple proposal had one bad effect, inasmuch as it afforded the king of Prussia an opportunity of inspiring the Austrians with a mistrust of the designs of the French, which their conciliatory projects were calculated to augment.

Richelieu then left Halberstadt with the troops that were with him, and recalled those which he had sent into quarters on the Rhine, many of whom perished from the inclemency of the season, and the fatigues of a long and toilsome march. As soon as the army was assembled, he called a council of war, all the members whereof, anxious to approach the frontiers of France, unanimously voted for the evacuation of the electorate; but the mareschal, rejecting their advice, and resisting their solicitations, marched, on the twenty-fifth of December, towards prince Ferdinand, who retired at his approach.

The two armies then returned to their winter quarters. The mareschal assured the ministry, with his usual confidence, that his troops were so stationed that they could not be attacked, and he returned to court; where the dread of his cabals, of which the fair sex always constituted the principal strength, procured him a better reception than he deserved, or would, otherwise, have experienced. He had soon, however, occasion to perceive that he must not expect to command another campaign. The strictures of the public on his exactions neither excited shame nor remorse; and he repaired to his government of Guienne, where he distressed the inhabitants by the expence and profusion which he exacted for his reception and residence in the province.

While measures were taking for persuading the empress to consent to an accommodation, the count de Bernis, apprehensive that they might prove ineffectual, opened a
negotiation

negociation for concluding an offensive treaty with the court of Denmark. The affair was conducted between the two cabinets, through the medium of the president Ogier, without the intervention of Vedelfrise, the Danish minister at Versailles. It was proposed to cede Ostfrise to Denmark, with an immediate supply of six millions, to be deducted from the usual subsidies: but when the money came to be paid, the comptroller-general of the finances violating his promise, disabled the minister from making good his engagement. The French, indeed, reaped the advantage of preventing the Danes from accepting the offers of England; but the transaction reflected great dishonour on the French government ⁷¹.—At the same time the duke of Mecklenburg was prevailed on to grant a passage to the French troops over the Elbe, and to allow them to open a communication with the Swedes.

As the ministers who had been placed at the head of the war-department, and that of the finances, had displayed a total incapacity to discharge the duties of their respective stations, that of the latter was given to Boulogne, and the office of secretary at war was conferred on mareschal de Belleisle, who took, as an assistant, general Crémille, a man of strict honour and good abilities. In order to strengthen the council, on this partial change, count de Bernis proposed to recal Chauvelin, the former keeper of the seals, and the count de Maurepas; but the first was rejected by the king, and the last by madame de Pompadour. The efforts of Bernis to procure a seat in the council for the duke de Nivernois, proved equally fruitless; the talents which that nobleman was known to possess were insufficient to triumph over the repugnance of madame de Pompadour against all who were connected with the count de Maurepas, by the ties of blood or of friendship; and the duke de Nivernois had, therefore, a double claim to her hatred.

Although Bernis had received orders to open a negociation for a peace between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, or, at least, to disengage the French from the dispute, he was aware that these orders had been given with extreme reluctance. The council, and particularly the dauphin, were extremely desirous of peace, but the king was by no means inclined to it, and madame de Pompadour was extremely averse from it. The latter was very anxious to have the chief command of the troops conferred on the prince de Soubise, who had promised to efface the disgrace which the French had experienced at Rossbach; but the ministry prudently confined him to the command of a body of two thousand four hundred men destined to reinforce the Imperialists under general Daun.

⁷¹ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 474.

A. D. 1758.] The count de Clermont, was appointed to succeed Richelieu; in the belief that a prince of the blood, respectable from his birth, and esteemed for his courage, would inspire the troops with confidence, and eradicate that spirit of rapine which had descended from the general to the soldier. He went to Hanover, in the beginning of February, and finding his troops, weakened by disease, unable to face prince Ferdinand, who commanded the Hanoverians, united to the forces of Hesse and Brunswick, since the rupture of the convention of Closter-Seven, he evacuated the electorate, towards the end of the month, in order to approach the banks of the Rhine, and to facilitate the means of subsistence.

The first exploit of prince Ferdinand was the reduction of Harbourg, where the gallant defence of Pereuse procured from the enemy the most honourable terms of capitulation. The possession of the towns successively abandoned by the French tended to ensure the confidence of the Prussians. Prince Ferdinand compelled the count de Clermont to retire beyond the Rhine; and, at the battle of Crevelt, fought on the twenty-third of June, he drove him from the field with considerable loss, and forced him to take shelter under the cannon of Cologne. This defeat was the more disastrous, as, if the count de Clermont could have maintained his ground, prince Ferdinand would himself have been obliged to retreat. The count de Gisors, son to the marechal de Belleisle, was killed in the action. His death was a national loss: since, at the early age of twenty-five, before the talents of most men are arrived at maturity, he was considered as an experienced captain, and an able statesman.

The prince de Soubise, with a view to oblige prince Ferdinand to pass the Rhine, and hasten to the defence of his country, entered Hesse, and, on the twenty-third of July, defeated a body of troops under the command of prince Isembourg. On the tenth of October he obtained another advantage over the enemy, in the vicinity of Lauterbourg, and, thereby, supplied the court with a pretence for honouring him with the marechal's staff.

Count de Clermont, meanwhile, was thrown into such consternation by the defeat he had sustained, that he persisted in his resolution to continue his retreat, and to leave the Netherlands exposed to the incursions of the Prussians. The king, however, impeded his retrograde progress, and, having recalled him under pretence of a concern for his health, appointed Contades to succeed him, who was decorated on the occasion with the dignity of marechal of France.

In the course of this war such was the conduct of the French generals that the public were continually anxious to have them recalled without knowing where to find better. La Clue, with no other merit than that of having been governor to the duke de Penthièvre, admiral of France, was entrusted with the command of a squadron of six sail

of the line and two frigates, amply provided with every necessary, and, after suffering himself to be blocked up in the harbour of Carthagera, during the greater part of six months, returned to Toulon, with only one half of his fleet.

The kings of England and Prussia, in consequence of a renewal of their treaty, on the eleventh of April, exerted their utmost efforts to attack France and the empress, in various quarters, at the same time. Louisbourg, which had been saved, by means of a storm, the preceding year, now fell into the hands of the English. This place, upon which immense sums of money had been expended, was in such a bad state, that the beasts of burden entered it with as much ease through the breaches in the walls as through the gates.

In Europe, admiral Anson, with a fleet of twenty-six sail of the line, twelve frigates, a great number of fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, and a hundred sail of transports, having on board sixteen thousand men, appeared off the French coast. With twenty ships Anson blocked up the port of Brest, while the rest of his fleet favoured the descent of the troops at Cancale. The disembarkation took place on the seventh of June, and the army, advancing towards Saint Malo, took possession of the suburb of Saint Servan, which is only separated from the town by the harbour. They burned the rope-houses, the magazines, and eighty sail of merchantmen and privateers, but did not venture to attack the town. On receiving intelligence that some troops were advancing to the relief of the place, they re-embarked on the tenth, and, after being detained ten days at Cancale by contrary winds, returned to England.

At the beginning of August Anson again blocked up the port of Brest, and, on the sixth of that month, commodore Howe appeared before Cherbourg, which he bombarded, while the troops, under the command of general Bligh, landed, carried off all the cannon that was in the town, burned twenty-five or thirty merchantmen, compelled the inhabitants to pay a heavy contribution in order to exempt themselves from pillage; ravaged the adjacent country; and re-embarked, on the fourth of September, at Saint Lunaire, two leagues from Cherbourg, on the opposite side of the river Rance. The advanced forts preventing the English from attacking the town, they laid waste the surrounding country; and general Bligh is accused, by the French historians, of having sanctioned the exercise of rigours, and the commission of depredations, unauthorized by the laws of war ⁷².

Although he had a numerous band of chosen troops, he is said to have retired with precipitation before a few regiments of French, supported by an undisciplined band of

⁷² Duclos, tom. ii. p. 483.

militia and armed peasants, collected in haste, and headed by some gentlemen of the country. If the duke D'Aiguillon, commander in chief in the province of Brittany, had seconded the zeal of the inhabitants, it has been asserted that not an Englishman would have escaped; but that general was fearful that an opportunity for acquiring distinction might, by some unforeseen accident, be converted into an occasion for incurring disgrace. When he had it in his power to attack the enemy to advantage, he only profited by their terror to accelerate their retreat. M. D'Aubigny, who served under the duke D'Aiguillon, impatient at receiving no orders to attack, ventured to engage without orders, and commanded the regiment of Bourbonnois to rush forwards. A volunteer corps of Breton gentlemen immediately joined the first rank of grenadiers, and the chevalier de la Tour D'Auvergne, colonel of the regiment, quitting his post, desired to have the honour of placing himself at their head. They were immediately joined by the regiments of Brie and Marbeuf, and a battalion of militia; when they attacked the English, drove them from their entrenchments, and, following them into the sea, until the water reached their waists, there engaged them, for some time, hand to hand. The carnage was great: the English lost two thousand men; and as many more, unable to reach the ships, were obliged to climb up the rocks, and were taken after the action⁷³.

But though the English were thus partially foiled in their efforts, they, nevertheless, accomplished the principal object of their expedition, by preventing the French troops from quitting the coasts to reinforce their armies in Germany. By continually moving them, too, from one part of the coast to another, expences were occasioned that tended to encrease the derangement of the finances. It was so great, at this period, that the minister of the marine department could only provide for one expedition, which required but little money, though, had it succeeded, it would have proved highly useful to the state. This was a project to intercept the English East-India fleet on its return to Europe, by sending out one ship of the line and two frigates to cruise off Saint Helena. But a division between the officers, joined to some gross misconduct, rendered the enterprise abortive; and though they fell in with four East Indiamen at one time, and two at another, and had it in their power to take them, they suffered them to escape, and had afterwards the mortification to be anchored alongside of them, in the bay of All Saints, a neutral port, where the English captains ridiculed the folly and unskilfulness of their adversaries.

During these operations, the count de Bernis determined, in case his efforts to promote a peace should prove fruitless, to procure an exact state of the finances, that he might be able to appreciate the resources of the nation for supporting the war. This account was, by the king's orders, delivered to him by the comptroller-general; and it presented

⁷³ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 486:

a prospect so discouraging, that the count was most seriously alarmed. It appearing necessary to enforce the most rigid economy, in every department of the state, he obtained from the empress a considerable reduction of the subsidy paid her by the French; and effected a reform in the king's household that operated a considerable diminution of the annual expenditure. Being appointed secretary for foreign affairs, on the resignation of Rouillé, he procured the empress's consent to a farther reduction of her subsidy; but all his regulations being inadequate to the formation of able generals, he redoubled his efforts for putting an end to the war.

In order to reconcile madame de Pompadour to the measure he had determined to enforce, he pointed out to her, in a private conference, the impossibility of maintaining a contest which had already involved the kingdom in infinite distress. The lady, however, was not convinced by his arguments, and he experienced from her much greater resistance than from the empress herself. In vain did he represent that all the disasters which had occurred were imputed to her and to himself. The public were not apprized of his opposition to the first proposal for concluding a treaty with the court of Vienna; of the objections which he had urged; the precautions he had adopted; and the preliminaries he had exacted: they were ignorant of the secret articles of the treaty, so advantageous to France, and so easy to enforce, had she been possessed of generals, able, upright, and experienced. Those ministers who had been the first to applaud the treaty, now meanly disavowed all participation in an event which did not answer their expectations. Without imitating their conduct, Bernis enforced the necessity of giving way to circumstances. He represented that all the public knew was, that he had signed a treaty, the consequences of which had proved so fatal; that he was considered as the sole author of that treaty; and that madame de Pompadour was accused, with greater justice, of having originally suggested it, and of now wishing to continue the war, in order to procure a command for the prince de Soubise. The favourite was highly displeased at the count's observations, and, on his declaration, that if he should fail in his endeavours to obtain the king's consent to a peace, he would resign his post, that he might no longer be suspected of wishing to continue the war, she remarked that such a proceeding would display a want of gratitude, and, that, after all the favours he had received, his resignation would be deemed no great sacrifice to his honour. "The king and the public"—replied the count—"will judge more favourably than you imagine, when they see me resign my abbies, renounce the promise of a cardinal's hat, and content myself with the priory of La Charité, to which any other ecclesiastic of distinction would be entitled, without having rendered the smallest service to the state⁷⁹."

Bernis declared his opinion, with the same candour and freedom, in the council; he shewed that the treaty could not, under the present circumstances, have effect; though

⁷⁹ Duclos, tom. ii. p. 489, 490.

the same good intelligence might continue to subsist between the courts of France and Vienna; and that the plan had failed through the dissensions which prevailed between the generals, the rupture of the convention of Closter-Seven, and the annihilation of the French marine. He added, that the army would infallibly be compelled to repass the Rhine; that the empress, from want of her usual subsidies, would be disabled from acting with vigour and effect; and that the only resource that remained was to procure the *armed mediation* of Spain. Although the king evinced a desire to continue the war, the whole council, and particularly the dauphin, declared for peace; and the count de Bernis, in consequence, received orders from Lewis to negotiate, for that purpose, with the court of Vienna.

The empress was extremely mortified at the prospect of being obliged to suspend her resentment against the king of Prussia; but, unable to combat the arguments alledged by the French, she gave her consent to the negotiation for a peace. The marquis de Stainville, the French ambassador at Vienna, charged to negotiate the business with the empress, had implicitly followed the instructions of Bernis, so long as he had considered him as the favourite minister of madame de Pompadour, and as he had conceived that no difference of opinion could possibly arise between them. But, although he had negotiated, and sent to court the empress's consent to the conclusion of a peace, as soon as he perceived, by the letters of madame de Pompadour, how much she regretted the pacific system that had been adopted, he began to apprehend that Bernis no longer enjoyed the same degree of favour. He knew with what facility madame de Pompadour passed from the extreme of attachment to that of dislike; and, resolving to avail himself of the opportunity, he formed a plan for the ruin of Bernis, whose most flexible instrument he had hitherto been, and for promoting his own elevation at the expence of that minister.

With this view he told the empress, and wrote word to madame de Pompadour, that count de Bernis was too easily discouraged; that affairs were by no means desperate; and that it was still easy to repair past disasters, and to recover the ground that had been lost. These ideas so perfectly coincided with the wishes of the parties to whom they were communicated, that they were immediately adopted. Madame de Pompadour had no difficulty to persuade the king to renounce measures which he had been led to pursue much against his will; and the continuation of the war was forthwith resolved on.

Bernis—who had just received the cardinal's hat—after many vain remonstrances on the evil consequences of this imprudent resolution, perceiving that he could not, with honour, continue to be the instrument of a system he disapproved, resigned his post, and was succeeded by the marquis de Stainville, created, on his admission to the council-board, duke de Choiseul, who continued the war, for four years, which period was marked by an accumulation of misfortunes.

A. D. 1759 to 1762.] Nothing tends more to the discouragement of troops than a frequent change of generals; and to this circumstance, and the causes which produced it, may most of the losses sustained by the French, during the present war, be ascribed. The event that most signalized the campaign of 1759, was the memorable battle of Miden; at which prince Ferdinand, by a feigned division of his army, accompanied by some masterly manœuvres, induced marshal de Contades to risk an engagement. The action took place on the first of August. At the beginning of the day the French cavalry attacked the English infantry with uncommon fury, but they experienced so warm a reception, that two regiments were almost wholly destroyed. Two battalions of foot, sent to their relief, incurred a similar fate. As soon as the center of the French army was broken, and the rest of the troops, unable any longer to maintain their ground, were preparing to retreat, prince Ferdinand ordered the English horse to advance; but their commander, lord George Sackville, either from a misconstruction of the order, or from some motive more culpable, preserved his station, and thereby gave an opportunity to the French to effect their retreat without much confusion.

After this defeat Contades was recalled, and the duke de Broglie, who, in consequence of a victory he had obtained over the princes of Brunswick, on the thirteenth of April, had been honoured with the dignity of marshal of France, was appointed to succeed him: though his subsequent defeat on the heights of Warbourg, in which the prince of Rohan-Rochefort, the marquises of Castre, Betisi, and Valence, the count de la Tour du Pin, and a prodigious number of inferior officers, were wounded, seemed little calculated to justify the choice of his sovereign.

The recital of battles, memorable for no particular exertion of military skill, productive of no important effects, and marked only by an useless effusion of blood, certainly forms the least *instructive*, and, it is hoped, the least *amusing*, part of history. We shall, therefore, briefly notice the succeeding operations in the field, and hasten to that period when the return of peace presents a more pleasing prospect to the historian. On the tenth of July, 1760, Broglie attacked a body of thirty thousand Hanoverians at Corbach, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, a young hero, whose impetuous courage, disdaining the salutary precepts of prudence, led him to engage the French before prince Ferdinand could arrive to his assistance: the consequence of this temerity was a total defeat, by means of which the French opened to themselves a passage into the principality of Hesse.

On the sixteenth of October following, the marquis de Castries engaged and defeated the hereditary prince at Rhineberg, on the Lower Rhine, where he forced him to repass the river, and to raise the siege of Wesel: an event that happened, on this occasion, though almost overlooked at the time, deserves to be recorded in history. The chevalier D'Assas, a captain in the regiment D'Auvergne, having been sent on a reconnoitring party,

party, in the night preceding the battle, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, and, being advanced before his men, was immediately surrounded and secured. The enemy then told him that if he uttered a word they would put him to death; but, less mindful of his own personal safety, than anxious to secure his men from a surprize, he boldly called out to them to advance. He had no sooner pronounced the fatal word than he was inhumanly massacred; but his generous design was accomplished; since the enemy, being discovered, were compelled to retire with loss.

Some other trifling advantages in Germany tended to afford some little consolation to the French for the losses they experienced in other quarters, and reconciled them to the conduct and command of marechal Broglio. At the commencement of the year 1761, M. de Narbonne distinguished himself by his able and courageous defence of Fritzlar, besieged by the enemy; and the gratitude of the nation added the name of the town to that of his family. In the month of March, the army of the hereditary prince, who profited almost as much by a defeat as by a victory, was routed at Altenhayn, in the vicinity of Grimberg, and the enemy were thereby compelled to raise the siege of Cassel, and to evacuate the principality of Hesse, into which they had made a sudden irruption. By this means, the French remained masters of the Landgraviate, and the cities of Minden and Gottingen; and secured a free passage into the electorate of Hanover. Their affairs began to wear a favourable aspect; as prince Ferdinand, by his exertions of skill, had only been able to retard, not to prevent, the success of their arms, and the junction of the forces under Soubise with the army of Broglio, gave to the French such a decisive superiority, as must have ensured success to their measures, but for a fatal misunderstanding which broke out between the generals.

On the fifteenth of July, they attacked the enemy, who were strongly entrenched in the village of Filinghausen; the French charged them with such resolute impetuosity, that their works were carried, and they were driven from the village; but they returned the next day, and, after an obstinate conflict, compelled the French to forego the advantage they had obtained. On this occasion a dispute arose between the prince of Soubise and marechal Broglio, who mutually reproached each other with misconduct in the action. Each of them preferred a complaint against his rival; and the service suffered materially from their dissensions. Nothing farther was attempted during the campaign. The army divided: Broglio retired to Cassel, and Soubise passed the Roer. In February, 1762, the former was recalled, and confined, by virtue of a royal mandate, to his estates. He was honoured, however, with the esteem of the public; while the conclusion of peace deprived his rival of all opportunity of acquiring distinction in the field.

But though the French contrived, notwithstanding the inexperience and inability of their generals, to check the progress of their enemies on the continent, in other quarters of the world their efforts were frustrated, and their losses incessantly multiplied. The
English,

English, extending their views of conquest in proportion to the diminution of their rival's strength, after the capture of L'Isle Royale, determined on reducing, not only all the possessions of the French in North America, but all their sugar islands likewise. Martinique, the most important from its position, in the center of them all, was that which they were most anxious to subdue. Full of merchants and mariners, it could send supplies of men, arms, and provisions to the other islands, which arrived in four-and-twenty hours at the place of their destination, with a moral certainty of not being intercepted, notwithstanding the great number of ships that were appointed to occupy that station. The different ports of Martinique also swarmed with privateers, which rendered it necessary for the merchantmen belonging to the English always to sail under convoy, and by that means prevented the British islands from receiving supplies with the regularity which their situation required. As to those ships which ventured to sail without convoy, it was calculated that two-fifths of them fell into the hands of the French: and when Martinique was reduced by the English, it appeared from the register of the admiralty, that no less than fourteen hundred vessels had been taken in this manner.

In the winter of 1758, a fleet of ten sail of the line, with eight thousand men on board, had been dispatched from England to the West Indies. On the sixteenth of January following an attack was made on Martinique; but the warm reception which the enemy experienced induced them to forego their design for the present, and to direct their efforts against Guadeloupe, which promised a more easy conquest. But after they had effected their landing, their progress was considerably retarded by the inequality of the ground, and a variety of natural obstacles which perpetually presented themselves, so that the reduction of the island was not completed until three months after the first attack. The garrison capitulated, on the first of May. The small islands of La Desirade, Les Saintes, Saint Barthelomi, and Marie Galante, experienced a similar fate.

While Moore and Barrington triumphed in the West-Indies, Saunders and Wolfe signalized their conduct and courage in North-America, and formed the siege of Quebec. It has already been observed that, at the commencement of the war, the French had the advantage in these quarters. In 1758, they were still successful. The marquis de Montcalm obtained a signal advantage over the enemy, on the eighth of July, 1759, in the neighbourhood of fort Carillon, and, on the fourteenth of September following, M. de Ligneris defeated a detachment of a thousand English, on the side of fort Duquesne; but those successes proved the real cause of their subsequent misfortunes; since they tended to arouse the vigilance and stimulate the exertions of the English, who, in the ensuing spring, sent such a formidable army to Canada, as gave them a decisive superiority in the field. In vain had the marquis of Vaudreuil, who foresaw that the siege of Quebec would certainly be undertaken, solicited an adequate reinforcement of troops; the want of money, and the difficulty of sending supplies
were

were pleaded by the minister in extenuation of his refusal, and that valuable colony was left to its fate.

But notwithstanding the neglect of the government to provide the Canadians with the necessary means of resisting the attacks of the enemy, they had nearly effected the destruction of the naval force sent to reduce them. At Quebec, eight fire-ships were prepared; and as soon as the English fleet had anchored at the island of Orleans, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1759, these dreadful machines were destined to reduce it to ashes; and had the orders that were given been obeyed, it is probable the scheme would have completely succeeded: but the officers appointed to conduct the operation were seized with a panic, and, by setting fire to the ships too soon, in order to regain the shore, they afforded an opportunity to the English, who perceived the flames at a distance, to avoid the danger which threatened them.

The Canadians, indeed, placed a farther reliance on the obstruction raised by nature in the navigation of the river, which had so far foiled the skill of the French mariners, that it was always deemed necessary, on the arrival of any ships of war, even of the smallest size, to place a variety of marks and signals to direct their course; and as these were carefully removed on the approach of the English, they flattered themselves that any attempt to advance without such guides would prove fatal to them. But they were grossly deceived in their expectations; for the English passed and repassed with the greatest facility, by night as well as by day, with their largest vessels, and displayed greater skill in the navigation of the river than the pilots belonging to the country.

The English however had still more serious obstacles to surmount. They had considerable difficulty in landing their men and establishing their quarters in the vicinity of the place. The banks of the river were so well defended by troops and redoubts stationed at proper distances, that their first efforts proved ineffectual. Six weeks were passed in unsuccessful attempts, and by the letters which the English commanders wrote to the minister, it was evident that they began to be doubtful of the issue of their enterprize.

It was not until the twelfth of September that they had the good fortune to disembark unperceived by the French: animated by the example of their general, Wolfe, the English climbed the rugged heights of Abraham, about four miles from Quebec, and were formed in battle array on the plains above, before Montcalm, lulled into security by the rashness of the attempt, would give credit to the intelligence. Convinced, at length, that the report was too true, he determined to decide the fate of Canada, in a general action, rendered memorable by the death of both the generals. Wolfe first received his death wound; but his troops neither lost their confidence nor resolution. Taken

ken out of the ranks, he fainted from loss of blood, and only recovered his senses to hear the exclamation of "*They fly!*"—With eagerness he asked, who it was that fled; and being told, "the enemy", he exclaimed, *Thank God! I die content!*" and breathed his last. Montcalm only survived his gallant adversary long enough to witness the flight of his troops; he was mortally wounded during the retreat, and his last moments were employed in exhortations to renew the fight. This opinion was strongly enforced by the marquis de Vaudreuil, but it was rejected by a council of war, even after the arrival of fresh troops. Above a thousand of the French perished in the action, which was followed by the reduction of Quebec, which surrendered to the enemy on the eighteenth of September.

The glory which the English acquired by their successes in Canada, was greatly increased by two naval victories which reflected the highest credit on the minister who directed such various operations, so well-combined, and so happily executed. France now placed her only hopes on the success of a project devised by marshal de Belleisle for making a descent on the coast of Ireland, for which purpose immense preparations had been made. Brest alone being insufficient to supply an adequate number of vessels, orders were given to set at work all the hands that could be collected at Toulon. To prevent the junction of the two fleets was the object of the English minister, who, accordingly, dispatched admiral Boscawen, with a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, to cruise off the coast. That officer took his station off the harbour of Toulon, where he effectually blocked up the French squadron, under M. de la Clue; but in an endeavour to burn two ships that lay in the road, he was suddenly becalmed, and became exposed to the fire of the batteries from the shore, which did considerable damage to his fleet. This accident, and the bad weather that ensued, obliged the English admiral to retire to Gibraltar, in order to repair; but convinced that de la Clue would embrace the opportunity to pass the straits of Gibraltar, he stationed two of his ships, one on the coast of Spain, and the other on that of Africa, to watch his motions, and apprise him of his approach.

The French admiral, instead of following Boscawen immediately, when he could not have been attacked to advantage, determined not to quit the harbour until the English were far off. By this means he lost time in executing his orders, and afforded the enemy an opportunity of returning, to encounter him in full force. The French squadron was in the finest order, and fully competent to engage the English; it consisted of one ship of eighty guns, five of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, and two of fifty; in the whole, twelve sail; besides frigates.

In the evening of the sixteenth of August, M. de la Clue endeavoured to pass the straits; but he was perceived by the Gibraltar, an English vessel, that had been stationed there to look out for him, about eight o'clock; and, before ten, Boscawen

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was under sail. During the night the French fleet separated, and in the morning de la Clue found himself left with only seven ships of the line; in this weak state he was attacked by the enemy. Whatever want of abilities the French admiral might display, it is certain he evinced the most intrepid courage: he sustained, with infinite spirit, the unequal conflict and some idea may be formed of the exertions of his own ships; when it is known, that he discharged no less than two thousand five hundred shot at the enemy; the admiral lost one leg in the action, and received a dreadful wound in the other. M. de Sabran-Grammont, captain of the *Centaure*, of seventy-four guns, also signalized his valour, in an extraordinary manner: he was successively attacked by five of the enemy's ships, the last of which was the admiral's, of ninety guns; he defended himself with a degree of vigour that commanded the admiration of all who saw him; nor did he strike his colours, until his vessel had suffered so much as to be wholly incapable of farther resistance.

The glorious defence made by these two ships might have facilitated the escape of the squadron, during the night, had the admiral adopted a more regular plan of operations, and the different officers been more attentive to their duty. But each captain assumed the dangerous privilege of pursuing the dictates of his own judgment; and the commanders of the *Souveraine* and the *Guerrier*, of seventy-four guns each, thought proper to retire before morning, and seek a refuge in the port of Lisbon. Their evasion discouraged those that remained, and the next day, the confusion became general. The admiral's ship, the *Ocean*, of eighty guns, and the *Redoubtable*, of seventy-four, were burned; and the *Temeraire*, of seventy-four, and the *Modeste*, of sixty-four, were taken; the rest effected their escape to Cadiz.

This disaster retarded the preparations for the projected invasion of Ireland, but too much expence had been already incurred to admit the idea of abandoning the project; and the French ministry, were moreover anxious to obtain some signal advantage that might enable them to treat for peace on more equal terms; it was therefore resolved to proceed with all the expedition that circumstances would permit.

The English monarch, on his part, was careful to apprise his parliament of the designs of the French, and to obtain supplies proportioned to the vigour of the intended defence; and, besides the numerous squadrons already at sea, three others received orders to sail. Commodore Boyce was stationed off Dunkirk, to intercept or engage any vessels that might leave that port: vice-admiral Rodney was sent to bombard Hâvre, where considerable magazines had been formed, and a great number of flat-bottomed boats collected for the embarkation of the troops: while admiral Hawke appeared before Brest, with a formidable fleet superior to any force which mareschal Conflans, destined to command the expedition, could oppose to him. Boyce blocked up the harbour of Dunkirk so completely, that a small squadron under Thurot, who had received his or-

ders so early as the seventeenth of June, could not fail till the fifteenth of October. At Hâvre Rodney kept up an incessant fire during two-and-fifty hours, with such success, that all the inhabitants were compelled to quit the town, although seven hundred men were continually employed in attempts to alleviate their distress, and to extinguish the flames. A great part of the boats was destroyed, and the magazines sustained considerable damage; so that the preparations in that quarter were rendered almost useless. Hawke was so vigilant and active that, for a considerable time, every vessel that attempted to enter or leave the port of Brest, fell into his hands: he even cut from their anchors four vessels laden with guns and ammunition, that had glided along beneath the rocks, and had taken refuge under the cannon of the forts.

These circumstances reduced the French to defer their expedition until that season when the violence of the winds would compel the English admiral to return to port. All the troops, to the number of forty battalions, were assembled on the coast of Brittany, at Vannes and Nantes, under the command of the duke D'Aiguillon. Another army, too, was collected at Dunkirk, commanded by M. de Chevert, and the king's household troops, were also destined to participate in the dangers and glory of the enterprise. M. de Flobert had embarked, with eight hundred men, on board Thurot's squadron, which was bound for the North of Ireland. His object was to reconnoitre the coast, to form a party among the malecontents, and to prepare every thing for the intended descent. By his instructions it is easy to be perceived, that the ministry entertained hopes of being seconded by the efforts of the partizans of the house of Stuart; and that they particularly depended on succeeding in Scotland. The instructions expressly enjoined him to make no hostile attempt on that part of Great-Britain; and, in case he should find himself under the necessity of landing, not to use his arms but for his own defence; and, even if he were treated as an enemy, to take nothing without paying for it.

France, in the midst of her distress, might still have been able to humble the pride of her adversary, had marshal Conflans, without loss of time, at the moment when admiral Hawke was compelled by a storm (on the twelfth of October) to quit his station and return to Plymouth, collected his fleet, and made the descent. At that conjuncture the English must have laboured under great disadvantages, their fleet having being so long at sea, and considerably damaged by the storm, whereas that of the French was quite fresh, well equipped, and amply provided with the means of attack and defence. But the tardiness of Conflans and the indiscretion of the minister delayed his departure until the fourteenth of November, when he, at length, set sail, with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates.

Admiral Hawke was soon apprized, by his cruisers, of the motions of his adversary, and he immediately went in quest of him with two-and-twenty sail of the line. He
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directed his course to Quiberon Bay, where he came in sight of the French Squadron; but M. de Conflans no sooner perceived him, than he fled, and sought shelter among the rocks and shoals of a lee-shore. Thither, however, he was followed by his daring antagonist; and by that scandalous manœuvre, he suffered his rear-division to be cut off, by exposing it to the whole fire of the English fleet. Monsieur de Saint André du Verger, who commanded that division, was almost the only officer who discharged his duty on this disastrous day. His flag was on board the *Formidable* of eighty guns, which maintained, for a considerable time a most unequal fight; nor did it strike to the enemy, until du Verger, his brother, and one half of the crew were killed, and the vessel so much damaged that the English had great difficulty in conducting her into port. The chevalier de Beaufrement, mistaking the signal to rally, for the signal to fly, crowded all his sail, and bore away to the isle of Aix, with the whole of the van-division which he commanded. Conflans himself, after firing a few broadsides, without losing a single man, or sustaining the smallest damage, ran his ship, the *Soleil Royal*, of eighty guns, which had been just launched, and was deemed the finest vessel in the French navy, on shore, and ordered her to be burned. M. de Kerfaint, an officer of approved courage and talents, lost his ship through neglect. He commanded the *Thésée* of seventy-four guns; and as he was preparing to engage one of the enemy's ships, his pilot apprized him of an omission to order the lower-deck ports to be shut, which, as the sea ran very high, was indispensably necessary; the captain was aware of the danger, but his pride prevented him from submitting to the correction of a pilot; and, in a few minutes, the ship sunk, and of eight hundred men, twenty only were saved, by the humanity of the English, to reveal the fault of their commander. The *Superbe* experienced a similar fate, but she perished in a more honourable manner, from a well-directed broadside from the enemy. The *Juste*, after losing her captain, M. de Saint Allouran, who, with his brother, was killed during the action, was lost through the ignorance of a pilot. The French lost, in the whole, six sail of the line, only one of which, the *Intrepide*, of eighty guns, fell into the hands of the enemy: the rest sought refuge in the river Vilaine. The victors themselves did not entirely escape the fury of the waves; two of their ships struck on a sand-bank, and were totally lost; but to the French marine, the wound, during the war, was incurable; and those ships which had escaped into the Vilaine could never elude the vigilance of a British Squadron, constantly stationed to block up the mouth of that river.

The difficulty of raising money for maintaining a war thus expensive will be easily conceived, and the frequent change of comptrollers-general of the finances only tended to expose the embarrassment in which the government was involved. M. de Silhouette had succeeded M. Boulogne in that important post; and by some regulations, which had for their object the relief of the people, had acquired, at the commencement of his administration, no inconsiderable share of popularity: but a fiscal edict which he procured to be registered, in a bed of justice, holden at Versailles, on the twenty-

second of September, 1759, excited the alarm of the public, and the opposition of the sovereign courts. As the taxes imposed by this edict could not be levied, the government was reduced to the greatest distress, to alleviate which, M. de Silhouette had recourse to the desperate measure of suspending the payment of interest on all national securities, and the reimbursement of sums appointed to be received, at stated periods, from the royal treasury, or the *Caïsse des Amortissemens*. At the same time he exhorted all loyal subjects to carry their plate to the mint, to be converted into specie applicable to the wants of the state; and he persuaded the king to set the example. This operation was alike marked by puerility and despotism: by the first act he annihilated confidence, by weakening its support; and by the last he exposed the indigence of the state, which policy required him to conceal from the enemy. The public soon vented their rage against the author of the plan; the variation and inconsistency of his principles were universally acknowledged; and he became an object of execration to the people by whom he had been recently idolized. His very name was used as an insult; and while some compared him to the most noted thieves who had expiated their crimes on the wheel, others considered him as a fit subject for pleasantries. *Portraits à la Silhouette* and *Breeches à la Silhouette* became fashionable; the wit consisted in the lineaments of the former being traced on a shadow, and in the want of pockets in the latter; which was supposed to be applicable to the state to which the comptroller-general had reduced the people and their purses.

Silhouette was dismissed; but his misconduct was irreparable; for it had given a fatal blow to public credit, at a time when the government stood in the greatest need of assistance, and had also tended to prolong the war, of which the enemy themselves began to be tired. In the winter of 1759, prince Lewis of Brunswick, governor to the young stadtholder, had signified to the ministers of France, Vienna, Russia, Sweden, and Poland, resident at the Hague, that he was charged, on the part of the kings of England and Prussia, to inform them, that, moved by the calamities of a war that had subsisted for several years, they were urged by the duties of humanity, and more particularly by their tender concern for the welfare of their own subjects, to neglect no means for putting a stop to the evils to which they were exposed; and that, in order to manifest the purity of their intentions, they declared themselves ready to send plenipotentiaries to any place that might be appointed, for the purpose of negotiating a solid and general peace. The same declaration had also been repeated by Mr. Pitt to the foreign ministers at the English court; but his Britannic majesty, judging, from the extravagant operations of the comptroller-general, that France was reduced to the greatest distress, soon withdrew his advances, and his pacific overtures were carried no farther.

The year 1760 therefore opened with new battles, and fresh disasters, which continued to encrease during the whole campaign. The death of the brave Thurot, and the total loss of his squadron, was the first check sustained by France. The plan of the campaign

paign; delivered by that officer to mareschal de Belleisle, by whom it was adopted, could only be good when considered as a part of the grand expedition: the latter having failed, the former was attended with great danger and expence, without causing an adequate injury to the enemy. After beating about in the North Seas during an inclement season, exposed to all the horrors of shipwreck and famine, Thurot, in spite of the remonstrances of the officer who commanded the troops, resolved not to return to port without making some attempt. On the seventeenth of February, 1760, he landed at Carrick-fergus, in the north of Ireland, took possession of the town, and levied contributions on the inhabitants, whose poverty, however, afforded him no opportunity to boast of the magnitude of his spoils. Soon after the troops were re-embarked, his squadron, reduced to three frigates, was attacked by three English vessels, of nearly the same force, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which Thurot was killed, they all fell into the hands of the enemy.

In Canada, the chevalier de Levy formed a plan for the recovery of Quebec. With this view he assembled an army of ten thousand men in the month of April, and advanced to within five leagues of the town, undiscovered by the enemy; he was on the point of taking by surprize a detachment of fifteen hundred men, when an accident, which no human sagacity could foresee or avert, disconcerted his project.

The troops were embarked on board of boats which proceeded down the river by a narrow passage enclosed on either side with ice; and every night they slept on shore. A cannonier, in leaping from the boat fell into the water, and seizing a large lump of ice he placed himself upon it, and was carried by the stream to one of the posts near Quebec, where he was perceived by a centinel, who immediately secured him, and conveyed him to the governor. The man was nearly dead with cold; with great difficulty he was recovered sufficiently to inform the enemy that ten thousand French were at the gates of the capital, and then expired. It being impossible, after this discovery, to carry the place by a coup-de-main, it became necessary to besiege it in form. The trenches were accordingly opened, but a scarcity of ammunition prevented the operations from being conducted with vigour. At length, on the twenty-seventh of May, a flag was descried, at a distance, on the river, which was supposed, by the French, to announce the arrival of the expected supplies; but it proved to be an English squadron, which detached a ship of sixty guns and a large frigate to take possession of the French vessels that were at anchor near the camp, and served as a magazine to the troops. They were defended only by one frigate of thirty guns, which, by sustaining, with great gallantry, the fire of the enemy, gave time to the smaller ships to make their escape. She did not strike till on the point of sinking.

This check obliged the French to raise the siege of Quebec, and the supplies from Europe having been intercepted, the loss of all Canada ensued. The total reduction of that province was completed in the month of September, 1760.

In Asia, the war which had been scarcely suspended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was revived with additional fury, and with the most disastrous consequences to France. The delay that occurred in sending the supplies which it had been resolved to forward to India, so early as 1755, and which did not sail till two years after; a considerable diminution of the troops, ships, and money, destined for that expedition, which the more urgent wants of the state called for in other quarters; the choice of chiefs, between whom, it was easy to foresee, a personal misunderstanding would speedily prevail; and the subsequent divisions that broke out among the subalterns; all combined to convince those who reflected on the subject, that nothing short of a miracle could preserve the French from humiliation and disgrace in their Asiatic territories.

M. de Sechelles, who, in his capacity of comptroller-general of the finances, was entrusted with the superintendence of the India Company, had, at the commencement of the war, engaged that company to continue their trade, assuring them that they might rely on effectual protection from the forces of their sovereign. In consequence of these assurances, count Lally, who was initiated into this administration, as *Syndic*, and destined to command the troops that were to be sent thither, had several conferences with the minister on the subject. It was agreed to grant him three thousand men; six millions of money (about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling); and three ships of war, to which he might join such of the company's vessels in the East, as would admit of being armed. The forces which the English then had in India, and of which government had procured an account, did not seem to require a more powerful armament, in 1755. But the known activity of the enemy ought to have superinduced a considerable augmentation of troops and ships, as the armament did not sail till two years after that period: but, instead of encreasing, the minister diminished it by two-thirds. Lally, justly incensed at this conduct, refused to embark; but he received a positive order to proceed on the expedition, accompanied by a positive promise that the deficiency should be made good in the following year.

He accordingly sailed, on the 4th of March, 1757, under convoy of a fleet commanded by M. D'Aché, who, by some misconduct, had delayed his departure upwards of two months; and in consequence of some other neglect, during the voyage, he did not arrive at the isle of France until the sixteenth of December. Fresh delays occurred at this place. D'Aché wished to wait there till the setting in of the winds that were most favourable to his expedition; but a council of war being called, it was found that the island could not furnish provisions for the sailors and troops; so that he was obliged to sail, on the twenty-seventh of January, 1758, to the isle of Bourbon. After beating about for three months, he received intelligence that an English squadron, sent from Europe, with a commander more diligent than himself, had effected a junction with the ships under admiral Pocock. The necessity of greater expedition then became evident;
since,

since, had the French arrived six weeks sooner, they would have prevented the junction of the English fleets, asserted the honour of their own flag on the coast of Coromandel, obliged the enemy to retire, and have maintained a superiority in that quarter of the globe during the remainder of the war. The consequence of their delay, was the loss of two naval combats, which obliged M. D'Aché to return, with disgrace, to the isle of France; to remain a whole year without daring to re-appear in those seas; whither he only returned, at last, to experience a third defeat, which finally occasioned the loss of Pondicherry, and annihilated the power of the French in India.

The fleet commanded by M. D'Aché was, however, still superior to that of the enemy, the former consisting of nine sail of the line, the latter only of seven. He availed himself of that superiority to compel the English to burn two of their frigates; and he began to spread terror among them, when he committed a variety of faults that made him lose the advantage he had obtained, and rendered him inferior to the force that was opposed to him. From resentment to count Lally, instead of escorting him to Pondicherry, with his whole squadron, as it was his duty to do, and by that means keeping it entire; he sent with that general a ship of the line and a frigate. It was at this period, that, from a neglect to inform himself of the situation of admiral Pocock, he was surprised by that officer on the twenty-ninth of April, 1757. But being still equal to the enemy, he engaged with spirit. The action lasted for several hours, though no decisive advantage was gained by either side: the Duke of Burgundy, a ship of the line, commanded by M. D'Après de Menneville, kept out of her station during the whole day, and did more damage to her own fleet than to that of the enemy: M. D'Aché was wounded in the engagement, together with several other officers; and the *Bièn-Aimé*, a ship of fifty-eight guns, was lost on the coast, the day following.

M. D'Aché retired to Pondicherry to refit; and all the efforts of count Lally, then employed in the reduction of Fort Saint David, to induce him to repair to his assistance, were fruitless, until he had recourse to decisive measures, by going to Pondicherry himself, and sending some grenadiers on board the commodore, with orders to arrest him, in case he refused to sail. D'Aché then sailed; and the fort soon after capitulated.

The misunderstanding which prevailed between the general and the commodore proved fatal to the service; the latter refused to co-operate with the former, and thereby effectually prevented him from improving his first advantage. After avoiding the enemy for a considerable time, D'Aché at length ventured to engage them a second time, on the third of August. This action, like the former, was indecisive; both fleets suffered considerably; but the French suffered most, and were obliged to fly before the enemy. M. D'Aché, who was again wounded, not thinking himself safe at Pondicherry, whither he had retired after the action, adopted the strange resolution of leaving the whole coast exposed to the attacks of the English; and, notwithstanding the most strenuous solici-
tations.

tations of M. de Lally and the council of Pondicherry, he retired to the isle of France, where there was no provisions for him, and from whence he was obliged to send twelve ships, at an immense expence, to fetch provisions from the Cape of Good Hope.

After an absence of more than twelve months, during which time he had been joined by three ships of the line, and several of the company's vessels, from Europe, he returned to the coast; and, on the tenth of September, 1759, fell in with the English fleet, which then consisted but of seven sail of the line (two ships being at a considerable distance), while he had eleven. But one of the French ships taking fire during the action, the whole fleet was thrown into confusion, and, notwithstanding his superiority, M. D'Aché once more returned, baffled and wounded, to Pondicherry; whence he departed, the next morning, for the isle of France, with such precipitation, that he left one of his ships behind him.

Destitute of a naval force; unsupplied with an adequate number of troops; and at variance with the civil powers, all the offensive operations of Lally, though conducted with the spirit that so strongly marked the whole conduct of that extraordinary man, proved fruitless and abortive; he was compelled to desist from a vain attempt against the settlement of Madras; and, after being defeated in successive engagements, he retired within the fortifications of Pondicherry. He was there besieged, in his turn, by the English: notwithstanding a combination of disadvantages under which he laboured, he defended the place, with infinite perseverance and the most intrepid courage, during the space of nine months; nor did he surrender it until his provisions were totally exhausted, and the garrison worn out with misery and fatigue.

The terms of the capitulation of Pondicherry (which took place on the fifteenth of January, 1761), were rendered more severe, on account of the instructions given to Lally and D'Aché, by the French minister, being intercepted by the English: by these instructions they were prohibited from granting any conditions to such of the English settlements as might fall into their hands. The English general, therefore, resolved to use the same rigour with the French: not only all the troops in Pondicherry, but all the civil officers, of every denomination, belonging to the company, were sent to Europe. The fortifications were levelled with the ground, and the city experienced a total demolition. Lally, on his return to France, was treated with the greatest severity, and the most signal injustice; he was thrown into the Bastille, and was suffered to remain there fifteen months before he was put upon his trial, which was afterwards protracted to a shameful length, and finally terminated by an infamous sentence, pronounced on the sixth of May, 1766, by which he was condemned to suffer decapitation, for having betrayed the interests of the king, the state, and the East India company ⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Siècle de Louis XV. tom. ii. p. 192.

While the French were thus stripped of all their Asiatic territories, they had been driven, in Africa, from all the forts and factories which they had established on the river Senegal. M. Saint Jean, the governor of Goree, an island which lies, at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, attempted to defend it against an English armament, conducted by commodore Keppel and colonel Woiges; but his ardour was ill-seconded by his garrison, and he was reluctantly compelled to submit to the superior number of his enemies, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1758.

To complete the consternation of the French, the English, at the commencement of the year 1762, directed their attacks against the important island of Martinique, which, after a siege of six weeks, was totally reduced on the fourteenth of February. Dominica, Cayenne, and Louisiana were destined soon to experience a similar fate; and France was threatened, unless the danger were averted by some sudden change in her affairs, with the loss of all her colonies in the West Indies as well as the East.

Such was the enterprising spirit of the enemy, that, not content with despoiling the French of their distant possessions, they began to block up the kingdom, on one side, by the reduction of Belleisle, which rendered them masters of the interior part of the Gulph of Gascony. The English had long been anxious to achieve this conquest, but their efforts for that purpose had hitherto proved ineffectual. In April, 1761, a powerful armament was prepared, which, though repulsed at first, completed the subjugation of the island, in the month of June. General Hodgson and commodore Keppel, when they signed the capitulation, did justice to the courage of the garrison, by annexing to the conditions the following observation—*Granted, in consideration of the gallant defence made by the citadel, under the command of the chevalier de Sainte Croix.*

During these operations George the Second had expired (on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760), and his grandson had ascended the throne of England. The duke de Choiseul, who had acquired a perfect ascendancy over the minds of Lewis and his favourite, under pretence of giving additional weight to the negotiations he had opened for peace, had persuaded his sovereign to add the post of secretary of war to that of minister of the department for foreign affairs which he already occupied. But the duke was less anxious to conclude a peace, than to gain time for the accomplishment of another project which he had in contemplation, and which, after deceiving the English by professions of amity, he, at length, completed.

This was the celebrated FAMILY COMPACT, the negotiation for which was conducted with such secrecy, that it never transpired until the conclusion of the treaty, on the fifteenth of August, 1761. It consisted of twenty-eight articles, tending to establish a perpetual alliance between the crowns of France and Spain; reciprocally to guarantee their respective rights and possessions; to naturalize, with the single exception of

the American trade, the subjects of either crown, in the dominions of the other; to declare the enemy of one the enemy of the other; and to exclude, from the advantages resulting from this treaty, all powers that belonged not to the house of Bourbon.

This was the political master-piece, for the completion of which the duke de Choiseul took so much glory to himself; not that he had any reason to expect great advantages from such an alliance; but he hoped to render it the means of procuring a more advantageous peace than he could otherwise obtain. He had also another object in view, by which he meant to create a diversion, and, by encreasing the number of her enemies, reduce England to the necessity of dividing her forces. This was to oblige Portugal to declare herself: by detaching her from her natural ally, the latter would be deprived of one considerable source of her wealth; and by adhering to England, the former would expose herself to an attack from the house of Bourbon, which hoped to make an easy conquest of a kingdom which lay open on all sides. That the duke de Choiseul might find no impediments to the execution of his plan, he now obtained the appointment of marine minister, in addition to the posts he already occupied.

He exerted himself to the utmost to restore the navy to its former state, that the Spaniards might not suppose that the whole weight of the war, by sea, would fall upon them. The province of Languedoc, which, in 1744, had signalized its zeal by raising and maintaining the regiment of Septimania, now offered the king a ship of seventy-four guns, completely equipped: this patriotic example was speedily followed by the most opulent individuals in Paris, and by the different trading companies. Montmartel and La Borde, bankers to the court; Pauge and de Boulogne, war-treasurers; Michel and Le Maitre, treasurers to the artillery; and Marquet and de Bourgade, commissaries to the army, joined in building a vessel of eighty guns. The receivers-general of the finances; the farmers-general; the persons appointed to pay the public annuities; the six companies of merchants of Paris; the city of Paris; the states of Burgundy; the administrators of the posts; the chamber of commerce at Marseilles; and the states of Brittany; agreed, each of them, to furnish a ship of the line. The minister, by giving a general impulse to a zeal thus ardent and sincere, displayed the resources of the nation. But these resources could not immediately repair the loss of *thirty-seven sail of the line, and fifty six frigates*, which the enemy had captured since the commencement of the war; nor fill up the void occasioned by the absence of twenty-five thousand sailors, who were prisoners in England, while the French had not more than twelve hundred to offer in exchange.

Spain was soon convinced of her error in engaging in the war at a period when the navy of her ally was in such a reduced state. In less than a year, she lost twelve ships of the line, the island of Cuba, Manilla, and more than four millions sterling, in gold, silver, and other articles of commerce; while she could not even obtain the advantage she

she had expected to reap from the invasion of a neighbouring power, whose weakness was her only crime. Portugal, supported by England, after yielding, for a short time, to the efforts of Spain, at length impeded the progress of her enemy, and repelled the efforts of the house of Bourbon, united for the purpose of effecting her subjugation.

Dismayed by this accumulation of disasters, Lewis hastened to renew the negotiations for peace. The formidable adversary of France no longer swayed the British councils. Mr. Pitt, whose commanding genius, and decisive conduct, had raised his country to a pitch of glory that astonished the world, perceiving the fatal influence which the artful intrigues of the duke de Choiseul had acquired over the favourites of his new sovereign, retired from the helm. All the obstacles which had occurred to the conclusion of a peace were then speedily removed; and the new ministers were almost as desirous as their enemies to terminate the war, as appears from the insertion, in the list of pensioners on the Irish establishment, of the name of the count de Viry, the Sardinian ambassador at London, who acted as agent to the negotiation under the mediation of his master.

On the third of November, 1762, the important treaty which restored peace to Europe, too long harassed by the calamities of war, was signed at Fontainebleau, by the duke of Praslin, as minister of France; the marquis de Grimaldi for Spain; and the duke of Bedford, ambassador and plenipotentiary from the court of England. The sacrifices exacted from France were considerable, but by no means proportioned to the success of her enemies in the different quarters of the globe; and the facility of the English minister, on this occasion, seemed to justify the aspersions that were cast on his conduct by the opposition, and to sanction the complaint that the interests of the king of Prussia had not been sufficiently consulted in the treaty.

France renounced all pretensions to Acadia; ceded to Great Britain Canada; Cape Breton, with all the islands in the gulph and river of Saint Lawrence; and only retained a precarious right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, where the small islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon were restored to her, for the purpose of drying her fish, but with an express stipulation that she should erect no fortifications, and only keep a guard of fifty men. Martinique, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle, with the neutral island of Saint Lucia, were restored to France; and her East India Company were re-established in their former settlements; but in the state in which they then were—that is to say—dismantled, ruined, and forsaken. In return for this concession, she consented to destroy the harbour and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; and to submit to the degradation of maintaining, in that town, for an indefinite term, an English commissary, at her own expence, to superintend the execution of this article: she restored Minorca; yielded Grenada and the Grenadines; and resigned all claim to the neutral islands of Saint Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago.

Spain, for her imprudent interference in the quarrel, was compelled to cede Florida to Great Britain; and to allow the English permission to cut log-wood in the Bay of Honduras. The king of Prussia soon after concluded a treaty with the empress-queen, by which all conquests were mutually restored.

The principal fault committed by the British minister in the conclusion of this treaty—a fault that charity herself can scarcely ascribe to an error in judgment—was the restitution of the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; two colonies of the highest importance, from their population, their wealth, and, more particularly, from their situation: the French, by recovering possession of them, were enabled to restore their power and consequence in that part of the globe; and it is a notorious fact, acknowledged by all the political writers in France, who had the best opportunity of gaining information on the subject, and confirmed by the very situation of the French, at this period, that had the cession of those important settlements been insisted on, it would certainly have been granted.

While Lewis had been engaged in a disgraceful contest, whence neither honour nor emolument could result, the parliament of Paris had been employed in the gratification of their revenge on the Jesuits, who had been principally concerned in obtaining and enforcing the bull *Unigenitus*. By a combination of fortuitous occurrences, that tribunal was, at length, enabled to acquire the glory of effecting the total destruction of a society, which, fortified by the strong bulwark of public opinion, seemed to present an invincible front, and to strike terror into the most powerful potentates of Europe.

A single spark sufficed to produce the general conflagration; and the very man who was considered, by the Jesuits themselves, as the best calculated to encrease their wealth, and extend their credit, proved the cause of their ruin. Father de la Valette, procurator of the religious house of Saint Peter, in the island of Martinique, had been engaged, since the year 1747, in commercial transactions, the most extensive and profitable. By the ingenuity and boldness of his speculations, his concerns and his profits were augmented to such a degree as to excite the jealousy of the merchants and inhabitants of the colony, who, enraged at his attempt to monopolize the advantages of trade, preferred their complaints to the throne. La Valette was, in consequence, recalled to Europe, but the zeal and industry he had exerted for the benefit of his society procured him the honourable rank of *Superior General of the Windward Islands*. The credit of his friends having removed the apprehensions of the government, he obtained permission to return to Martinique, in the capacity of visitor general, and apostolical prefect of the missionaries, in that part of the world. He speedily recovered, by the superiority of his genius and exertions, the commercial consequence he had formerly enjoyed. He formed establishments in the neighbouring islands, and had factories in Dominica, Marie-Galante, Grenada,

Grenada, Saint Lucie, and Saint Vincent; he drew bills on Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Nantes, Lyons, Paris, Cadiz, Leghorn, and Amsterdam; and it is impossible to say how far his ambition might have led him, had not his projects been blasted by an event as fatal as it was unexpected.

His vessels laden with riches went over the seas in security, when the English commenced those hostilities, fatal to so many speculators, and especially to the brothers Lionay and Gouffre, merchants at Marseilles, who, in expectation of receiving two millions of merchandize, had accepted bills to the amount of a million and a half, drawn by La Valette. No sooner were they apprized of the capture of the vessels than they applied to father de Saçy, procurator general of the missionaries, by whom they were referred to his superiors. By a fatality which seemed, at this period, to concur in promoting the downfall of the society, the death of their general had suspended the usual activity of their exertions, and, by creating inevitable delays, reduced the house of the Lionays, which returned upwards of thirty millions of livres annually, to the necessity of stopping payment; and of involving in their ruin a multitude of persons with whom they had connections, in the different commercial towns of France. Meanwhile the new general of the Jesuits, sensible of the necessity of supporting the credit of their agents, had given orders to supply them with what money they wanted; but as the courier, dispatched with this intelligence, did not arrive at Marseilles until three days after the Lionays had stopped, the Jesuits, imprudently and unjustly, determined to withhold their promised support.

Still, by an inconsistency the most glaring and unaccountable, the society acknowledged the validity of the debts contracted by La Valette, and actually discharged a part of them by the hands of another correspondent. But, whether from inability to pay the whole, or from the same infatuation which seems to have influenced most of their actions, at this period, they suddenly stopped their remittances, and the payments of course ceased. A multitude of creditors now preferred their demands before the different tribunals; but the Jesuits had the credit to obtain letters-patent (on the seventeenth of August, 1760) by which they were all referred to the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris. Their object, in procuring this reference, was to have their cause tried by a commission, which would, they conceived, afford them an opportunity of protracting it, to such a length as to tire out their adversaries. But the court issued an arrêt, ordering the cause to be pleaded, and the joy displayed by the public on the occasion might have convinced the Jesuits of the danger to which they were exposed; but they were deaf to the salutary dictates of prudence, and blindly pressed forward to their ruin.

As if intent on furnishing their enemies with weapons against themselves, they repeatedly varied their means of defence: at first, they pretended that the commercial transactions of La Valette could only affect the house of Saint Peter at Martinique; though

though they instructed their agents to pay the notes drawn by that house: they afterwards urged, that commerce being forbidden to religious orders by the canons of the church, and by the laws, the conduct of La Valette was an offence against religion, which could not possibly reflect on the whole society, because crimes were personal, and admitted not of sureties. But the most capital error they committed, was that of rushing with their eyes open into the snare which their adversaries had prepared for them: these, in order to prove that the government of the Jesuits was despotic; that every thing was submitted to the power of the general; that he was sole proprietor and disposer of the wealth of the company; that La Valette neither was, nor could be, any thing else than the agent of the society; appealed to the constitutions of the order. The Jesuits imprudently accepted the challenge, and referred to the same authority to justify their assertion, that the society had no property, and that the funds belonged to the several houses or colleges. The mysterious volume was, accordingly, ordered, by an arrêt of the seventeenth of April, 1761, to be produced in court; and the consequence of its production was a succession of sentences, issued by the parliament against the Jesuits.

The general and the whole society of Jesus were condemned to pay all the bills that had been drawn upon their agents, together with costs, damages, and interest for the money; and father La Valette, and all other Jesuits were prohibited, under the severest penalties, from engaging, directly or indirectly, in any kind of traffic, forbidden by the canons of the church or the laws of the realm. This was a heavy blow; but the Jesuits, grown wise from experience, resolved to submit where resistance would be vain, and adopted measures for paying their creditors. Father Gatin, lately appointed procurator general of the missionaries in America, found means, in the short space of nine months, to pay off thirteen hundred thousand livres; and it is probable that he would have contrived, in the course of a few years, to effect a total liquidation of the company's debts, but for another blow which they received from the parliament, a blow equally fatal to the debtors and creditors.

The book of the constitutions of the Jesuits was found to contain an admirable, but alarming, picture of the order, all the members whereof, being united by the conformity of their morals, and the resemblance of their doctrine and manners, paid a blind submission and implicit obedience to their chief, and formed a distinct body in the state, subject to the sole controul of their general, who exercised an absolute sway over their inclinations, their hearts, their morals, their fortunes, their external regimen, and over their institution itself.

From an examination of the fundamental titles of the order, and of its establishment in France, it was farther discovered, that they had been formally expelled the kingdom

dom as a religious order, as Jesuits, in fact; and that if they had again obtained admission it was only on certain conditions which they had never fulfilled, and to which their general had obstinately refused to subscribe; so that the contract between this religious order and the state had never been completed, and its existence in France was the effect of toleration alone, and not of adoption.

The parliament were delighted with this double discovery; they were aware how far it would enable them to proceed with their designs, and they flattered themselves with the prospect of subjecting the Jesuits to the same disgrace to which they themselves had been accustomed for the last ten years, and of which they considered that society as the principal authors. The abbé Chauvelin undertook to examine the indigested mass of papers presented by the Jesuits; and the effect of his researches was a picture of the birth, the progress, and the actual state of the society, which he represented as a formidable Colossus, whose extended arms embraced the two worlds, and grasped at universal empire. The parliament, led away by the satirical eloquence of his statement, smote the statue, and, instantaneously, that enormous mass, hitherto alarming from the extent of its power, became dreadful only from its ruins.

But Chauvelin could never have accomplished his design had he not been assisted by the duke de Choiseul, who encouraged his efforts and gave weight to his eloquence. That minister, of a restless and enterprising disposition, endeavoured to effect revolutions not only in courts and in states, but in the opinions of the people; a free-thinker, and unincumbered with prejudices, he was deemed by the modern philosophers, whose sect had begun to acquire a certain degree of consistency, worthy of being their protector, and he justified their choice by his zeal for the propagation of their doctrine. One of their principles was the total extirpation of monks, and the destruction of convents, which they considered as the receptacles of ignorance and bigotry. The duke de Choiseul was aware that this could not be effected so long as the Jesuits should subsist; for although they despised the monks, and disdained to be considered as such themselves, they still regarded them as the militia of the church, whom it would be dangerous to suppress or diminish. It was therefore necessary to the success of his scheme to begin with them; besides, the duke was personally disaffected to the order, to which he was an object of dread; having, during his embassy at Rome, had an opportunity of detecting some of their intrigues.

The accusations preferred against the Jesuits, at this period, both in Spain and Portugal, contributed greatly to the accomplishment of his design. They were accused of assuming the authority of sovereigns over the Indians in Paraguay; of sowing dissension between the subjects of the two crowns; of having excited a war and opposed the combined armies of those sovereigns; and of having *made attempts the most strange and unprecedented*. In consequence of these charges, the king of Portugal, considering

ing them as instigators of the attempt committed against his life, (in September 1758) published a kind of manifesto against them, by which they were declared, as rebels and traitors, *unnaturalized, proscribed, and exterminated*; and he ordered them to be expelled from his dominions, and to be transported into the territories of the Pope, to be disposed of as his holiness should think fit. Spain had not yet proceeded to such extremities, but her minister was anxious to imitate the conduct of Portugal, and the example of France might have a considerable influence over the Spanish councils. The duke de Choiseul, who was then engaged in completing the family compact, wished to perform something that might be agreeable to Spain, and which, at the same time, would tend to the gratification of his own private resentment. Lewis the Fifteenth had himself been wounded and every attempt on the life of a king was *charitably* supposed to proceed from the Jesuits. This prejudice, which much pains had been taken to propagate, already justified the expulsion of the order, in the minds of the people. To facilitate the accomplishment of this design, a monstrous volume was compiled, of the pretended assertions of their casuists and other writers, whence it was inferred, that they taught a sanguinary and abominable doctrine, not only militating against the safety of the lives of the citizens, but even against that of the sacred persons of sovereigns. But though the storm, thus raised, was violent, the Jesuits might have escaped its fury, had their conduct been really as versatile as it was represented; if, by a dissimulation, inconsistent with the simplicity enforced by religion, but prescribed by that worldly prudence which they were said to possess in so great a degree, they would have conformed themselves to circumstances; and if their general had not displayed an intrepidity of character that only becomes the just man, and should invariably be the attribute of a great and heroic mind.

The Jesuits had no declared enemies at court, except the duke de Choiseul, and madame de Pompadour. The last, indeed, they might easily have prevailed on to espouse their cause; but by such an attempt they would have displeased the queen, the dauphin, the dauphiness, and the whole royal family, by whom they were openly protected. The king himself was fully convinced of their innocence with regard to the attempt of Damiens on his life, and suffered himself to be persuaded by the solicitations of his family, which the duke de Choiseul was too politic publicly to oppose. It was represented to Lewis, that the parliament proceeded with too much precipitation in a cause of such importance, and that they ought not to be suffered to gratify their private animosity at the expence of public justice; he therefore issued a declaration, on the second of August, 1761, prohibiting the parliament from adopting any definitive resolution, concerning the institution, the constitutions, and the establishment of the houses and colleges of the Jesuits; and appointing commissioners, from among the members of the council, to examine all the papers and other documents produced in the course of the trial. These proofs were certainly not decisive, since the commissioners, before they pronounced sentence, proposed the four following questions:

1. " Of

1. "Of what utility are the Jesuits in France, in discharging the different functions
"in which they are employed?
2. "What do they teach on the disputed points of doctrine, concerning Regicide,
" *Transalpine* opinions; the liberties of the Gallican church, and the four articles of the
"clergy?
3. "What conduct do they observe in their houses, and what use do they make of
"their privileges with regard to bishops and rectors?
4. "What remedy can be applied to the inconveniencies resulting from the exces-
"sive authority exercised by their General over all the members of the society?"

The commissioners desired to have the opinion of the clergy on these different points: twelve prelates were accordingly appointed to deliver it; and from their report was deduced the necessity, not of extinguishing the order, but of modifying their existence in France. A plan of accommodation was then drawn up and sent to the Pope, and to the General of the order, but the latter refused to listen to any terms, and haughtily replied;—" *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint!* "—Let them remain as they are, or not exist at all. This imprudent reply was immediately followed by the fatal sentence of proscription, pronounced on the sixth of August, 1762: the parliament, thereby, declared the bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the society called of Jesus, to be encroachments of authority, and abuses of government; forbade the members to wear the habit of the order, and to live under the obedience of the General and other superiors of the society; and interdicted them from the possession of any prebends, benefices, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices.

The Jesuits remonstrated, with great violence, against a sentence which they represented as a work of monstrous iniquity. They insisted, that a hundred forms, necessary to their condemnation, had been omitted, any one of which omissions would have sufficed to annul a sentence against the meanest individual. That the parliament had violated not only the forms, but the very principles of justice, on this occasion, is most certain; for the Jesuits had not been heard in their own defence; though the question involved objects of no less importance than the political existence, the lives, and the honour of four thousand individuals, publicly accused of assassination and regicide. Nor were the grounds on which they were condemned, less objectionable; they were condemned, on an institute, which had been highly commended in the bulls of twenty sovereign pontiffs: on constitutions, tending to enforce the most rigid and salutary discipline, and which, however exceptionable in particular points, could never deprive the civil law of its coercive authority over the Jesuits, as subjects of the realm: and, lastly, on a confused heap of assertions, some of which were only a defence and deve-

lopement of the law of nature, enforced in various remonstrances of the magistrates themselves; and others, but the erroneous maxims of fanaticism and superstition, common, in times of trouble and ignorance, to all religious orders, and even to the whole body of the clergy; and these assertions were collected in the most partial manner; they were never verified; the parties accused had no opportunity of contradicting them; and, in short, the whole proceeding, with respect to them, was marked by a want of candour, and a degree of precipitation that reflected disgrace on the judges.

The Jesuits pushed their enemies with still greater vigour: they asked, In what respect the accusations preferred against them had been substantiated? Who were their accusers—who their witnesses—and what proofs had been adduced?—In Portugal, where the king had been assassinated, the Jesuits Alexander, Mathos, and Malagrida, had been seized, imprisoned, and convicted of all the crimes laid to their charge, except that which had been urged in justification of the total expulsion of the order. In France, they observed, Damiens had never accused them of being concerned in the attempt on the life of Lewis the Fifteenth: he appeared, on the contrary, wholly devoted to the magistrates, and had even presumed to solicit the king to recal such of them as he had banished: he had cursed the archbishop, and censured his obstinacy, to which he declared it was his intention to open the eyes of his majesty: his first exclamation, when seized, was “*Save the dauphin!*” which plainly indicated that he conceived the life of that prince to be in danger; while he was the very man whom it was the interest of the Jesuits to place upon the throne, and for whom alone they must have committed the crime that was imputed to them.

The proscribed members of this society particularly regarded as an act of injustice, the most flagrant and tyrannical, the circumstance of rendering their subsistence the reward of their infamy; of forcing them to belie their conscience, by exacting a declaration, on oath, of their detestation of an institution which they had embraced as sacred, and which they still considered as such. The exaction of this oath, indeed, betrayed no less imbecility than despotism, since, agreeably to the moral of the society, as set forth in the book of assertions, those members who should be base enough to take it, ought to be most mistrusted; as having incurred the guilt of treachery, perjury, and dissimulation. In fact, what reliance could be placed on the professions of men, who were represented as so many Proteuses, who would always remain essentially the same, whatever disguise they might assume; as being obstinately perverse, not to be changed by correction; and whose symptoms of repentance were not to be trusted to? To men of this description the only treatment that policy could dictate, was expulsion, total, unconditional, and unrestrained; such as the king of Portugal had enforced, who, in that respect, displayed much greater consistency than the court of France.

The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes had been the first to adopt the errors of their brethren at Paris. Some were more slow in their decisions: the parliament of Flanders could

could not prevail on themselves to sanction an act which they considered as unjust, with regard to a society from whom they had received great instruction. But these dissensions were soon terminated by the duke de Choiseul, who, at length, obtained, in November, 1764, a royal edict, by which the order of the Jesuits was utterly abolished throughout the kingdom, though the members of which it was composed were permitted to remain in France, under the authority of the bishops in the different dioceses, on condition of conforming to the laws of the realm.

The indulgence with which the rigour of this edict was tempered, sufficiently proved that the measures of the court had been solely dictated by policy, and that no real apprehensions were entertained of the Jesuits, though they had been represented as *assassins* and *regicides*. The court, indeed, continued to swarm with them; the confessors of the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the whole royal family, were all taken from that order. There were few courtiers but afforded a refuge to some of them; and it soon became fashionable for every nobleman to have his Jesuit. Voltaire, who always aped the nobility, had one likewise, though, indeed, it was only with a view to make him the instrument of his caprice, and to dismiss him when he was no longer able to contribute to his amusement.

The most remarkable consequence of the expulsion of the society, and a consequence which their friends did not fail to ascribe to the vengeance of the Deity, was, that their creditors, who had occasioned their misfortunes, were the first victims of their ruin. They had been regularly paid, from the time when Gatin had undertaken the management of the company's affairs, to the moment when, foreseeing their inability to avert the storm which lowered o'er their heads, the Jesuits ceased to make good their engagements, in order to consult their personal interest. This they did so effectually, that when the officers of the parliament went to take an inventory of their effects, they found nothing but the bare walls.

To this first loss may be added that which proceeded from a vast number of forged notes, which multiplied the number of creditors, and encreased the demand on the Jesuits, which originally amounted only to three millions, to nine. This gave rise to such a multiplicity of law-suits, that the advocates, attornies, judges, and all the officers of justice, reaped a most profitable harvest, while the real creditors, ruined in the prosecution of their just claims, bestowed more maledictions on the parliaments, than on the Jesuits themselves.

In short, the extirpation of the Jesuits was regretted by the majority of the nation: and to the sentiments of compassion which misfortunes naturally excite, were added, in their behalf, sentiments of gratitude. Almost the whole generation had been educated by them; and their pupils still preserved for their ancient masters that attachment and

eneration which they had imbibed in the days of their youth, and which the Jesuits possessed the art of inspiring in a greater degree than any other preceptors. Many of their judges were secretly their friends, and professed the greatest esteem for them; and it is remarkable that not one of their numerous scholars could reproach them with having endeavoured to instil into their youthful minds the abominable maxims which they were accused of propagating; with having put into their hands any book that favoured such principles; or with having afforded them reason to infer, from their conduct, that they inclined to that mode of thinking.

It is worthy of observation, that the Jesuits appeared, with their robe, to lose all their merit. They were no longer the same characters; whether that this distinctive mark tended to aggrandize them in the eyes of the vulgar, and to throw an additional lustre on their talents; or that the loss of their garb exposed their impotence in its native colours, and that they did not really possess the genius, the talents, and the resources which had been ascribed to them. The most distinguished members of their society, such as La Tour, Neuville, Montigny, Geoffroy, and Berthier, held down their desponding heads, and sunk, like women, into tears.

The first consolation which the Jesuits were destined to enjoy, after the period of their disgrace, resulted from the clamours of the provinces, where it became a serious subject of complaint, that since their expulsion the colleges were abandoned in many places, neglected in most, and in none so well-conducted as during the time of the Jesuits. The philosophers themselves, who had been most forward in promoting their expulsion, under the pretence that it would favour the progress of knowledge, by leading to the adoption of a new mode of instruction for youth, confessed that the parliament had been more actuated by a desire to gratify their private animosity than by any concern for the public good.

A. D. 1763, 1764.] The parliament of Paris, in their dispute with the Jesuits, had displayed the same inconsistency of conduct, and want of attention to principles, that marked most of their subsequent quarrels with the crown. An edict issued by Lewis for the continuance of some taxes that ought to have ended with the war, and for the imposition of others necessary for liquidating the additional debt which had been contracted during its progress, was refused to be registered by the parliaments: and another edict, enabling the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was justly represented as a violation of the public faith.

This was the time for the parliament of Paris to distinguish themselves: had they been really influenced by that patriotic zeal which they so loudly professed; had they pursued the affairs of the nation with the same warmth which they had displayed in a cause that interested their own dignity, and roused the private passions of some of their

their members, they would have persisted in their determination not to register edicts that were either oppressive or disgraceful, and have enforced the propriety of convening the States-general, who were alone competent to decide *definitively* on fiscal regulations that tended to impose fresh burdens on the people. But, instead of pursuing this line of conduct, and thereby evincing the rectitude of their intentions, they suffered themselves to be seduced by favours artfully bestowed, and privileges judiciously conferred; and the selection of a comptroller-general of the finances—M. de Laverdy, a violent enemy to the Jesuits—from among their members, rendered them forgetful of the duty they owed to the nation, and made them withdraw their opposition.

The provincial parliaments, however, displayed greater firmness, integrity, and resolution. The language employed by the members of the parliament of Rouen, is peculiarly worthy of being transmitted to posterity. “The subject”—said they—“has a right to the easiest and least burthenome method of contributing to the wants of the state. This right, which is founded in nature, belongs to every nation in the world; it is principally the right of the FRANKS; and, in a more especial manner, that of your province of Normandy. The Norman charter furnishes on this head the most respectable monument of our national immunities, and of the JUSTICE of the kings, your august predecessors. We there find that no tax can be levied on your subjects of this province, unless it be agreed to in the assembly of *the people of the three estates*. *This charter subsists in its full force; it makes a part of your people's rights, which you swear to maintain before him BY WHOM KINGS REIGN.*”

At Bourdeaux the parliament made no scruple to declare, that it was their duty, in registering an edict, to bear witness to the people, that the tax was just; and to the king, that the people were still able to furnish the supplies; at Thoulouse, at Grenoble, and Besançon, they pursued the same measures, and held the same language.

The court, to combat this opposition, sent down the different governors of the provinces, with orders, in the king's name, to register the edicts by force, and to cause them to be obeyed. The duke of Fitzjames, accordingly, repaired to Toulouse; the duke of Harcourt to Rouen; and monsieur Mesnil to Grenoble. The former in vain confined the principal magistrates to their houses, and menaced the rest with a similar restraint; the popular party was rather provoked than intimidated by this unconstitutional exertion of authority: the neighbouring parliament of Provence espoused with ardour the cause of their brethren of Toulouse: they declared, that by the outrage committed in the capital of Languedoc, the whole nation, and the throne itself, were wounded by tyrannical acts: the members of the parliament of Toulouse, animated and encouraged by the exhortations and assurances of Provence, as soon as they could assemble, came to more effectual resolutions, and determined to arrest the governor, though acting with the authority, and under the immediate direction of the crown, and to proceed against him as a criminal.

minal. But the parliament of Paris interposed their authority, and although the matter was already referred to them, accused the parliament of Toulouse of having infringed on their rights, by presuming to institute a criminal proceeding against a peer of the realm. The system of unity which they had recently enforced, they now sacrificed to a principle of vanity; and put an immediate stop to the proceedings commenced against the duke of Fitzjames.

The duke of Harcourt, and M. Mefnil, in Rouen and Grenoble, imitated the conduct of Fitzjames, and experienced a similar opposition. Their respective parliaments commanded their bodies to be seized, and brought to the prisons of the court; and, in case they could not be apprehended, their estates were to be confiscated, and put under the administration of a legal commissary.

A. D. 1765, 1766.] The latter years of the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth, like those of his immediate predecessor, were marked by a variety of domestic misfortunes. In 1759, the young duchess of Parma, his daughter and his *confidante*, was carried off by the small-pox, during a visit to her father at Versailles. The death of the youthful prince of Condé and the count of Charolois, which happened in the ensuing year, made a sensible diminution in the social circle of their royal kinsman; who, in the spring of 1761, experienced a still greater loss in the death of the duke of Burgundy, eldest son to the dauphin: in March, 1764, the marchioness de Pompadour expired, having retained to the last her fatal influence over the mind of Lewis; and on the twentieth of December, in the year following, he lost his only son, the dauphin, a prince, who joined, to an enlightened understanding, as good a heart as ever graced the bosom of humanity; whose mind, decorated with every virtue, reflected lustre on his rank; and whose character the foul breath of calumny never dared to pollute. He expired, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, universally regretted by the nation. Maria-Theresa, whom the dauphin had first espoused, died in child-bed; and the daughter of which she was delivered, survived her mother but a short time. His second marriage, in 1747, with Maria-Josepha of Saxony, proved more fruitful; and he left behind him three sons, the duke of Berry, on whom the king immediately conferred the title of dauphin; the count of Provence, and the count d'Artois; with two daughters. The dauphiness only survived her husband fifteen months; and but the same short space elapsed between her death and that of the queen; so that the king, in the course of a very few years, found all his dearest connections dissolved.

A. D. 1766 to 1769.] But if the heart of Lewis was, on this occasion, alive to paternal emotions, the cares of sovereignty allowed him not to indulge his sorrows in retirement. Anxious to repair the losses sustained during the late war by an accession of territory, the duke de Choiseul directed the attention of his royal master to the state of
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Count D' Artois

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foreign powers. Poland was afflicted with all the calamities that result from religious rancour and civil commotion; but the distance of that country precluded the interference of France; and Lewis was advised by his minister to confine his views to the acquisition of Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean. Previous to this enterprize, the patrimony of Saint Peter, defended only by spiritual arms, was destined to experience the more formidable vengeance of the king of France. On the refusal of the pope to recall a brief which he had published against the duke of Parma, Lewis thought proper to reclaim the territories of Avignon and the Venaissin, as fiefs of the crown; and the Roman pontiff, having no troops to oppose him, could only denounce against him the penalties incurred by those who seize on effects belonging to the church. But the thunders of the Vatican, once so dreadful, were no longer regarded; and the marquis de Rochecouart, with the regiment of Dauphiné, expelled the feeble train of the pope, and received, in the name of the king, the homage and submission of the people.

It was the intention of the duke de Choiseul, ever anxious to promote the total extinction of the Jesuits in Christendom, and who, throughout this dispute, descried the finger of Loyola, not to restore the territories which he had seized until the Pope had not only given satisfaction to the duke of Parma, but had consented to annihilate the order, which he pursued with such implacable vengeance. The Pope had the courage to refuse, and died without complying with either of the two requisitions, which were only obtained under his successor Ganganeli.

Far different preparations from those which had sufficed for the seizure of Avignon and the Venaissin were requisite to subdue the bold and hardy natives of Corsica. That island had, for the long space of forty years, resisted the arbitrary sway of the republic of Genoa, which claimed the sovereignty, by right of conquest; after the Genoese had expended, in the prosecution of this claim, an immense sum of money, and exhausted their strength in unavailing efforts, they were obliged to have recourse to the French, to whom they transferred their pretensions, on condition that Lewis should put them in possession of the adjacent island of Capraia, which the Corsicans had lately invaded and reduced. Lewis was fearful that the acceptance of their offer would excite the jealousy of the English; but this objection was speedily over-ruled by the duke de Choiseul, who exaggerated the advantages to be derived from the possession of Corsica, which he represented as sufficient to counterbalance the loss of Canada. One point, which, had the principles of justice been consulted, would have been the first to discuss, wholly escaped the attention both of king and minister: this was an investigation of the validity of the rights of the republic of Genoa to the island of Corsica. It was certainly worthy of enquiry, whether these rights ought not to fall before the constant claims of a whole people, incessantly asserted for nearly half a century? and also, whether, the justice of the pretensions of the Genoese being admitted;

mitted, the republic was justified in transferring the sovereignty to France, without the consent of the nation, expressed or implied?

Without entering into any discussion of these points, the French minister resolved to enforce that right which results only from superior strength. The marquis de Chauvelin, appointed general of the troops destined for this expedition, on his arrival in Corsica, without any previous form, published a royal edict, declaring Lewis king of Corsica; which was followed by a private ordinance, threatening to punish all persons who should resist, and repel force by force. All Corsican vessels were ordered to hoist the French colours, in failure whereof they were to be considered as pirates, and treated accordingly. The success which attended the first effort of the French arms influenced the pride of the minister, who caused a pompous account of his victories, couched in the most indecent terms, to be inserted in the public papers. But he soon had reason to repent his temerity; and the recital of the subsequent humiliations experienced by the troops, rendered public through the medium of the foreign Gazettes, convinced him that his conduct was regarded with indignation by all Europe.

A manifesto, at once moderate and firm, published in the name of the general and supreme council of the kingdom of Corsica, tended greatly to augment that indignation. The Corsicans complained that his Christian majesty, after having expressly acknowledged their freedom and independence; after having negotiated, under that idea, an accommodation between the nation and the republic of Genoa, for four successive years, had now asserted in his own name, those pretended rights, the invalidity of which he had before admitted: they maintained, that, even were the sovereignty of Genoa established, it could only have resulted from a regular contract between the parties, which must be dissolved the moment one of them departed from their original agreement, by a cession to which the other had not only not given its consent, but on which it had never even been consulted; for it was necessary first to consider whether the same motives which might have influenced the Corsicans in submitting themselves to the authority of the Genoese would hold good with regard to the French. They complained of the perfidy of the duke de Choiseul, who, after writing to assure them that no change in their political state had taken place, that they might renew their negotiations with the republic of Genoa, suffered troops, admitted into the island under the pretence of acting as mediators, to exercise hostilities against the inhabitants, to treat the Corsicans as a conquered nation, *as a flock of sheep carried to market for sale.*

This spirited manifesto was supported by a defence so vigorous, that the first campaign terminated in favour of the oppressed Corsicans; whose free suffrages had summoned to the supreme government of the island, Paoli, one of their chiefs, who then bore the reputation of a man of letters, a wise legislator, an able politician, and a good warrior.

warriour. He was well aware of his inability to resist, unsupported, the power of France; but his object was to gain time, by fortifying the strong holds and mountainous parts of the island, in the hope that the intemperance of the climate, and the unwholesomeness of the air, would effect an important diminution of the enemy's troops. He flattered himself, too, with the hopes of obtaining some assistance from England; and the arrival of a few individuals from that country increased his expectations of receiving more efficacious support.

Meanwhile the people in France were highly discontented: several thousands of men had already been sacrificed; thirty millions of livres had been expended; and all the letters from Corsica, far from reviving the drooping spirits of the nation, were filled only with lamentations. Such a dreadful description, indeed, was given of the island, that, in case it were compleatly reduced, it was supposed that it would be necessary to sacrifice two hundred millions before any advantage could be reaped from it. The duke de Choiseul, who, though easily led away by the first brilliant speculations that presented themselves to his imagination, did not possess the obstinacy of weak and little minds, and was easily brought back to a right mode of thinking, acknowledged the folly of his scheme; and he would probably have abandoned it, if the favour he enjoyed at court, and, in some degree, his honour, had not depended on its success. The king was discontented; his favourite, the marquis de Chauvelin, enraged at being compelled to fly before an undisciplined band of mountaineers, incessantly complained that the number of his troops was inadequate to the enterprize; pressed for reinforcements; exaggerated the difficulties and expence of a conquest, which, he maintained, would be of little or no advantage to the nation; and expressed his apprehensions of an attack from the English, which would totally defeat his schemes.

The duke de Choiseul, having proceeded too far to retract, determined to increase the means of attack in proportion to the difficulties that occurred; he accordingly sent eight-and-forty battalions of infantry to Corsica, and, taking the command from the marquis de Chauvelin, conferred it on the count de Vaux, who, in the short space of two months, completed the reduction of the island. This rapid success was chiefly owing to the discouragement that prevailed among the Corsicans, who, disappointed in their expectation of support from England, considered resistance to be as vain as it was perilous. Many of the leaders took refuge in the neighbouring states; and Paoli, after a generous but ineffectual effort to establish the independence of his country, returned to London.

While the treasures of France were exhausted in this unprofitable conflict, all attempts to replenish them, by extending her commerce, proved fruitless and impotent. Her East India company, formerly so flourishing, became totally bankrupt; the most capital commercial houses were involved in their ruin; and the desperate manœuvre of the duke de Choiseul, in reducing the interest of the public funds to one half, and, at the

same time, taking away the benefit of survivorship in the tontines, encreased the general gloom, and destroyed the basis of all national faith and credit.

During these transactions, the fermentation in the different parliaments of the kingdom was more violent than ever. The discord which had been excited among them by the pre-eminence granted to that of Paris, had only occasioned a temporary division, and their union was now firmly cemented by the strong band of interest. The recal of the governors whose despotic proceedings had roused their resentment, produced but a short calm; and the storm soon broke out afresh, and with additional violence. The destruction of the parliament of Paris (in June, 1765), but feebly opposed by the other parliaments, and its re-edification, according to the will of the minister, encouraged the latter to more daring exertions of power; and the despotic treatment of some members of the parliament of Rennes convinced the magistrates of the necessity of uniting their efforts in asserting the inestimable privilege, to which they were entitled, *of being tried by their peers*.

This process, distinguished, in history, by the appellation of *The affair of Brittany*, originated in the arrêts issued against the Jesuits, and in the papers published on the occasion. M. de la Chalotais, the author of these publications, appeared to be their most formidable adversary in Brittany, and having found it impossible to avert the destruction with which they were threatened, they resolved to avail themselves of the powerful party they had in that province, in order to excite troubles and cabals, by favour of which they hoped to effect their re-establishment, or, at least, to gratify their revenge. The states of the province, assembled in 1762, afforded them an opportunity for beginning their plan. The bishops, and, indeed, almost the whole body of the clergy, were their friends, as were also many members of the noblesse, and the governor of the province, whose influence over the third estate was almost unlimited.

The grand object of the Jesuits was to procure a revocation of the arrêts of the parliament of Brittany, by which their society had been dissolved in that province, under pretence that the magistrates had, in that instance, infringed on the rights of the states. Their partisans were extremely animated, and threats, the most violent and insulting, were employed, on either side, in the apartment where the states were assembled; and the duke d'Aiguillon, whose duty it was, as governor, to prevent such excesses, indirectly authorized them by his silence. Three times they returned to the charge; several letters from the late dauphin, either real or forged, were secretly circulated, in order to prejudice the minds of the members in favour of the Jesuits; and if these commotions had met with no interruption, they would probably have excited a civil war in the province, that, in a short time, must have extended over the whole kingdom.

M. de la Chalotais, as much interested by vanity, and motives of personal safety, as by patriotism, in maintaining a work of which he was the principal instigator, found means to quell the troubles which the governor, alternately protector of and protected by the Jesuits, endeavoured to excite in the province. He informed the duke de Choiseul of their manœuvres, which, being once discovered, lost all their activity in the states. But the Jesuits still thought they had gained a considerable advantage, by rendering their quarrel personal to the duke d'Aiguillon, who had become the implacable enemy of *their* enemies. Proud of such a leader, they formed a design of promoting their ends by different means.

Universal complaints had been preferred against the governor of Brittany for his conduct concerning the highways. These had been taken into consideration by the parliament; and as the magistrates who supported the complaints were the same who had opposed the Jesuits, the duke d'Aiguillon was easily prevailed on to join with the latter in promoting their ruin. By a display of address, truly worthy of the Jesuits, they contrived, by stimulating the vanity of the comptroller-general, Laverdy, to make that minister indirectly concur in promoting the success of their scheme, although he was a violent Jansenist, and had ever evinced the most implacable enmity to the order. Enraged at the refusal of the parliament to grant a free gift of seven hundred thousand livres to the crown, he seconded the efforts of the duke d'Aiguillon, by multiplying the strokes of authority against the court and the province. He found himself carried so far beyond his intentions, that, by a succession of incomprehensible measures, into many of which he had been artfully betrayed by snares that it was scarcely possible to avoid, he induced several of the magistrates to give in their resignation.

The Jesuits and their partisans, being thus left masters of the field of battle, held what assemblies and conventicles they thought proper; and by that means effected the ruin of M. de la Chalotais, their principal enemy, who had opposed their manœuvres to the utmost of his power, during the meeting of the states. His son, also, and several magistrates who had signalized their enmity to the order, were destined to become the victims of their artful machinations. Every circumstance seemed to contribute to the success of their schemes: the governor espoused their cause with warmth, and his uncle, the count de Saint Florentin, secretary of state, within whose department the province of Brittany lay, seconded, with zeal, the designs of his nephew. Some members of the parliament, that had not resigned, were devoted to their interest, and were prepared to form a tribunal, whence they had every thing to hope, and nothing to dread. Lastly, the king was favourable to their party, being so much enraged against the Bretons, that he had expressed his determination never to grant them any favour or indulgence of any kind; and he had even made known his intentions to all his ministers.

The desolation occasioned in the province by the dispersion of the parliament, had given birth to murmurs, complaints, and acts of desperation, whence the Jesuits contrived to reap advantage. It is highly probable, that, amidst the general fermentation, they fabricated various publications calculated to promote their design, which were ascribed to the malecontents. Already had a process been instituted at Paris on the subject of different intrigues excited with a view to encourage an insurrection; of different libels which had appeared, both in prose and verse, tending to attack the honour and reputation of certain magistrates, and other loyal subjects, attached to government; and of different anonymous letters, injurious to the royal authority, addressed to ministers. The cognizance of these offences had been referred to the parliament of Paris; and while they were employed in the investigation of facts, fresh acts of violence were committed in Brittany.

In the night of the tenth of November, 1765, M. de la Chalotais, his son, and three members of the parliament who had given in their resignation, were arrested and thrown into prison. By the letters-patent which were published five days after their arrest, it appeared, that these magistrates had been represented to the king as enemies both to the authority of the crown, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. They were accused of having endeavoured, for some time past, to excite a dangerous fermentation in Brittany; of having, with this view, holden unlawful assemblies, formed criminal associations, and maintained suspicious correspondences; of calumniating, in various libels, all those who had displayed an attachment to the service of their sovereign; of having undertaken to circulate publications composed in the same spirit of independence which had impelled them to make the most seditious speeches in public; and, lastly, of having carried their audacity so far as to send anonymous notes to court, injurious to the person of the king, and to the dignity of the crown.

It was upon such vague accusations, that a most iniquitous process was instituted, unexampled in the annals of justice. In order to preserve, at least, the *appearance* of regularity, and the better to deceive the king, the minister offered to restore those members of the parliament of Brittany who had given in their resignation, and to leave the trial of the accused magistrates to them: By this offer they wished to convey the idea, that they could substantiate the accusations preferred against those magistrates, or, at least, that they acted with candour and impartiality; but they knew that if the members should accept the offer, and resume their functions, they might justly be accused of betraying their honour, their country, and their oath. That which they had foreseen happened: the parliament, after deliberating upon the king's orders, decreed, that, the motives which had determined them to give in their resignation still subsisting, it was impossible for them to resume their functions. Even some of those who had not yet resigned now followed the example of their brethren.

The

The ministry, encouraged by the example of the parliament of Paris, immediately resolved to *re-construer* that of Rennes on the same footing; and, in the mean time, they appointed a council for the administration of justice in the province, to which they addressed letters-patent, enjoining them to commence, without delay, the trial of the accused magistrates. But before they could obey these injunctions, having persuaded some of the magistrates who had resigned to take their seats, and re-established the company, the cognizance of the affair was referred to them. This manœuvre had been concerted with those members who, though enemies to the parties accused, whose firmness was a continual reproach to themselves, yet did not dare pronounce such a sentence as the court desired; and therefore gave up a right which they, indeed, might refuse to exercise, but of which they could not deprive the defendants. This afforded a pretence for again referring the matter to a commission; and, for this purpose, sixty new commissioners were appointed, by letters-patent, dated the twenty-fourth of January, 1766, to hold a royal chamber at Saint Malo.

At that town, every art that the ingenuity of malice could devise, every misconstruction of law, and violation of justice, were employed, under the influence and direction of the duke d'Aiguillon, to traduce the characters, and operate the conviction of the parties accused. But, at the moment when every thing was prepared for the execution of an iniquitous sentence, drawn up at Versailles, previous to the departure of the commissioners, the vigorous remonstrances of the parliament of Paris, seconded by the representations of the duke de Choiseul, induced Lewis to revoke the fatal arrêt, which was already signed.

The powers of the commission now ceased; and the cause was referred to the decision of those judges who were alone competent to try it. But as they were but few in number, seduced by favour or intimidated by threats, they could not be considered as the true parliament, unless joined by the seceding magistrates. M. de la Chalotais and the other defendants, therefore, declined their tribunal in its present state, and, maintaining, that as they could not take cognizance of a cause between private persons, they could much less undertake to try members of a court who had the privilege of being tried by all the chambers of the parliament assembled, they required to be sent before the parliament of Bourdeaux.

After a variety of contradictory proceedings, in which all the forms of justice were violated, the prisoners were, by an arrêt of the council, in July, 1766, transferred to the Bastille, and their cause was referred to the decision of the council: and on the twenty-fourth of December the king, by virtue of his royal authority, put a stop to all the proceedings, and published a general amnesty in favour of the defendants.

Yet,

Yet, by a manifest contradiction, while the ministers exalted the wisdom, the moderation, and the goodness of their sovereign, they made him commit an act of tyranny the most revolting. The magistrates, released from the Bastille, were not only restored to their posts, but the king declared that he would never more repose any confidence or show any favour to his attorneys-general, in the parliament of Brittany, who were involved in the same disgrace, or rather persecution, with the other magistrates. They were even banished; and such was the rigour exercised against them, that they were not permitted the liberty of taking leave of their friends and relations. The parliament of Paris represented, in strong terms, the inconsistency of such a proceeding, which tended to cast reflections on the characters of the parties; but the king silenced them on that head by observing, that the punishment by no means affected their honour. It was by such miserable subterfuges, suggested to the private vengeance of Lewis, that the enemies of the magistrates contrived to gratify their own: they had piqued the vanity of the monarch, by showing him intercepted letters, in which the magistrates, without insulting majesty, spoke truths to the man, which he had not virtue to bear.

Far from restoring tranquillity, by such conduct, to the distracted province of Brittany, as the ministers had given the king reason to expect, it was more rent by dissensions than ever. The Jesuitical cabal continued to sow discord in every part of it. The parliament, deprived of its ancient splendour, was no longer the sanctuary of justice, but the repair of iniquity; a mock tribunal, aptly denominated *The Bailiwick of Aiguillon*. The states, divided among themselves, saw the strokes of authority, aimed at their expiring liberty, daily multiplied. The order of nobility still struggled for the freedom of their country, though harassed by a schism occasioned by the intriguing arts of the governor, an absolute despot, surrounded by spies, informers, and a servile herd of dependants, ready to obey his commands, however atrocious and unjust; and master of the *lettres-de-cachet*, those instruments of tyranny, with which his uncle, the secretary, supplied him most plentifully, and which enabled him to deprive the province of its most strenuous defenders. In short, the duke d'Aiguillon had undertaken to complete the total destruction of the rights of the Bretons, by enforcing the registration of a dreadful regulation, consisting of two hundred and thirty-one articles, most of which were calculated for the insidious purpose of giving the force of law to all the innovations he had introduced, to all the abuses of authority he had exercised, to all the acts of violence he had committed, in direct violation of all ancient rights and customs, as well in substance as in form.

Fortunately for the Bretons, this was the last act of the governor's administration: the measure of his iniquities was full; and the nation, reduced to despair, might have recourse to the most dreadful extremes; at least, it was under this point of view that the duke de Choiseul, the personal enemy of d'Aiguillon, whose excessive ambition he

he dreaded, represented the matter, in order to excite the apprehensions of his sovereign. After expatiating on the troubles which the oppressive regulation of the duke d'Aiguillon must necessarily occasion at the ensuing convocation of the states, he advised him to summon an extraordinary meeting at which it might be discussed with freedom. This minister knew how to manage the king, who would have refused suddenly to destroy a work which, odious as it was, had been executed under his orders. He only spoke of explanations and modifications, which would not call his authority in question, and which, by enforcing the necessary dispensations for keeping the states within due bounds, would enslave the nobility more surely, since it would lead them to concur in forging chains for themselves. In order the better to allure his master, he proposed to him to charge the president Ogier with this commission, a magistrate esteemed for his mild and conciliatory disposition, by the king, who reposed in him a particular confidence. As a lawyer too, Ogier was well acquainted with the forms, and, displaying some of the arbitrary pomp of a governor, he would have more the air of a mediator. Lewis the Fifteenth suffered himself to be persuaded by his minister, and the commissioner was appointed.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the duke d'Aiguillon to promote a spirit of faction, the Bretons received Ogier as the harbinger of peace; the utmost tranquillity prevailed in the assembly, and the most perfect union obtained between the different orders. The partizans of the governor, affecting the warmest zeal for the subjects of the province which they had so repeatedly violated, proposed that the states should content themselves with supplicating the king to withdraw the monstrous code of laws which formed the subject of their complaints, and even to dispense them from entering into a discussion of the same, since it was their peculiar right and privilege to make regulations for themselves. But this proposal was rejected, and after entering up a respectable protest, they proceeded to examine the regulation, article by article, and the royal authority was suffered to preserve its whole influence. The president, in his return to court, made a favourable report of the loyalty of the Bretons; and it was decided that the duke de Duras should preside at the next general convention of the states.

All these conciliating measures were calculated to produce the return of the parliament, which accordingly took place, in the following year; when they were joined by the four magistrates who had been involved in the process commenced against Messrs. de la Chalotais, and Caradeue the attorney-general, who were the only persons whom the king could not be prevailed on to restore, persisting in declaring them innocent, but still pretending that he had private reasons for keeping them in exile.

In the midst of these disputes, the king had repaired, on the third of March, 1766, to the parliament of Paris, where he held the famous session called the *Flagellation*; because

cause it resembled a similar meeting in the reign of his predecessor, who repaired thither with a *whip* in his hand. Lewis solemnly proscribed all the pretended innovations of the parliaments, particularly the use of the word *clafs*, and boldly asserted *that he held his crown of God alone*. Not content with the promulgation of this arbitrary and obsolete doctrine in the capital, he ordered the different provincial parliaments to repair to Paris, and to bring with them their registers, that the same arrogant assertion of the *Jus divinum* of their monarch might be inserted therein. Thus the aggrandizement of the magistracy, the progressive labour of fifteen years, was destroyed by a single exertion of despotic power; the different companies returned to their homes, with sorrow in their hearts, to issue arrêts that bore the marks of their timidity, in which they did not dare to combat the falsehood of the disgusting proposition inscribed on their registers; and such was their discouragement, that they never, from that period, in any of their publications, made use of the proscribed appellation of *clafs*,

Had this vigorous measure of the king been supported, the triumph of despotism must have been immediately established on the ruins of the national freedom: but fortunately dissensions prevailed among the members, all of whom had private reasons for wishing to court the magistracy. The comptroller-general had edicts to register: Maupeou, who held the seals with the dignity of *vice-chancellor*, wished to obtain the full rank of chancellor; and the duke de Choiseul was anxious to prevent the duke d'Aiguillon from succeeding in his schemes in Brittany. This circumstance, and not any motive of patriotism, prevented them from pursuing any regular system for enslaving the nation; though too many of the measures of the present reign tended to promote that pernicious end.

A. D. 1769, 1770.] While Lewis punished with banishment the attornies-general of the parliament of Brittany, whose innocence he had acknowledged, he conferred the most signal marks of his favour on the duke d'Aiguillon, whom he had been obliged to deprive of the government of that province, on the report of the president Ogier, of the acts of violence he had committed, and the general execrations he had incurred. It was through the influence of the countess du Barri, the new and favourite mistress of the king, whose confidence he had acquired, that the duke obtained the post of commandant of the light-horse of his majesty's guards; which only tended to aggravate the resentment of the Bretons, and to render the magistrates more active in prosecuting him. The parliament of Rennes, under pretence of some troubles having been excited, within their jurisdiction, by the Jesuits, had ordered a strict investigation of the conduct of those people to be made, in consequence of which they issued an arrêt obliging them to quit the province, or take the oath prescribed by the law. In the course of the informations taken previous to the publication of the arrêt, it was found that the duke d'Aiguillon had suborned witnesses to appear against the accused magistrates;

magistrates; in the depositions were discovered indications of the most flagrant oppression; of an enormous abuse of power; of *the most atrocious crime*—to use the expressions of the parliament of Brittany (in their letter to the chancellor), who meant to insinuate that he had formed a scheme for poisoning the attornies-general. In consequence of this discovery, a prosecution was immediately instituted against the duke, and a variety of depositions taken, but the proceedings were suddenly stopped by an arrêt of the council.

Meanwhile a spirited memorial was addressed to the king, on the inconsistency of his conduct, with regard to the attornies-general, by the commission, appointed to sit in Brittany during the interval between the annual meeting of the states. “We cannot”—said the commissioners—“conceal from your majesty the universal desolation which your answer occasioned. The very testimony, so glorious for the attornies-general, and so satisfactory for us, which you bear to their innocence, becomes a source of terror to all citizens.—What, Sire! are they innocent, and do you punish them?”

“We could not see, without surprize mixed with alarm, private facts and discontents assigned as motives for the infliction of a public punishment. Every magistrate, every citizen, every man, who is punished, ought previously to be found guilty; and he cannot be tried without the liberty of defending himself. If he be accused, he must know of what, and by whom. If he be condemned, he must be first convicted.

“Our honour, our lives, and our liberty are our own, in the same manner as the crown is yours. We would shed our blood to preserve your rights; but do you preserve ours. We are not claiming the restoration of a privilege, but asserting a natural right.

“God himself, of whom you are the living image, cannot punish the innocent; and the criminal whom he chastises should not doubt of his guilt. Yes, the declaration of innocence and the infliction of punishment at the same time, cannot possibly be enforced even by the Deity; and it would be blasphemy to ascribe to him so odious a contradiction.

“We can never conceive that men, whose honour is not only unimpeached, but even confirmed by your majesty, in repeated declarations, are not perfectly innocent; and we can still less conceive, how men whose innocence is acknowledged can experience the fate of the guilty.

“What must private citizens expect, if the chief magistrates be not exempt from such dreadful oppression? Sire, the provinces, on their knees, claim your justice. But all justice is destroyed, if we may be taken by force from our houses, loaded with chains, and cast into endless exile, under the pretence of private offences, supported by

“ obscure informations, against which it will be impossible to defend ourselves, and
“ which will only be made known to us by the rigour of the punishment inflicted.
“ Deign, Sire, to recal to your mind the long train of calamities sustained by those
“ whose innocence you acknowledge and attest. They have been torn from their func-
“ tions, their families, and friends; they have been dragged from prison to prison;
“ they have been holden up to the whole kingdom as prevaricators and traitors; they
“ have experienced the horrors of a criminal proceeding, the violence of which was on-
“ ly equalled by its injustice; they have witnessed the preparations for their execution,
“ and they have only escaped an ignominious death (if virtue could fear ignominy) to
“ experience the misery of banishment unlimited.

“ The accusation, originally pursued with such vigour, is abandoned, but vengeance
“ still subsists. Facts and subjects for discontent, which are not specified, to save the
“ trouble of proving, are substituted for charges that have been proved to be calum-
“ nious; and a vexatious prosecution is followed by vexations without prosecution.”

This memorial contained many other striking truths, which would probably have made some impression on Lewis, but his ministers, fearful of the consequences, carefully kept it from his sight; it was however circulated in public, and was stamped with general approbation: the minister, anxious to terminate an affair that created such confusion, attempted to open a negotiation with de la Chalotais, and to induce him, by the most tempting offers, to hush up the matter. His advances being rejected with disdain, the cause was referred, by letters-patent, to the parliament of Paris, as the court of peers; and that tribunal, accordingly, held its first session, at Versailles, on the fourth of April, 1770.

The king was present at the sittings, and the chancellor opened the court by informing the members of his majesty's wish that they should exercise freedom of speech and opinion, and try the prisoners, with the utmost rigour and impartiality. The attorney general then stated the charges which had been preferred against the duke d'Aiguillon, and his agent, Audouard, major of the militia of Nantes. All the proceedings of the parliament of Brittany were annulled as illegal, that court having no jurisdiction over a peer of the realm; and witnesses were heard in support of the prosecution.

But this appearance of justice and impartiality was delusive; and the labours of the court were rendered abortive by the despotic interference of the monarch. On the twenty-seventh of June a bed of justice was holden at Versailles, at which the chancellor declared, in the name of the king, that his majesty had rejected the original application of the duke d'Aiguillon, in January, 1769, to be tried by his peers, from the resolution he had adopted to extinguish the troubles in Brittany, and to encourage no procedure that could tend to renew them; but having since found that the governor of
Brittany

Brittany was accused of various crimes; he was anxious to discover the nature and truth of these accusations, for which purpose he had granted his letters-patent, for the convention of the court of peers; that access to the throne had been opened; the forms of law had been observed; and witnesses examined; but that his majesty had observed, with indignation, in the course of this proceeding—1. That the ministers had allowed themselves the liberty of examining and discussing orders emanating from the throne, which the welfare of the state required to be kept secret; and had even carried their temerity so far as to annex to the depositions arrêts of the council; and, 2. That throughout this affair an inveterate animosity, a flagrant partiality was apparent; that the more it was investigated the more horrors and iniquities were discovered; that his majesty, therefore, declared it to be his pleasure, to stop, by the plenitude of his power, all farther proceedings; and to impose an absolute silence with regard to accusations on both sides. This speech was followed by the registration of new letters-patent, which annulled all that had been hitherto done, as well against the duke d'Aiguillon as against Messieurs de la Chalotais and Caradeuc.

The parliament, justly enraged at this arbitrary and irregular interposition of the royal authority, passed an arrêt, in presence of the peers and princes of the blood, declaratory of their resolution never to consider as justified, any person in a state of accusation, who should be indebted for his justification to the decision of a bed of justice. To avert the consequences of this arrêt, the king forbade the princes of the blood to attend the parliament the next day. A procedure so inconsistent with the rights of the peerage was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti; and the partiality which the king evidently displayed could not repress the determined resolution of the parliament against his favourite. That of Paris, by an arrêt, published on the second of July, 1770, prohibited him, in consideration of the serious crimes alledged to his charge, from exercising the functions of his peerage, until his character should be cleared by a fair and open trial before the court of peers; and though the king annulled the arrêt the next day, by an arrêt of the council, they maintained their resolution with great firmness; and their remonstrances were seconded by the representations of the princes and peers, who complained that their honour was sacrificed, and that the rights of the peerage were annihilated.

The conduct of M. de la Chalotais, under similar circumstances, contrasted with that of the duke d'Aiguillon, affords a sufficient criterion for judging which was the real criminal. The last, far from complaining, like the first, of being deprived of an opportunity of demonstrating his innocence; far from requiring that his trial might be suffered to proceed, and justice take its course; had the stupidity publicly to testify his joy, by giving a splendid entertainment, the very day on which the bed of justice was holden, to his partisans and dependants. The duke of Brisac, saw the transaction in a different light. That nobleman, whose lively and romantic disposition was well suited to the

days of ancient chivalry, observed, *That the duke had indeed saved his head, but that his neck had been twisted.*

It was amidst these domestic disquietudes that the dauphin received the hand of the archduchess Marie-Antoinette, sister to the emperor of Germany. These nuptials, which were concluded under the auspices of the duke de Choiseul, and promised to cement the alliance of France with the house of Austria, occasioned the most lively joy throughout the nation. One melancholy event, however, caused a temporary interruption of the general festivity, and cast a momentary gloom over the capital. The city of Paris had fixed on the night of the thirtieth of May, 1770, for a brilliant display of fireworks, on the extensive square of Lewis the Fifteenth. These were to be followed by a general illumination on the Boulevards, which induced the crowd to file off through a wide street that led to the ramparts. It was in this street that the dreadful accident happened which caused the death of several hundred persons. Three circumstances concurred to promote it:—1. A plot laid by a band of pickpockets to occasion an obstruction to the passage of the multitude, that they might avail themselves of the confusion to exercise their depredations with impunity:—2. The neglect of the city architect, to level the ground, over which a crowd of six hundred thousand persons was to pass, to fill up some deep ditches that lay on the side of the street, in a part where some new buildings were erecting, and to remove the heaps of stones and other impediments to a free passage:—3. The insufficiency of the city militia for the preservation of order and the prevention of tumult; and the meanness of the municipality in refusing the accustomed gratification of a thousand crowns to the French guards, who offered to take that duty upon themselves.

The foremost of the crowd falling over some of the stones that lay in their way, were prevented from recovering their feet by the encreasing pressure of those behind; who, continuing to push forward, crushed them to death. One hundred and thirty-three bodies were taken up in the street, as soon as the tumult subsided, and conveyed to the church-yard belonging to the parish of La Magdelaine; and it was estimated that the whole number of persons who perished by the bruises they received, amounted to between eleven and twelve hundred. The Parisians were justly enraged at seeing M. Bignon, the provost of the merchants, to whose negligence the fatal accident was chiefly ascribed, appear in public, three days after it happened, in his box at the opera. The dauphin, on the contrary, experienced the greatest affliction, at having been the indirect cause of this misfortune. He sent his monthly allowance of two thousand crowns, the only money he could command, to the lieutenant of the police, to be distributed among the families of the unfortunate persons who had perished; and the generous example was followed by the dauphiness, and all the princes and princesses of the blood.



Jones Fecit

Marie Antoinette of Austria

Queen of France.

Published as the Art Direct by C. Leveque, V. de Droux, Paris, June 1793



Jones. fecit.

LOUIS XVI.

Published as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes, 20. Oct. 1792.



As soon as the gloom occasioned by this fatal disaster was dispelled, and the Parisians had exhausted their maledictions on the provost of the merchants, they directed their attention to more agreeable objects. The beauty, affability, and candour of the young dauphiness, became the topic of public conversation, and the theme of public applause. Averse from the disgusting formalities of a court, the princess bestowed on her principal attendant, the countess de Noailles, a lady of austere manners, and violently attached to forms, the appellation of *Madame L'Etiquette*; nor would she suffer her grave representations to interfere with the amusements that suited her inclinations, or the exercises that were conducive to her health. To the great astonishment of the courtiers she would frequently walk out wholly unattended; and, breaking through the restraints of ceremony, *invite herself* to dinner with the different members of the royal family. In short all her efforts were directed to the establishment of that pleasing intercourse and familiarity which constitute the true comfort of social life. The courtesy of her manners, her ease, her vivacity, were admirably suited to the disposition of the king, who seemed to take great delight in the company of his grand-daughter; but it was the interest of his mistress and of his ministers to take care that his attachment should not become too strong, and thereby wean him from other enjoyments and pursuits, which were productive of greater emolument to themselves.

The parliament still continued their remonstrances, and the indirect censures they contained, against the chancellor Maupeou, induced that magistrate to vow the destruction of their authors. The provincial parliaments displayed no less vigour and resolution than that of Paris; M. Dupaty, advocate-general, in the parliament of Bourdeaux—the author of many excellent productions—published a spirited memorial against the duke d'Aiguillon, which occasioned the imprisonment of its author. Two magistrates of the parliament of Rennes, Messieurs de la Noue and de Laiae, were also arrested at Compiègne, whither they had repaired for the purpose of presenting a remonstrance to the king. In short, Lewis, by his own facility, and the unprincipled arts of his ministers, was involved in a labyrinth whence he knew not how to extricate himself. He wished to terminate all dissensions, but he wanted skill and resolution to effect his purpose. In this emergency he appears to have resigned the reins of government to Maupeou, who resolved to establish the despotic power of his sovereign, by exciting the dread of punishment and the hope of reward.

He began with a stroke of authority worthy his project. He conducted the king to Paris, where he arrived suddenly and unexpectedly, and having surrounded the parliament with his guards, entered the assembly, reproached the members in the severest terms, dismissed the two chambers of inquests and requests, and ordered all the minutes of the proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon to be carried off. Measures equally violent were adopted against the provincial parliaments. That of Brittany was surprized by the intrusion

intrusion of a major-general, who produced lettres-de-cachet for the principal magistrates, and compelled them, by an armed force, to erase from their registers all arrêts obnoxious to the court. The members, however, assembled soon after, and issued a strong protest against this act of power, which they pronounced to be arbitrary and illegal.

At Metz, mareschal d'Armentieres entered the parliament house at the head of eight companies of grenadiers, tore to pieces several of the arrêts, and banished its most distinguished members. Besançon was insulted by a similar instance of military violence; yet Rouen still persevered in its deputation, and its complaints were echoed by the chamber of aids at Paris, which, after in vain seeking access to the throne, to the amazement and confusion of the court, printed its remonstrance.

The discontent of the populace, who had been taught to consider the parliaments as the champions of their freedom, was increased by a dearth which prevailed this year throughout the kingdom. A scanty supply was procured by opening the ports, and permitting foreigners as well as natives to import or export corn at will, without any retrospect to the price for which it might have been sold during its continuance in the ports: but though this regulation might alleviate the public misery, yet so fatal were the ravages of famine, that upwards of four thousand persons were said to have perished in La Marche and the Limousin.

The chancellor, in order to succeed in his plans for accomplishing the ruin of the parliaments, deemed it necessary to procure the dismissal of the duke de Choiseul, who had secretly supported the magistrates in their opposition to the court, though rather from enmity to the duke d'Aiguillon, than from patriotic motives. Maupeou had recourse to the countess du Barri, whose hatred of the minister was open and undisguised, and, in some measure, justified by the contempt with which he incessantly treated her, although he had not scrupled to court the good graces and study the caprices of her predecessor, with a view to promote his own elevation. Lewis, amidst the blandishments of amorous intercourse, was incessantly urged to dismiss the obnoxious minister. But whatever promises were extorted from the easy king in the hours of dalliance, when under the resistless influence of love and wine united, were repeatedly revoked on reflection; and it is probable that the duke de Choiseul might still have retained his post, had not the imprudence of his sister, and his own enterprising genius, accelerated his disgrace.

The pride of the duchess of Grammont was severely mortified by the ascendancy of the countess du Barri; though neither young nor handsome, she had aspired to the royal bed, and hoped to confirm, by her influence, as mistress to the king, the power to which her brother had attained as minister. This prospect was blighted by the steady attachment of Lewis to his new favourite, and, the duchess, instead of remaining at Versailles,

Verfailles, and endeavouring secretly to undermine her enemies, gave open vent to her indignation; she inflamed the parliaments of the different provincial towns; and, in a progress through France, assured them, that in their remonstrances to the crown they would be supported by the duke de Choiseul.

Apprized of this circumstance, the favourite informed her royal lover, that the return of tranquillity, which he was so anxious to procure, would never take place, so long as Choiseul continued to fill a station, which enabled him to foment the disputes between the crown and the parliaments. This consideration weighed greatly with the king, and at length induced him to the dismissal of the minister. The count de St. Florentin, lately created duke de la Vrilliere, was appointed to carry him the fatal *lettre-de-cachet*, which was couched in the following terms.

“ Cousin, The dissatisfaction I experience at your services obliges me to banish you to Chanteloup, whither you will repair in four-and-twenty hours. I should have sent you much farther, but for the particular esteem I entertain for the duchess de Choiseul, in whose health I am much interested. Be careful that your conduct does not force me to take some other step; and I pray God, Cousin, to keep you in his holy protection.”

The duke de Choiseul found some compensation for the loss of royal favour in the approbation of the public; and he retired amidst the acclamations of the people at large. How far he merited the applause he received is a problem not easily solved. It is evident that he had lately become the idol of a certain party, and of the blind multitude, who judge of men by their professions, and who are easily led away by any person whose interest or ambition may induce him to court their affections; the members of the parliament, less from admiration of his talents than from hatred of their common enemy, proclaimed him in all companies to be the greatest minister the country had ever produced; in the ardour of their zeal they made the safety of France depend on his single exertions: from this continual repetition of private eulogies resulted a general concert of praises, to which people subscribed without being able to assign a motive for their conduct. The operations of a minister form the best criterion for deciding on his merits.

The disasters that marked the progress of the war of 1756 cannot with justice be ascribed to the duke de Choiseul; the war was too far advanced, when he was placed at the head of affairs, to admit of a change in its system or direction. He is even entitled to some credit for his conclusion of the Family Compact, without which probably France would not have been able to procure such favourable terms at the peace of 1762. But his excessive prodigality, particularly in the deranged state of the finances, was highly censurable; and his dishonest system of policy, which had for its basis the
diffemination

diffemination of domestic discord; and the suscitation of foreign wars, among those powers who were most formidable to his sovereign, must extort reprobation from every friend to justice and humanity. When M. de Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, whom he pressed to procure from the Porte a declaration of war against the empress of Russia, replied.—“ *I will make the Turks take up arms whenever you please; but I warn you that they will be beaten; and that this war will take a different turn from what you wish it to take, by encreasing the glory and power of Russia,*”—He proved himself a much abler politician than the duke de Choiseul.

Besides, there can be no doubt, but that the duke, notwithstanding the complicated disadvantages under which he laboured, had serious intentions of again exposing the kingdom to all the calamities of war, and that the arguments which his enemies used with the king on that subject were well-founded. The orders which he had given to the officers sent to India at this period, were absolutely hostile, as they themselves were afterwards heard to declare. He intended to make Spain begin the war, and to engage his master in the contest by means of the Family Compact. He relied on the mistress of Lewis the Fifteenth, for a compliance with the requisition of an ally who had formerly sacrificed her own interests to his; and he depended on the same cause for his continuance in power, thinking that when the king should be involved in the difficulties of a war, he would not dare dismiss a minister who could alone extricate him from his embarrassments.

The subject of the dispute between England and Spain was a claim preferred by the latter to the Faulkland and Malouine-islands, and the actual seizure of port-Egmont, whence the English were expelled by the Spaniards. The party aggrieved complained of this gross violation of a solemn treaty, and threatened Spain with a declaration of war, unless immediate reparation were made for the injury sustained. Conferences were opened, and conducted with great warmth on both sides, and, to prove that Spain only acted under a foreign impulse, it has been observed, that the face of the negotiation changed immediately after the dismissal of Choiseul, when his Catholic majesty not only agreed to disavow the attack upon port Egmont, and to restore the islands, but forbore to insist on a pacific discussion of her claims, which had at first been agreed upon, but which the court of London afterwards refused with disdain. The dismissal of this turbulent minister, therefore, at this critical period may be deemed a most fortunate circumstance for the nation. In vain, from their inability to specify the good effected during his administration, did his partizans incessantly exclaim, that he kept the English in awe; that they feared him: his retreat, far from being the signal of war, proved the pledge of peace.

Although the king had not the same cause for being discontented with the duke de Praslin, his dismissal was considered as the necessary consequence of his kinsman's disgrace;

grace; and he, accordingly, received a letter-de-cachet, on the same day, but more laconic and contemptuous than that which had been sent to Choiseul. It ran thus—"I have no farther occasion for your services, and I banish you to Praslin, whither you will repair in four-and-twenty hours." This nobleman was so fond of retirement, that he quitted his post without regret; though his aversion from business had certainly not rendered him inattentive to the duties of his station. When he retired from the admiralty-board, there were sixty-four ships of the line in the different ports, exclusive of those which were on the stocks, and a sufficiency of naval stores for the construction of ten or twelve more; and about fifty large frigates and sloops⁷⁶: this was a prodigious augmentation of the naval forces of the kingdom, in the short space of five or six years; and showed what France was capable of performing, with economy, the favourite virtue of the duke de Praslin, who having employed it with effect in his own private affairs, applied it with success to those of the state.

The retreat of the duke de Choiseul did not secure the submission of the parliaments of France; and those assemblies, though deprived of his support, still maintained a conduct equally firm and resolute. The members long withstood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge themselves obliged, in future, to register all the edicts of the king, even against their own remonstrances. The presence of the monarch at length compelled them to enter in their journals the fatal edict; but in their next assembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of violence, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language, on this occasion, was bold, firm, and animated: "Your edict, Sire, is destructive of all law; your parliament is charged to maintain the law; and the law perishing, they should perish with it; these are, Sire, the last words of your parliament."

The chancellor Maupeou availed himself of this circumstance, to advise the king to enforce his authority by measures the most violent and decisive; and to render this advice more palatable to his master, he insinuated, that such conduct would, at all events, promote the end which his majesty wished to attain; if the parliament returned to their duty, and confirmed the edict of their sovereign, it would then become a law, which they could not violate without incurring the crime of disobedience; and they would also deprive themselves, in future, of the various pretexts with which they had hitherto coloured their seditious proceedings; if they persevered in their resistance, the king would have a just cause for depriving the refractory magistrates of their posts, and appointing others to replace them that would accept the conditions prescribed.

A. D. 1771.] By his artful insinuations he imposed on the credulity of Lewis, and extorted from him a permission to act as he thought proper. The members of the par-

⁷⁶ This statement is extracted from a letter, written by the duke de Praslin himself, to the count de Vergennes.

liament, in the dead of night, were awakened in their beds by two mousquetaires, who presented to each of them a *letter-de-cachet*, which enjoined him to declare whether he would resume the administration of justice which he had abandoned, or persist in his refusal. Though in the moment of confusion some few were surprized into acquiescence, yet these soon retracted; and the following night the magistrates were again disturbed by the entrance of an officer of justice into each of their chambers, charged with the notification of an *arrêt* of the council, by which their posts were declared to be confiscated; and they were prohibited from exercising their functions in future, and even from assuming the quality of members of the parliament. No sooner had this officer disappeared, than some mousquetaires entered, and delivered *lettres-de-cachet*, by which they were banished to different places, at a considerable distance from each other.

The Parisians were thrown into the utmost consternation by this odious act of insupportable tyranny; but the natural levity of their character soon regained its wonted influence, and their indignation was vented, as usual, in sarcastic jokes, puerile epigrams, and ridiculous lampoons. In order to avert the evils that must result from even a short delay in the administration of justice, a temporary tribunal was, at the suggestion of the chancellor, erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to assist. This step was followed by the erection of six superior councils, at Arras, Blois, Châlons, Clermont, Lyon, and Poitiers. The specious pretext for these new establishments was to accelerate the termination of affairs, by diminishing the extent of the jurisdiction of the parliament; but the real motive, was the facilitating the means of acquiring magistrates sufficient for the completing of the new court, by thus reducing the number of its members. When the chancellor went to the temporary tribunal to register the edict for the erection of the new council, he delivered a speech, the object of which was to insinuate that the late acts of violence were calculated to promote the welfare of the nation; that it was necessary to profit by the absence of the old magistrates, in order to stop a growing evil, and to introduce greater order and impartiality into the courts of law. Independent of this first advantage, he announced reforms not less salutary, such as the suppression of the sale of magisterial offices; the gratuitous administration of justice; a simplification of the proceedings in law-suits; and a new mode of facilitating the punishment of crimes.

The utmost activity of Maupeou was requisite to procure a sufficient number of persons for the formation of the new parliament, though its members were reduced to seventy-five. As soon as it was complete, he caused a bed of justice to be holden, on the thirteenth of April, at which three edicts were issued: the first for the dissolution of the old parliament; the second for the suppression of the court of aids; and the third for the transformation of the grand council into a new parliament. The king closed the assembly with this laconic speech:

“ You

“ You have just heard my intentions ; it is my will that you should conform to them : I command you to begin your functions next Monday ; my chancellor will go to instal you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my will, and all representations in favour of the ancient parliament ; for I will *never* change.”

His majesty pronounced the last words with an energy that impressed the whole assembly with terror. This was an artifice of the chancellor, who, knowing the indecisive spirit of his sovereign, thought to engage him, by this positive assertion, beyond the possibility of retraction. The duke de Nivernois, one of the thirteen peers, who entered a formal protest against this infraction of the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and declared their adherence to the protest of the princes of the blood, meeting madame du Barri, soon after the bed of justice, was thus accosted by the favourite—“ *Well, duke, I hope you will now give up your opposition, for you have heard the king’s determination NEVER to change.*”—“ *Yes, madame,*”—replied the artful courtier—“ *but he looked at you at the time.*”

The chancellor, having succeeded thus far in his infamous machinations, was only anxious to preserve his ascendancy over the king, and to maintain the power with which his majesty had entrusted him, that he might be enabled to complete the work he had begun. With this view he remained closely connected with the duke d’Aiguillon and the countess du Barri ; the latter of whom, during the hours of conviviality and amorous dalliance, extorted from her lover such orders as were necessary for their purpose, and which, in his cooler moments, Lewis would probably have refused to sign. Sometimes they intimidated him by the fatal example of that unhappy prince, Charles the First, of England, whose portrait the favourite had purchased. Pointing to the picture she would frequently say to Lewis—“ Behold that unfortunate monarch : your parliaments would, probably, have finished by treating you as he was treated by the parliament of England, if you had not had a minister sufficiently courageous to resist their efforts, and to brave their threats.”

Such were the means by which Maupeou obtained the most dangerous part of the sovereign power, and led the people to compare him, very justly, to the ancient mayors of the palace. Lettres-de-cachet, those dreadful instruments of tyranny, were issued in abundance ; every species of oppression was exerted ; and if no blood was shed, it was only because the kingdom could supply no patriot possessed of sufficient firmness to merit the scaffold. All persons in office who did not obey, with sufficient alacrity, the despotic orders of the chancellor, were dismissed ; and whoever presumed, in writing or conversation, to censure his conduct, was imprisoned. Such of the foreign papers as blamed his proceedings were prohibited, and the national Gazettes were rendered the organs of falsehood and calumny.

The remainder of the year was passed in the destruction of courts of justice, which the chancellor suppressed, as occasion required, and re-composed of members, on whose servile devotion to his will he could rely. It is thus that the different provincial parliaments, after a short struggle, were successively annihilated, and new courts erected in their room. Maupeou, in this instance, did more than the duke of Orleans, during the regency, had dared to promise himself, on a similar occasion: that prince observed, *that he had the power to make the advocates hold their tongues, but not to make them speak.* But Maupeou did both; his new parliament of Paris was soon supplied with a numerous train of barristers; with eloquent orators, interesting causes, and numerous audiences.

The general machine of justice being thus repaired, Lewis, for the first time in his life, tasted the sweets of absolute power, and experienced the pleasure of unlimited gratification, unallayed by the fear of contradiction, or the dread of remonstrance. He had, through the iniquity of his minister, attained to that alarming plenitude of authority, which rendered his will law—a situation loaded with such a dreadful weight of responsibility, as must make a virtuous monarch shudder; but, indeed, no monarch, truly virtuous, will ever suffer himself to be placed in such a situation.—No difficulty now occurred to the registration of fiscal edicts, which were multiplied without number; for the system of taxation and corruption adopted by the chancellor had been attended with considerable expence. The gratuitous administration of justice, rendered the imposition of additional taxes a matter of necessity; so that the people paid dearly for this pretended benefit. No less than twelve edicts, for levying new imposts or continuing the old, were registered in one day, which occasioned an observation that Lewis the Fifteenth had imposed more taxes on the nation than all his sixty-five predecessors.

Nothing now was holden sacred. Not only private property was exposed to invasion, but funds belonging to public bodies were pillaged with impunity. The capitulations of the provinces were violated; Normandy, though protected from military violence by the generous refusal of the duke d'Harcourt to command the troops destined to subdue it, was deprived of its right to a provincial parliament, which was replaced by two superior councils; that of Brittany, threatened with suppression, bowed to the nod of the minister. Nor was the liberty of individuals treated with greater respect. Seven hundred magistrates were sent into exile; the prisons overflowed; and the princes of the blood were disgraced, and kept at a distance from court. Such was the state of the kingdom, that a general insensibility seemed to preclude all hope of relief. France had, doubtless, been reduced to situations more desperate and alarming; but never had such an universal lethargy prevailed. Individuals had lost all energy, and the public bodies remained silent, inactive, and torpid. The nobility of a distant province having convened an assembly for the purpose of remonstrating against the infraction of their privileges, a commissary, assisted by an exempt of the police, had the audacity to disperse the
members,

members, and to seize several, whom they were permitted to convey, without molestation, to the capital. The chief persons in the state suffered themselves to be outraged, with impunity by the author of the revolution, who had the insolence to insult the first prince of the blood in his own palace. A few spirited pamphlets were, indeed, published on the occasion; but the count de Lauraguais, and the viscount d'Aubusson, were the only authors who had the spirit to avow their productions.

On reviewing the situation of France, at this calamitous period, the human mind is forcibly impressed with sentiments of indignation and pity. Five-and-twenty millions of people bending beneath the yoke of a weak, capricious, and profligate individual, is a sight the most afflicting that humanity can witness. But our compassion gives way to resentment, when we see the servile herd crouch beneath the scourge of despotism, and, spaniel-like, lick the hand uplifted to correct them. The abject slave that courts oppression, and degrades his nature by passive obedience to *unlawful* power, is not less an object of indignation than the turbulent spirit which, superior to controul, rejects the salutary restraints of law, and refuses that submission to *constitutional* authority, on which the welfare and very existence of society depend. *This* was the time for resistance, spirited and decisive; resistance which would have been justified by the unerring principles of equity, and the still more imperious motives of self-preservation. The conduct of the king had certainly effected a virtual dissolution of the original contract on which his authority was founded:—At the period of his coronation, he had contracted an obligation, confirmed by an oath, and ever considered as the indispensable condition on which the power and dignity of sovereigns are holden: yet had he violated the rights which he had solemnly engaged to maintain, and oppressed those whom he had sworn to protect!—*Hence* the contract was dissolved, and resistance would have been virtue. The French should have united in remonstrances, respectful but firm: and, had all their efforts to recall their deluded sovereign to a sense of his *duty* proved ineffectual, *he* must, indeed, be an advocate for arbitrary power, who would question their *right* to depose him.

It was not sufficient for the chancellor to have prevented all remonstrances, and to have lulled the nation asleep, as it were, on the very brink of a precipice; it was also necessary, for the perfect accomplishment of his design, that no person should be permitted to approach the throne, but such as were disposed to keep up the delusion by which the king was fascinated, to check the anxious sigh that sometimes burst from his bosom, and to repress the symptoms of remorse which occasionally appeared in his countenance. For this purpose Maupeou was careful to fill the council with such persons as were interested in maintaining and consolidating the revolution. The abbé Terrai was made comptroller of the finances; M. de Boynes minister of the marine department, and the duke d'Aiguillon was appointed to the important office of minister for foreign affairs.

A. D. 1772.] Every thing seemed to succeed to the wishes of Maupeou: the ancient magistrates, who had hitherto displayed so much fortitude and resolution, now began to tremble beneath the iron hand of power. The president d'Aligre, intimidated by the dread of punishment, and allured by the pleasures of the capital, was the first to sign his own resignation, and to receive the money which he had paid for his place; his example was speedily followed by the other judges, and the members of the provincial parliaments scrupled not to imitate the conduct of the Parisians. The return of the princes of the blood, who had incurred the indignation of their sovereign, by their spirited protest against the late innovations, and had, in consequence, been banished from court, completed the triumph of the chancellor. With the life of the count de Clermont, their fortitude expired; eighteen months, however, elapsed before they could be prevailed on to comply with the wishes and solicitations of the king: at the expiration of that term, the prince of Condé and his son, the young duke of Bourbon⁷⁷, wrote a submissive letter to Lewis (in December, 1772), and the accommodation being soon after effected, all the princes returned to court, with the single exception of the prince de Conti, who persisted in his refusal to sanction, by his presence, those measures which his soul abhorred.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid saw with regret the duke d'Aiguillon, as minister for foreign affairs, possessed of a post to which their wishes were incessantly recalling the duke de Choiseul; and the new secretary, though not destitute of abilities, yet suffered the partition of Poland—a transaction alike disgraceful to the sovereigns who planned, and the princes who connived at it—to be concluded against the evident interest of France. The French ministers at the neighbouring courts apprized the duke d'Aiguillon that such a scheme was in agitation; but he paid little attention to the advice, either because he did not believe that a project so difficult of accomplishment would be undertaken; or because he was convinced that the king, preferring repose to glory, would be glad to avoid all interference in a negotiation, the success of which he could not prevent without a display of firmness, of which at this period he was wholly incapable. Be this as it may, he was justly accused of neglecting the interests of the nation; and Lewis, recollecting that he had once stood forward as the *pacificator* of Europe, was mortified at his present insignificance, and could not forbear exclaiming—“*Alas, if Choiseul had been here, this would not have happened.*” But this transient emotion soon subsided in the arms of the countess du Barri, who reconciled Lewis to his minister; and the revolution of Stockholm, accomplished under the auspices of France, in which the sovereign and the people united to overthrow the exorbitant power of the aristocracy, restored the reputation of the duke d'Aiguillon.

⁷⁷ On this occasion a blasphemous joke was circulated:—In the supposition that the duke of Bourbon had been induced to return to Versailles, in the hope of receiving admission into the order of the Holy Ghost, it was said, that—*Le Pere et le Fils étoient allés chercher le Saint Esprit.*

That minister would fain have exerted his power in favour of his good friends the Jesuits; a ray of hope broke in upon the proscribed order; they were suffered to re-appear with impunity; they were employed by the bishops in apostolical occupations; they once more mounted the pulpits; they even returned to the instruction of youth, whence they had been expressly excluded; and they superintended the journals and periodical papers, which are received as infallible guides by the multitude in directing their judgment of publications, opinions, and events. They were secretly employed by the ministry, and some of them had even gained admission into the diplomatic corps. They had concerted a general plan, and maintained a correspondence not only from the opposite extremities of the kingdom, but from the most distant parts of the globe. But unfortunately, for them, at least, the French and Spanish ministers at the court of Rome, far from encouraging this toleration, exerted their utmost efforts to promote their total dissolution; and, profiting by their ascendancy over the pope, at length extorted that bull, which policy had induced Ganganelli to promise, and which policy—had that alone been consulted—ought, probably, to have made him refuse. Lewis, in return for the compliance of his holiness, restored Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin.

A. D. 1774.] Released from the embarrassing remonstrances of his parliament, and no longer at a loss to enforce the registration of those fiscal edicts, which supplied his profusion at the expence of his subjects, the king seemed wholly resigned to the fascinating allurements of amorous gratifications. But nature and conscience happily interfered to impede the prosecution of his licentious enjoyments, and to awaken remorse in his mind. Debilitated by excess of indulgence, his surgeon warned him to desist from exertions that might impair his health without gratifying his senses; and this salutary admonition encreased the melancholy which had been inspired by the unexpected dissolution of two of his friends. The sudden death of the marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his sensual excesses, who expired in his presence, and strongly affected him; and the subsequent fate of mareschal d'Armentiers, who expired in a similar manner, and who was nearly the same age with the king, encreased his gloomy sensations.

A sermon, preached before the monarch, by the celebrated bishop of Senes, made a still stronger impression on his mind, and gave to remorse its proper strength and influence. That eloquent prelate reminded Lewis of the happy period when the general affections of his subjects bestowed on him the amiable appellation of The Well-beloved; that glorious epoch, he observed, was wholly forgotten, that affection sensibly diminished; the nation overwhelmed with taxes, sunk beneath the evils with which it was oppressed: he told the king that, though he might have friends, his best friend ought to be his people; and he concluded by exhorting him not to place a blind confidence, on matters of government, in ministers, who were too often interested in
deceiving

deceiving him, but to exert his own judgment, to consult his own feelings, and to trust to the experience of half a century.

Lewis, by his favourable reception of the bishop, showed that he was not wholly dead to virtue; and the nation began to entertain hopes that his future prudence would make amends for his past errors. But the courtiers, fearful of losing the influence they had acquired over this weak monarch, consulted with his mistress, on the means of recalling him to the path of vice, and the countess at length promised to take him to Trianon, whither a young virgin, armed with all the powers of seduction, was sent to receive him. But the very efforts employed by these agents of corruption, for the extension of their empire, at once effected their own ruin, and proved the salvation of France.

The new beauty, who was introduced into the arms of the monarch had imbibed the fatal seeds of disease which she communicated to the despoiler of her innocence. The very next day the symptoms of the small-pox appeared on the king, who, by the advice of his physicians, was hastily removed from Trianon to Versailles. The French faculty knew not how to treat the disorder, and the offers of an English physician who was then at Paris, and offered to cure the king, being rejected, the danger hourly increased, and certain indications of approaching dissolution soon appeared. Having taken an eternal farewell of his favourite, he received the sacrament; and, ignorant of his danger, declared his firm intention to exert himself ever after for the maintenance of religion, and the happiness of his people. But it was not permitted to him to evince the sincerity of these declarations: on the tenth of May, eight days after the first attack, he expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his reign, and the sixty-fifth of his age.

Such was the memorable fate of the Fifteenth Lewis, who fell a victim to those sensual appetites, which had proved a source of oppression to his people, and of degradation to himself. He lived to see reason disavow the flattering epithet which affection had bestowed; and his shameful inattention to their welfare had converted the love of his subjects into disgust. But though his propensity to illicit enjoyments was strong, and frequently led him to the adoption of measures, violent and unjustifiable, yet candour must acknowledge that he was wholly exempt from arrogance or ambition; and to his facility of disposition⁷⁹, and aversion from business, ought, probably, to be ascribed the most objectionable transactions of his reign. Thence arose his implicit confidence in ministers, and the abuse of that power with which he entrusted

⁷⁹ Nothing can more strongly prove that this monarch suffered himself to be led away by ministers and favourites, than a passage in one of his letters to his favourite daughter, the duchess of Parma, in which he says—"They have tormented me so much that they have compelled me to dismiss Machault, *the man after my own* heart.—I shall never cease to regret his loss."

them; hence resulted the invasion of his people's rights, and the despotic exertions of regal authority, which have affixed an indelible stigma on his name.

Though despotism made the most alarming progress during the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth, that epoch was, nevertheless, distinguished by many useful establishments and salutary laws.

Considerable inconveniencies having arisen from the prodigious multiplication of religious houses, it was deemed expedient to restrain the pious liberality of those who might incline to promote similar foundations. But as it was deemed equally inconsistent with the principles of policy and the rules of justice to demolish such monasteries as already subsisted, and in the erection of which the forms prescribed by the laws had been observed, the minister, Machault, contented himself with passing an edict, in August 1749, to prohibit the establishment of any new chapter, college, seminary, religious house or hospital, without letters-patent, previously obtained and registered in the sovereign courts. All existing establishments, of the same description, in the foundation whereof the necessary forms had not been complied with, were dissolved; and all religious communities were forbidden, in future, to receive or hold any house, land, or possession, without a lawful authority, preceded by an investigation into the propriety and utility of such grant.—This law, one of the most important and useful, passed during this present reign, was sanctioned with the unanimous approbation of the whole kingdom.

An edict, published in November, 1750, under the auspices of the count d'Argenson, giving the rights of nobility to all officers, who should have attained to the rank of captain in the army, and whose father and grand-father should have served the king in the same capacity—*patre et avo militibus*—was received with equal applause; being calculated to encourage a spirit of emulation, and to abolish an odious monopoly, detrimental to the service.

In December 1763, and July 1764, two edicts were passed, at the instigation of M. de Laverdy, comptroller-general of the finances, for facilitating the importation and exportation of corn, the former subject only to a trifling duty, and the latter only forbidden when corn had risen to an exorbitant price.

In July 1748 the marchioness de Pompadour persuaded the king to establish a manufacture of porcelaine at the castle of Vincennes, which was afterwards transferred to Seve, between Paris and Versailles, where a convenient and extensive building was

erected for the purpose. The king gave every possible encouragement to this establishment, which was soon brought to a high state of perfection; its productions are particularly distinguished for their delicacy, and the beauty of their colours.

The commencement of the year 1751 was marked by an establishment of a different nature. Lewis then founded a military school, at which five hundred French gentlemen were maintained, and educated in the art of war, at his expence. It was principally designed for those whose parents had either died in the service, or still served, and had not the means of providing for their children.

No pains were spared, during this reign, to promote the acquisition of agricultural knowledge, an object too generally neglected, though of the highest importance to a state; with this view, companies were instituted in the different provinces, which were charged to make such enquiries and experiments as were best calculated to effect the purpose of their establishment. Brittany set the example, in March, 1757, when a society of agriculture, commerce, and arts, was first formed in that province; which was soon followed by Paris and other towns.

The last, and not the least commendable, establishment of this reign, was the institution of a *Veterinary School*, by the minister, Bertin, at the castle of Alfort, near Paris, for the purpose of studying the disorders to which that useful animal the horse is subject, with the best mode of treating them. M. Bourgelat, a native of Lyons, who was justly celebrated for his knowledge in this particular, was placed at the head of the school, where students were admitted from all parts of the kingdom, and even from foreign nations, at a very moderate price. Persons who had horses that were sick or lame might send them to be cured, and the charge was extremely reasonable. It is said that such skill was acquired from the numerous experiments made at this place, that a broken leg, which was before fatal to a horse, could be set with ease and safety; and that even the difficult and dangerous operation of trepanning could be successfully performed on that animal.

A French writer has divided the literature of his country into three ages:—The age of Erudition and Labour, previous to the administration of Richelieu;—the age of Genius and Imagination, which terminated with the life of Lewis the Fourteenth;—and the age of *Philosophy* and *Reflection*, which immediately followed. The appellations affixed to the two first periods are indisputably just; but how far the last is aptly characterized may admit of considerable doubt. It might, probably, with greater justice, be denominated the age of *Free-thinking*: for certain it is, that most of those writers, falsely termed *philosophical*, the avowed object of whose labours was the destruction of prejudices inimical to the progress of knowledge, treated religion with supreme contempt, and endeavoured to render it an object of ridicule. The dauphin, father to Lewis the Sixteenth,

teenth, a virtuous and enlightened prince, speaking of this description of writers, to whose works and whose conduct he had paid particular attention, said—"Formerly, the name of philosopher inspired veneration: but to call any one a philosopher *now* would be an insult that might subject the party committing it to a prosecution."—"I have studied them," said the prince, on another occasion; "I have examined their principles and their consequences; in some I have discovered a spirit of libertinism and corruption, interested in decrying that morality which imposes a restraint on their efforts; and in casting doubts on the existence of a future state, the apprehension of which fills them with alarm: others, led away by the ridiculous vanity of erecting a system of their own, seek to reduce the Deity to a level with their own understanding, and to reason on his attributes and his mysteries, in the same manner as it is permitted to reason on his works."

"Our new philosophers,"—says the dauphin, in one of his letters,—"*maintain that the throne was the work of violence, and that what was raised by force, may, by force, be pulled down and destroyed—that the people can only lend, not cede, their authority, which they have a right to delegate and recall, as personal interest, their sole master, requires.*"

"What our passions would barely insinuate, our philosophers openly teach—that a prince may do whatever he *can*, and that he has discharged his duty when he has satisfied his desires; for, in fact, if this law of interest, that is to say, of the caprice of human passions, should be generally adopted, so as to cause the law of God to be forgotten, then all ideas of justice and injustice, virtue and vice, moral good and evil; would be effaced and annihilated in the mind of man: thrones would totter; subjects would become factious and intractable; and sovereigns would lose their benevolence and humanity. The people would be always in a state of revolt, or a state of oppression.⁷⁹"

The same opinion of these *philosophical* writers, and of the evil effects of their publications, was entertained by the magistracy, who could not, certainly, be accused of encouraging the propagation of despotic principles, or of suppressing that decent freedom of discussion, which is essential to the existence of rational liberty. M. Seguier, a magistrate distinguished for his talents and integrity, in his speech to the parliament, on the seventh of September, 1775, whom he invited to join the clergy in resisting the daring efforts of authors of this description, thus addressed his brethren:

"The moment is arrived in which the clergy and magistracy should unite to repel the attacks made by the hands of the impious on the throne and the altar. The ma-

⁷⁹ Vie du Dauphin, Père de Louis XVI. par M. l'Abbé Proyart, p. 72, 73, 74.

"gistrates,

“ gistrates, while they preserve the public peace, and administer justice to the citizens, will,
 “ also, enforce respect for the sacred writings, our holy dogmas, and divine mysteries ;
 “ and the successors of the apostles, who are depositaries of the doctrine, and judges of
 “ the faith, while they announce the word of God, and give instruction to the faithful,
 “ will render the authority of the laws respected ; will maintain the people in that sub-
 “ mission which they owe to their sovereign ; and will teach them to consider the oracles
 “ of justice, as a portion of the Divine Justice itself, which enforces obedience to the
 “ powers which Heaven has established upon the earth.

“ This precious harmony will soon banish, from the midst of a people religious and
 “ submissive, that vile heap of licentious publications, scandalous pamphlets, and im-
 “ pious libels, which alike attack the Majesty of Heaven, and the majesty of the throne.
 “ The writers of the age, whom nothing hitherto has been able to restrain, will be
 “ alarmed at this long-desired union ; they will equally dread the censures of the
 “ church, and the avenging looks of the ministers of the law. They will no longer be
 “ seen to turn into derision the sacred allegories employed in the Scriptures ; they will
 “ no longer amuse themselves with that copious profusion of ridicule which the frivo-
 “ lous gaiety of the French seizes with avidity ; which serves them as a substitute for
 “ argument ; and which, finally, will lead to the destruction of the ancient creed of our
 “ forefathers, whose simplicity was far preferable to the levity of our principles and of
 “ our manners.”

“ Impiety”—said the same magistrate, on another occasion—“ daily makes fresh pro-
 “ gress. It is not thought sufficient to attack, in argumentative writings, the funda-
 “ mental truths of our holy religion—as this kind of discussion requires knowledge, and
 “ comes not within the scope of every man’s comprehension, irreligion, ever fertile in
 “ expedients, and incredulity, which sacrifices every thing to the accomplishment of its
 “ ends, now take a shorter and an easier road. *False Philosophy*, which seeks but to
 “ destroy, under pretence of instructing ; that body, ever active though concealed, which
 “ seems only occupied in preparing in darkness the means of effecting a *sudden revolution*
 “ in religion, in government, and in manners ; that impious sect now throws off the mask,
 “ and openly presents its daring front.”

Such were the serious accusations preferred against the writings of Voltaire, d’Alembert, and their disciples ; many of whose productions were indisputably calculated to sap the fundamental principles of religion and morality ; to call such men *philosophers*, would certainly be to convert that honourable appellation into a term of reproach. To characterize the talents of Voltaire as a writer is no easy task ; the *universality* of his pursuits precluded the possibility of excellence in any particular branch of literature ; as an historian he is faithless and incorrect ; as a *serious* poet (if we except some few of his tragedies)

tragedies) tame and uninteresting, even in his boasted *Henriade*; as a critic, neither impartial nor just; as a philosophical writer, superficial and vain; and as a comic dramatist, spiritless and dull; which is the more singular, as an admirable vein of humour runs through his tales and romances, which are unquestionably his best productions, and as ridicule is the weapon which he appears to handle with the greatest skill. Of his famous, or rather infamous, poem of the *Pucelle d'Orleans*, all that can be said is, that it contains more wit and profligacy than any book of the same size. To those *philosophers* who incline to indulge their wit at the expence of religion, the latter part of Voltaire's life may afford a salutary lesson: no sooner was he attacked by disease, than all his *philosophy* forsook him; the fear of death, and the seasonable admonitions of conscience, induced him to make a formal retraction of his errors; on the return of health he relapsed into impiety; but a fresh illness gave fresh vigour to his repentance: in short, the perpetual struggle between *vanity* and *duty*, between the *Philosopher* and the *Christian*, that marked the last moments of his existence, rendered him alternately an object of pity and contempt; and strongly exemplified the futility of talents, when not subjected to the controul of reason, and the influence of religion.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, though a native of Switzerland, is generally classed among the French writers, and who flourished at this period, has been inconsiderately involved in the censures justly inflicted on many of his contemporaries. His political writings were the result of deep study and reflection; and such study and reflection are requisite to form a just idea of their merits. Rousseau was certainly an enthusiast, and his philanthropy, his anxiety to promote the welfare and happiness of his fellow-creatures, sometimes led him to indulge in the formation of speculative systems, practicable only on the supposition that man is exempt from the frailties of his nature: but he never sought to enforce the adoption of such systems; he never attempted to subvert order and promote anarchy; on the contrary, he invariably exhorted the people to respect their superiors, and obey the laws of their country. Throughout his works, the same spirit of benevolence and humanity appears; endued with superior talents, he wished to render them conducive to the good of society; uniform and consistent in his principles, he never deviated, in the smallest degree, from that which he conceived to be just and proper; he never prostituted his pen to the purpose of adulation; he never uttered a praise which his heart disavowed; he never aimed the shafts of envy at the bosom of a friend; nor exerted his abilities against an enemy with a view to the gratification of revenge;—Rousseau possessed too much honest pride and manly dignity to become the tool of a faction or the slave of a court. Though placed by some on the list of pseudo-philosophers, false philosophy had never a more formidable adversary than Rousseau, who enforced, with resistless eloquence, the necessity of *practical* virtue. Let the last moments of Jean-Jacques be compared with those of Voltaire;—the comparison, it is apprehended, will display, in a strong point of view, the difference of their *philosophical* principles.

Respected manes of Rousseau! Meek spirit of the benevolent citizen of Geneva! Were I blessed with the eloquence of a Demosthenes or a Burke, the deathless flowers of genius should decorate thy tomb!—Often have thy works filled my heart with affection—my mind with admiration; and fain would I make thee a grateful return, by rescuing thy fame from the misrepresentations of enthusiastic friends, and the calumny of inveterate foes. Though, by an excess of candour, unparalleled in the annals of human weakness, thou hast exposed thy frailties and thy faults to public view, let the stern critic, if he can, lay his hand upon his heart, and say—I am a *better* man!

E R R A T A.

Page	8	Line	23	For 'us'	read	'as'
	38		22	For 'have'	read	'having'
	109		30	For 'from'	read	'to'
	130		30	For Note '49'	read	'47'
	130		32	For 'than'	read	'then'
	54		6	From the bottom, for 'with for the public'	read	'with the public for'
	109		4	From the bottom, for 'anger of God'	read	'anger of a God'
	109		2	From the bottom, for 'diocese'	read	'dioceses'
	196		2	From the bott. for 'when possessed of power'	read	'when not possessed of power'
	213		19	For 'Châillon'	read	'Châtillon'
	224		4	For 'satisfaction'	read	'ratification'
	252		10	For 'others order'	read	'other orders'
	266		12	For 'Marillac'	read	'Marillac'
	329		21	For 'all the magnificence'	read	'with all the magnificence'
	525	At the top		For 'Lewis the Fourteenth'	read	'Lewis the Fifteenth'
	543	Note 30		For 'the son a gardener'	read	'the son of a gardener'
	549			For Note '38' read '37' and for note '39' read '38'		

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